

A GREEN VIEW OF GERMAN REUNIFICATION AND EUROPE'S FUTURE

Dear friends at American University, dear family and friends in the School of International Service, dear friends in Washington, and dear Dr. Mott!

I have just come to Washington from a conference on German reunification at the Goethe Institute in Los Angeles with the title "How normal are the Germans?" Soon I shall be on my way back to Germany to arrive right in the middle of German national elections for the National Parliament on December 2nd. These will be elections for the Parliament of a united Germany. I have had the privilege to be a member of the German Bundestag since 1983, as a cofounder of the Green Party and as someone who has continued to think independently within my own Green Party since its founding. I have been the exception to the rule up to now as I have been able to serve two full terms in Parliament. Most of the regional groups of the German Green Party do not accept a third full term and thus I have had no chance to run again from Bavaria. My attempts to run for a third term in Hessen failed because my thinking on ecology, disarmament, and on German reunification is too radical for those who are in the majority in the Hessen Green Party.

Alumni dinner, School of International Service, American University, Washington, D.C., November 19, 1990.

Nonviolence Speaks to Power

This is the Realo Wing (meaning the pragmatic, pro-Social Democrat Wing, which is, in my opinion, willing to make too many compromises). Only a few weeks ago, the citizen action movement of East Germany, including Neues Forum, Demokratie Jetzt [Democracy Now], and other groups nominated me for a second place on the candidate's list in Sachsen-Anhalt. For the past nine years, together with Gert Bastian I have worked with an independent citizen action group in East Germany, especially in those times when our friends were repressed, harassed, or imprisoned. It was the newly founded East German Green Party that opposed any Green Party candidate from the West being nominated by the independent citizen action groups. Thus again it has not been possible to stand for a third term.

Certainly I will now face some difficult years ahead without my efficient, international parliamentary office that was able to reach out to cancer-ill children, to Chinese students in the democracy movement, and to Tibetans who have been struggling so long for their independence and freedom. Through this office we were able to reach out to many dissidents and independent thinkers in Eastern Europe and to be in solidarity with Indians in the United States and Canada, with Aborigines in Australia, and with many others who had no voice when it came to party politics in Germany.

The past eight years have given me a very critical perspective upon what has now become German reunification. Before that, eleven years with the Economic and Social Committee of the European Community in Brussels have also given me a broad view of Europe's future and the possibilities that exist within it. While in the German Parliament, I have been a member of the prestigious all-male Foreign Relations Committee, the Western European Union Parliamentary Assembly, and the Sub-Committee on European Affairs and Disarmament. I have worked on issues of human rights, foreign policy, neutrality, and disarmament, as well as on the question of children's cancer, and many ecological concerns. Of course, one of my overriding preoccupations has been that

A Green View of German Reunification and Europe's Future

of feminism. In fact, I believe it all began here at American University between 1966 and 1970 when, for example, I ran for the Student Senate with quite a feminist agenda and when I initiated the first International Week in 1966-67.

I have often stated that much of the thinking which I try to bring into discussions within German party politics derived from my years in the United States between 1961 and 1970. First I worked in Europe within the framework of the Social Democratic Party. Then after having been a loyal Willy Brandt voter, I became very disillusioned with the politics of Helmut Schmidt, politics of economic growth at any cost, politics of pronuclear power, and politics of prodeployment of nuclear weapons in Western Europe. Thus, between 1976 and 1978, I began thinking, together with a small circle of my friends, about leaving the SPD and creating an ecological, feminist, and antimilitaristic party called the Green Party. At that time many of my colleagues and friends felt that this party development would be a wrong signal, that it would be better to work within the existing SPD and turn that green. But being quite stubborn and determined to find new ecological roads, since the old socialist roads had seemed to go crooked, I decided to dedicate all of my energy and creativity to help form a new political party--in my view an "anti-party-party" called the Green Party. By 1979 I headed the first national list for the Green Party in the European elections. We received 3.2 percent of the votes the very first time we stood in a national election--about one million votes. At that moment I knew we were doing something right!

Much of what I was taught here in Washington, D.C., about civil disobedience and about the ethics of nonviolence by such mentors as Dr. Abdul Said and Dr. Albert Mott, I was also able to put into practice at the time by being an active member of the antiwar movement, the civil rights movement, and by becoming a very critical and very anti-authoritarian person. It was Dr. Said who conveyed to me the essence of international politics as active solidarity with the poor, the repressed, and with those who are exploited. And it was also Dr. Said who

Nonviolence Speaks to Power

added an element of spirituality to all he taught about international relations--a rare combination that you usually do not find in universities. And Dr. Mott, one of the most challenging professors of history, made me confront my own German past like no one else in my years in the United States. Coming from a small Bavarian town called Gunzburg on the Danube river--the same town in which the family of the notorious Auschwitz doctor Mengele had lived--having been raised in a Catholic convent school under the influence of a very independent and radical grandmother, and having come to the United States through the remarriage of my mother, I experienced quite a bit of culture shock, living first in Georgia, then Virginia, and then Washington. Through the courses with Dr. Mott I was able to get a different perspective on all that I had left behind in Bavaria. For in my convent school there was no talk about Auschwitz, no talk about Bergen-Belsen, no talk about Anne Frank, no talk about Buchenwald! Today, in November 1990, twenty years after I graduated from the School of International Service, I feel there is quite a direct line between what I was taught here and what I put into Green political practice!

In the past ten years I have worked, laughed, and cried with someone very close to me--someone known to many here, but who is not here tonight--former General and former Green MP Gert Bastian. He had the courage to leave the German Army while on active duty out of protest against the deployment of mass destructive American missiles in Western Europe. He set a courageous example which, unfortunately, other military officers have not followed. With him I have nonviolently blockaded military bases across Europe, as acts of civil disobedience, together with friends like Phil Berrigan and many others. Gert Bastian has also been one of my most important mentors and thus I dedicate these comments to him.

Together with a very close Tibetan friend who is here tonight, Dr. Palden Tawo, we have worked intensely on various human rights campaigns, especially concerning Tibet and China. Human rights work and standing up for a free and

independent Tibet has been one of the most difficult tasks amidst the process of reuniting Germany. As the Iron Curtain between East and West was about to thaw, a new Ice Age broke in the South. We, the Germans, speaking now collectively, seemed to have no time at all any more for those who live outside of Germany, outside of Europe, in other parts of the world. Suddenly we centered all of our concerns on reunification and on our own problems, forgetting all the others who are far worse off.

I personally and the majority of Greens did not want nor did we foresee the present speedy process of German reunification. Our model would have been the model of a confederation: two separate German states competing with each other for more ecology, more direct democracy, more women's rights, and more social justice; two Germanys in solidarity with one another who cooperate and grow together slowly and carefully. The East German Revolution of last November, the first revolution on German soil, was led by very strong women who I count among my best friends, including Barbel Bohley, Katja Havemann, Ulrike Poppe, and many other brave and courageous women and men. It was these friends of ours from the independent human rights and peace groups from East Germany who suffered oppression for many years and were imprisoned time and again. Gert Bastian and I travelled back and forth to East Germany in the 1980s. We demonstrated on the Alexanderplatz in East Berlin in 1983 and were arrested there. On account of that experience we had our very first dialogue with Erich Honecker in November 1983. That critical dialogue with him continued throughout the 1980s. We made quite clear to him that we did not intend to be frightened away by his measures of not allowing us into East Germany on several occasions or by his writing to us and warning us of our breaking the law by helping the GDR dissidents. We continued our dialogue with Mr. Honecker, making clear that we would see our dissident friends despite the measures he took against us. That type of position was not always supported within my own Green party, since many of the Left-wing dogmatic Green

Nonviolence Speaks to Power

Party members wanted to make sure that they had good relationships with the old SED regime. They saw their dreams of socialism in some strange and nebulous way come alive in the old GDR!

Sitting in those tiny kitchens and in those smoke-filled living rooms of our dissident friends in East Germany--in a world quite its own--was something I shall never forget. Over and over again our friends in East Germany dreamt of nonviolent revolutions, dreamt of nonviolent change and of nonviolent resistance against the SED regime. Though they also dreamt of another type of GDR, they did not dream of getting rid of it altogether! Erich Honecker was quite frightened by that small nonviolent nucleus of dissidents in East Berlin, Leipzig, Dresden, and in the countryside. In fact, it was Horst Sindermann, SED President of the Volkskammer, who stated after the Revolution took place that the one thing the SED really could not calculate or understand was the notion of nonviolent protest.

I also had the privilege to get to know courageous dissidents in the Soviet Union in the 1980s, brave women like Larissa Bogoraz, wife of Anatoly Marchenko. I had the privilege of getting to know Andrei Sakharov and his wife Jelena Bonner, talking with both in their Moscow kitchen! Through my long friendship with Lew Kopelew, the Russian writer and dissident, and through his circle of friends in Moscow, I came to know and understand what the notion of a civil society was all about--civil society and anti-politics--the two most important concepts which I learned from the citizens' rights movement in Eastern Europe. It does not seem so long ago when, in 1986, Anatoly Marchenko went on a hunger strike demanding the release of all political prisoners and criminal persecution of the jailers who had beaten him. Marchenko died of a cerebral hemorrhage in prison on December 8, 1986, after spending twenty of his forty-eight years in the Soviet penal system! And it was not so long ago when I visited his widow in Moscow, when perestroika and glasnost were beginning, and when some bricks were thrown through the window of our car

A Green View of German Reunification and Europe's Future

which was parked outside of her apartment to warn us that our visits to her were still unwelcome. It was in February 1987 at the Moscow Peace Forum where Gert Bastian and I had the chance to meet and speak with President Gorbachev. At that time we were still requesting him to allow Andrei Sakharov to travel freely to West European countries. Now it all seems like a very long time ago!

Three years later our West German Chancellor, Helmut Kohl, found himself concluding a treaty that would give Germany full sovereignty in its October 3rd merger with East Germany. In September 1990 Helmut Kohl had only one obstacle left--the disposition of Soviet troops in the East. Within half an hour both Gorbachev and Kohl had what they wanted after their talk in the Soviet Union. Gorbachev wrested from Kohl a commitment of eight billion dollars, most of it for the withdrawal and resettlement back home of Soviet troops stationed in East Germany. Five billion dollars was for thirty-six thousand new apartments in the Soviet Union and the rest was for retraining the soldiers for civilian jobs. In return, Kohl got a virtual guarantee that the Two-plus-Four Treaty ending all postwar rights for the World War II victors would be concluded smoothly in Moscow. As *Time* wrote on September 24, 1990, for such a significant historical event, the ceremony was a mercifully brief five minutes.

When I think back one year to the nonviolent revolutions in Prague, East Berlin, Leipzig, Dresden, Warsaw, Rumania, Bulgaria, and the Soviet Union, I also have the sense of how quickly revolutions can be snuffed out. The East German Revolution was quickly reversed by Chancellor Helmut Kohl's Ten-Point Plan, by the West German banks and businesses, by West German and West European companies who are all on their way to making Eastern Europe the new Sicily of Western Europe. The East German Revolution was cancelled by West German established politicians from the Liberal, Christian Democrat, and Social Democratic parties who travelled back and forth between December and March 1990 and took their blueprint from our so-called perfect Western capitalist society.

Nonviolence Speaks to Power

Suddenly nothing was of any value in East Germany. Suddenly nothing was of any value in Eastern Europe, not even the provision of children's creches or the more liberal abortion law in East Germany.

Suddenly, the West, Western capital, the NATO alliance, even the Pope, the WEU, and the European Community triumphed and acted as if they themselves had liberated Eastern Europe and had removed the Wall and the Iron Curtain! Pastor Heinrich Albertz stated a few months ago: "A West German military invasion of the GDR would be more honest than what is going on now!" Most of our politicians, even Willy Brandt from whom I expected it the least, reverted back to German nationalist rhetoric. Suddenly "being German" takes on a new, special meaning. Does this mean that the nasty and arrogant German could be back soon? We must do everything to prevent this!

In a recent meeting of East German authors in the former East Berlin on November 5, 1990, Christa Wolf stated that she had the feeling that her life was being taken away. She explained that one cannot take away forty years of East German history and East German identity; one cannot take away the identity that people have formed over forty years; one cannot tell them that this identity never meant anything at all.

In December 1989, at the time when Egon Krenz was still in power but about to resign, Gert Bastian and I took His Holiness the Dalai Lama to East Berlin, across Checkpoint Charlie. It was an odd feeling. For years we had had the Stasi following us in their Trabis. Now suddenly they were leading the way and helping us move through the streets to the place where the legendary Round Table was about to begin. The Dalai Lama was invited by the independent Citizens Rights Movement and when he passed Checkpoint Charlie he was still fearful of being arrested. It was a momentous day for us because we felt we were taking him to meet the future government of East Germany--our friends in the independent

citizens and human rights movement! But we were far too hopeful.

While the Round Table in East Germany discussed radical programmes and aims and drafted a more progressive and better Basic Law than we have, the German Revolution was already being snuffed out by the West--by Western governments who did not want to confront an antinuclear, antimilitaristic, and perhaps even feminist future GDR government. In October and November 1989, East Germans marched on the streets with signs and slogans proclaiming "We are the People," meaning that they were determining their fate, their goals, and their future society. Two months later more and more West German flags appeared on the scene, more and more German hymns were being sung, and suddenly the slogan was "We are One People." That, I feel, was the end of the East German Revolution!

By March 1990 when the first free elections took place in East Germany, the media had almost forgotten those brave women and men who were in the forefront of the Revolution and who were also in the front line of the demonstrations in October 1989 when Honecker and his regime almost opted for the Chinese Solution. It was not Minister de Maiziere and it was not the new Volkskammer President, Sabine Bergmann-Pohl, who had walked in the front lines of the demonstrations in the fall of 1989, about to be beaten up by the East German police. Suddenly everything seemed turned on its head. The East German voters opted for the Deutsche Mark (understandably so) as well as for a blueprint of West German society *a la* Kohl.

In the summer of 1990, laden with billions of brand new Deutsche Mark, a fleet of thirty armored cars drove through East Germany. This vast fortune, 120 billion DM or seventy billion dollars, was the price of German reunification. On July 1, millions of East Germans stood in line at some ten thousand bank branches and police stations to convert their Ostmark into Deutsche Mark at a rate of 1:1 and then at a rate of 1:1.5 for

Nonviolence Speaks to Power

anything beyond four thousand Ostmark. A few months later, nearly half a century of Communism was abandoned and East Germans came under West German rules on corporate and union practices, welfare, insurance, and other standards. But they never really had a chance to discuss the aims of their Revolution. They never had a chance to determine the process of reunification, not even through the exercise of a referendum.

It was a very strange and eerie feeling when the German Democratic Republic was formally abolished. We met October 2-3, 1990, in that notorious Reichstag building in Berlin where we also held our first joint session of Parliament. It was strange seeing East German policemen and soldiers wearing East German uniforms with a little plastic emblem telling others that they were now West Germans. And it was very eerie and frightening to hear television discussions with East German soldiers and officers who were asked whether or not they could cope with having previously served under Honecker and now having to serve under a West German Minister of Defence. Their answer, unfortunately, was typically German. They replied that they were loyal under Honecker and they are now loyal under Mr. Stoltenberg and that this makes no problems for them, because they are simply loyal to whoever gives them their orders. Is this another example of the German who cannot be entrusted with responsibility for himself and for his conscious actions?

The change in direction since the revolution of 1989 has been due to money, not conscience. I am frightened by the eighty to ninety million Germans coming together in a unified, centralised German state, since this unified German state during the seventy years of its previous existence always brought a lot of suffering to its neighbours and to the Germans themselves. I am anxious about German reunification and such anxiety is widespread. I personally feel that only an honest policy of "self-restraint," meaning complete demilitarization and complete democratization, can be the answer when so many Germans come together. Gunter Grass, one of the lonely voices

and opponents of this speedy reunification process like ourselves, stated, and I fully agree with him:

Auschwitz speaks against even a right of self-determination, because one of the pre-conditions for the horror, besides other, older urges, was a strong, united Germany. Not Prussia, not Bavaria, not even Austria alone could have developed and carried out the will and the method of organised genocide; it required a united Germany. We have every reason to be afraid of ourselves as a functioning unity. . . . We cannot get by Auschwitz. We shouldn't even try! (*Time*, June 25, 1990).

First I would like to take the example of the Unification Treaty, which we debated with very little passion in the German Parliament. The Central Council of Jews in Germany submitted a memorandum to Chancellor Kohl in a meeting in July 1990. Heinz Galinski, spokesperson of the council, suggested the following compromise solution for the preamble of the Unification Treaty:

Aware of the continuity of German history and especially bearing in mind the unprecedented acts of violence committed between 1933 and 1945 as well as the resulting obligations towards all victims and responsibility for a democratic development in Germany committed to respect for human rights and to peace.

The German government submitted the following draft:

Aware of the continuity of German history and bearing in mind the special responsibility arising from our past for democratic development in Germany committed to respect for human rights and to peace.

This was the governmental version that received a large majority in the German Parliament. It was not possible to include even one word about the Holocaust in Germany; it was

Nonviolence Speaks to Power

not possible to include one word about the unprecedented acts of violence committed between 1933 and 1945!

In a recent discussion concerning November 9th and the meaning of that date in German history, Heinz Galinski rightly stated that November 9th will be remembered as the day the Wall came down. But it was hardly remembered as the "Reichskristallnacht." That day, November 9, 1938, was never accepted as a memorial day, though it would have been much better for German democracy in the past if it had. The Germans went into the streets prior to November 9, 1989. If only they had gone into the streets in the years before 1945! Heinz Galinski reported at the recent meeting in Berlin that there are increasing acts of anti-Semitism in Germany, especially through acts of violence in Jewish cemeteries. He warned us about the increasing Right-wing radicalism now occurring in East Germany and about the increasing hatred of all that is foreign and not German.

I myself have experienced much of this while travelling in East Germany--football hooligans singing songs about Hitler, about winning the war against Jews or foreigners; German Right-wing radicals singing the German hymn and the old text that was sung under Hitler. Time and time again foreigners are beaten up in subway and railway stations. There is, for example, a home for foreigners at the end of a tram track in Magdeburg where every single night Right-wing groups come to demolish and to destroy not only the windows and doors but to threaten those who live there. This is what daily life is like in the former GDR!

Just recently we discovered that every week four huge airplanes from the Russian airline Aeroflot leave the former East Germany with Vietnamese migrant workers on board, sending them all back home, whether they would like to leave or not, making ex-East Germany Vietnamese-free. In 1989 there were over 160,000 foreign workers in East Germany; fifty-three thousand of them were Vietnamese. Vietnamese women who were pregnant had to have an abortion in the GDR

A Green View of German Reunification and Europe's Future

and were flown back to Vietnam. Now that Germany is reunified, Vietnamese workers and their families experience even more repression, oppression, and hatred than ever before. Suddenly intolerance and hatred are creeping out of the woodwork everywhere.

On September 1, 1990, the annual date to commemorate the "*Uberfall*" [attack] on Poland, the German government made another error by introducing restrictive immigration regulations for all Polish women and men. At least this will now change for the better, but it was embarrassing enough when it happened.

There is another embarrassment that I must mention--the fact that we cannot pass compensation bills for the forced labourers [*Zwangsarbeiter*] under the Nazi regime. Thousands and thousands of former forced labourers will now be dying in terrible poverty. The German Green Party and the SPD had demanded that a foundation be created for the compensation of forced labourers. The governmental parties did not go along with it and recommended further and further investigations to the German government. This means that, in the near future, none of the former forced labourers will receive any type of financial compensation, not even something small and symbolic. I see this as pure cynicism--cynicism because we are unable to make a constructive decision for the surviving slave labourers of the Nazi regime in their elderly years of poverty. Only about 1.3 billion Deutsche Mark would be needed for such a foundation. In German parliamentary debates one constantly hears that one should not hold present and future German generations responsible for the crimes of the past. I have heard this over and over again during our Guernica parliamentary debates, where I have tried to raise the issue of making a symbolic gesture of reconciliation toward the people of Guernica--again and again, embarrassing moments, because our government argues so primitively against mercenary gestures of reconciliation!

Nonviolence Speaks to Power

Another example puts me to shame. We Germans, through governmental regulations, are now stopping Soviet Jews from coming into this country (*Einwanderungsstopp für Sowjetjuden*). After the Green Party raised this issue in the parliamentary debate, the German government announced that it "might" be ready and willing to allow some Jews to come into this country, but how this is supposed to be done and when, no one knows. At this moment, Soviet Jews cannot legally come into the country. What is even more embarrassing is the fact that the German government is considering allowing at the maximum only three thousand Jews to immigrate in the next three to five years. But should not every Jewish man, woman, and child who now looks to Germany for protection have the right to come here? Is this not what our own history has taught us? It was the Soviet Jews who were able to survive the German policies of "*Endlösung*" [Final Solution]. We have all the more responsibility to help them now as much as we can. The arguments against Soviet Jews in Germany have been very shameful. There has been the argument that Germany is not an immigration country (*Einwanderungsland*), that there would be new anti-Semitism throughout Germany, and that Israel would be upset if we took the Soviet Jews. Forty-five years after Auschwitz, Jewish people in the Soviet Union would like to come back to Germany. Is this not all the more a moral and historic responsibility for us?

I recently attended a public hearing concerning the victims of the Stasi, the state security system in the former East Germany, which was one of the most perfect repression systems ever to be designed in the Eastern bloc. Until now, the incredible amounts of money from the old SED--now PDS--and from the old bloc parties (*Blockparteien*) have gone right back into the pockets of those who possessed it under Honecker. And yet there is still no provision for financial funds for the victims of that regime! What is even worse--the old state lawyers and the old SED judges in East Germany are now the new judiciary! They are simply being retrained in three-week courses! This reminds one all too much of the time after the

fall of Hitler when key persons involved with the Nazi industry, the Nazi judiciary, and the Nazi police were treated with much generosity. Former Nazis took up bureaucratic positions in the administration of the Federal Republic of Germany in the 1950s. In 1952, for example, according to the programme "Report" by Franz Alt, there were more former members of the Nazi Party sitting in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Bonn than in the "Reichsaussenministerium" during the Third Reich! At the present time there are still eighteen hundred state lawyers who worked under the SED regime, loyal as usual. Now they will be loyal to quite another system! Under Hans Modrow, the successor of Egon Krenz, the personal files of the thousands and thousands of bureaucrats under the SED regime were legally cleansed. Therefore, it is difficult to even try to trace the past of any one of these judges or lawyers.

In this regard, consider another example. In the Sächsische Olefinwerken AG in Bohlen, two out of every three workers will be fired because of the rationalisation and total reconstruction and renovation of the factory. The people at the bottom of the ladder will lose their jobs and will be unemployed while on the upper rungs of the ladder the old SED directors and administrators sit glued to their seats. Previously there were sixteen SED administrators; now fourteen of them are still employed in this company, praising the mechanisms of the market economy. As one worker commented, "Some of those who claimed to be fighting for socialism under Honecker now want to pressure us within a system of pre-capitalist structures!"

And then the problem of rewriting history comes up again. As *Newsweek* reported in September 1990, "Lenin still hangs around." East German students in September returned to a school system in chaos. Many principals had been fired because pro-Communist zeal was their main talent. Then half of them were rehired for lack of replacements. Teachers were kept on, even though most were former Communist Party members. West Germany donated two million new textbooks but they are not enough to teach a host of new or revised subjects to 2.6 million students. But even the revised texts still

Nonviolence Speaks to Power

carry strange allusions, like the mathematics exercise that counts East German soldiers rather than apples and oranges! Now that students have a choice of languages, 90 percent choose to study English instead of Russian, and so unwanted Russian teachers are scrambling to learn English. A student recently complained: "We have to learn social studies about a society we have never lived in." And another student sums it all up: "All this time we were told our country was the best and we had achieved the most. Now they tell us it was all wrong."

This means, in fact, that German history of the past fifty years has to be rewritten for the third time, rewritten and revalued. First there was Josef Goebbels, the Minister for Propaganda and "Volksaufklärung." Twenty-five years later, there was a former pupil who was taught under the Nazis and later became Minister for Education, Margot Honecker. She demanded that teachers implant hatred of the barbaric system of capitalism into the hearts of children. Now once again history and school books will be rewritten.

There is something else that depresses me about the way in which we cope with German reunification. Erich Honecker is awaiting trial in a military hospital near Potsdam with his wife. A few others like Mielke, the former head of state security, are lying in prison hospitals. But all the rest of the Politburo & Company who supported and were part of that very same regime are sitting in their new and old villas and are pointing the finger at the one who supposedly did it all --Erich Honecker! It was Barbel Bohley who recently said, "Erich Honecker should get a pension and find a place in an old-age home! Just leave him alone. We don't need revenge and we don't need vengeance!" On the other hand, our Justice Minister wanted to give amnesty to almost all Stasi members. The criminals high up in the SED hierarchy are living in luxury at Tegernsee and elsewhere, partly being protected by West German intelligence agencies! What German-German irony!

These are just a few examples that I wanted to mention in talking about the years it will take to repair the damage caused

by four decades of Communism. Former East Germany will be changed, but I also hope that in the process West Germany will change and become more modest and more willing to learn. Former East Germany is now considered bankrupt. Most of its eight thousand decrepit enterprises are on the verge of failure and unemployment is headed towards two million--perhaps much more-- out of a work force of 8.9 million. Building or upgrading plants and equipment, constructing roads, establishing communication networks, and cleaning up industrial pollution are expected to cost up to 455 billion dollars. Estimates run now as high as 775 billion dollars for a ten year period. Unfortunately this rebuilding of East Germany will not be done in the soft, ecological, decentralised way that we had hoped for. It will be done in the hard, capitalist, and nonecological manner that we have been used to in the West and against which we have been struggling. Instead of developing soft energy systems, the West German nuclear-lobby is right back again trying to build better and more efficient West German nuclear reactors. Have they ever heard of Chernobyl? No, they've forgotten completely!

There is, of course, also a very strong psychological separation--the wall in the mind--a split that may not be overcome for a generation or more. Many West German politicians always talked of the two Germanys as if they were essentially one. But they were not! The West thrived while the East, those "over there," lived under fifty-seven years of uninterrupted totalitarian dictatorship, first under the Nazis, then under the Communists. Many people feel and see now that their future in former East Germany is not "prescribed time" but "free time." This is something people did not learn and are afraid of! They have to cope with a whole new attitude about life and living!

Now many questions are being asked, especially about the intellectuals and artists in past East German society. They played a small role or none at all in bursting through the Wall. In fact, many of them resented the very idea of a multiparty society. Jurgen Fuchs, an East German writer who was

Nonviolence Speaks to Power

imprisoned for nine months in 1976 and was then expelled to the West, stated recently: "Where were the GDR writers and intellectuals with the moral strength to fight Stalinism as well as Fascism?"

All power emanated from the Party under the SED in a nationwide network of command and control run by hundreds of thousands of professional operatives of the state security service. It involved millions of part-time informers, volunteer watchdogs on party block-committees in every town and every village. Many of them are still working in important positions in the post-Communist state.

The Stasi files contain the names of six million people (including two million West Germans), and report on their financial problems, their sexual lives, and other details. How can one digest that now? Many East Germans, rightly so, want to see the personal files. They don't want to be haunted by the question, "Was it really my neighbour or best friend who betrayed me?" They simply want to know.

Another aspect is troubling me: German foreign policy. Most Germans have been so preoccupied with the problems of unification that they have forgotten the rest of the world. The Foreign Minister Genscher has been giving assurances that Germany will live up to its responsibilities in Europe and in the world. On the same day that Mr. Genscher was quoted to that effect, the newspapers reported comments of the President of the EC Commission, Jacques Delors, who had warned of a diminishing political commitment to Europe. Delors stated that he is fearful that there could be at the centre of a weak Europe a strong, tough, and powerful German economy. He added that if a strong Germany were to appear in Europe the fate of a large part of the continent would depend on German public opinion.

I agree. We must be watchful! All too quickly I am hearing the calls of CDU colleagues wanting to send German soldiers to the Gulf as soon as the Basic Law can be changed. All too often I hear that German soldiers will be even better

than the rest against Saddam Hussein. On top of all that, one hears that Germany should be on the Security Council of the United Nations and should have no second thoughts about becoming an economic and military world power. But up to now West Germany has not been acting like a responsible growing power, but more like a kind of merchant of death, a merchant without any morals. One need only be reminded of the many weapons export scandals which fill files--files of shameful history of the German weapons industry. Over one hundred German companies have been involved in deadly arms transactions with Iraq, and not only with Iraq, but also with Pakistan, South Africa, Iran, and many other countries around the world. German arms exports are about to become one of the main pillars of the foreign policy pursued by a united Germany. How are we to interpret the fact that, roughly fifteen months after the suppression of the Democracy Movement in Beijing, Germany has lifted the economic sanctions against China which I and my colleagues had initiated in the German Bundestag over one year ago? This reversal of policy towards China is evidently prompted by the outstanding export transactions of GDR companies with China as well as West German interest in the China market. And of course one had to "be good to China again" because of the Chinese vote against Saddam Hussein in the United Nations Security Council. How disgusting!

A new and united Germany cannot afford to continue to act so arrogantly and immorally when it comes to uncovering the arms export scandals. The U.S. newspaper *Nuclear Fuel* of March 6, 1989, declared that the United States had sent over one hundred formal protest notes against planned German exports to a nuclear weapons factory in Pakistan. Over and over again these United States protest notes landed in wastepaper baskets of German ministries! A study of the U.S. Congress has made very clear where Germany is heading. Germany was the only country of the leading arms exporters that had increased its weapons sales to the Third World, from 830 million U.S. dollars in 1988 to over 1.3 billion dollars in 1989. I must remind you that the use of poisonous gases by the

Nonviolence Speaks to Power

dictator Saddam Hussein against the Kurdish population in Iraq was made possible only through German know-how and German export of plants for so-called pesticide production. It did not worry us too much then that Kurdish children were dying a terrible death by the poisonous gas. Now our politicians are worried that in the future German soldiers could be killed by German weapons and by our own poisonous gas. But what have we been doing in these past few weeks? We give and sell gas masks to the people in Israel and we also end up selling little gas chambers for testing dogs in Iraqi poison gas factories. The Kolb company ordered these little gas chambers for animals and the Rema Labor Technik Company delivered them. Even the dogs come from Germany. Pesticide research was simply the cover-up. But the gas chambers, the crematoriums, show what is really happening in those pesticide plants in Iraq! I should also add that we face further scandals when it comes to providing nuclear know-how to Pakistan. The scandals have no end! It was almost ten years ago when the West German government first promised to examine whether West German companies assisted Iraq in building a poison gas factory. The German authorities took nearly seven years to ascertain this!"

Heleno Sana wrote in his book *The Fourth Reich* that all too often Germans make a distinction between private and public morals. At this particular time I miss my old friend Heinrich Böll who once said: "We live in a country that has suppressed its history . . . in a country that has delusions about its popularity." And I also remember that President Gorbachev stated: "Nobody should ignore the negative potential that emerged in Germany's past." The German question, I believe, was not invented abroad. The German question is a constantly recurring legacy of our own German history. In the past few months, one could hear from Rudolf Augstein right down to Helmut Kohl: "Nobody need fear the Germans!" But Gunter Grass rightly stated: "We shall be united again, strong and clearly audible even when we try to speak quietly."

In this regard let me cite one more worrisome case. In the Four-plus-Two talks with the four victorious powers of the Second World War on the external aspects of German reunification, the two German governments had pledged that Germans would not possess any nuclear, biological, or chemical weapons. Foreign Minister Hans Dietrich Genscher reaffirmed that Germany will not possess or have control over such weapons. But a closer look at the Four-plus-Two Treaty reveals that it is still possible for Germany to participate in future development and manufacture of nuclear weapons in another country. We should not forget the fact that on signing the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) in 1974, the German government expressed the reservation that the possibility of shared control over nuclear weapons within the scope of a future Western European Union would not be affected by Germany's signature of the NPT. Such a European Political Union, as is sought by the present Kohl government, could be a nuclear power if any of its member countries were to possess nuclear weapons. This provision was additionally enshrined in a bilateral agreement between Bonn and Washington and was not retracted in the recent declarations renouncing atomic, biological, and chemical weapons. This provision thus remains valid. Since it can be assumed that both France and Britain would be members of a West European Union, united Germany would in this manner obtain shared control over nuclear weapons. Also unaffected by the solemn pledge not to possess nuclear weapons of our own is German coparticipation in the nuclear weapons programmes of other countries. Within the allegedly redesigned NATO, the option of procuring new tactical air-to-surface missiles (TASMs) for combat-aircraft of the German Air Force is now being discussed. In times of crisis, the nuclear TASMs are to be handed out to the German Air Force [*nukleare Teilhabe*].

By the Four-plus-Two Treaty the former East Germany was made nuclear-free; at least that is claimed. But after the Soviet troops leave in 1994 there will be NATO troops and NATO maneuvers on East German soil. We cannot know

Nonviolence Speaks to Power

whether or not they will be carrying conventional or nuclear warheads! Verification in this area is quite difficult. Our hope for a completely demilitarised East Germany has thereby been cancelled. We wanted to make at least one third of this united Germany a demilitarised zone. But now our German Air Force is even flying MIG airplanes! Instead of creating a huge scrap heap of East German weapons, airplanes, and tanks, etc., we are simply selecting what might be of best use for us in future times. And this is called the "Age of Disarmament!"

When I turn to Europe at large, I realise that we in Western Europe have hardly changed. No matter what we, as West Germans and West Europeans, say about cooperation and fair play, we still believe instinctively in the struggle for supremacy. Such an ideology befits our dog-eat-dog capitalism.

In the Green Party we always had a lot of hope for a complete transformation of EC and WEU structures. We also hoped that NATO would dissolve itself in response to the dissolved Warsaw Pact. But I am afraid that what we are going to have to deal with is an increasingly strong NATO trying to dictate a weak CSCE process. The Warsaw Pact is almost gone. It seems to have had hardly any reason for existence. Countries like Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia are thinking of joining the EC. Some are even thinking of joining NATO and others are wanting to choose the road towards neutrality. But Mr. Manfred Wornier, the Secretary-General of NATO, still holds on to all of the policies of nuclear deterrence and sees NATO as an integral part of the process of creating a new unified Europe. The only answer to this would be for the Soviet Union and all of Eastern Europe to join NATO. Maybe that is one way to transform this entire alliance.

As to the construction of a new Europe of solidarity, I doubt that the EC will transform itself. Chancellor Kohl has stated that he does not want many East European countries applying for membership in the EC. He has stated that membership is only possible for those who desire a strong

A Green View of German Reunification and Europe's Future

military, economic, and political European Union along the lines set up by the West European countries. Will we then ever get our chance to build up a nonaligned, neutral Europe including, of course, the Soviet Union? At the moment all the signs point in another direction!

In the meantime, many of the former dissidents in Eastern Europe and West European peace activists, including myself, have founded the Helsinki Citizens Assembly. We recently met in Prague and tried to initiate a dialogue from below on future European cooperation. This is an extension of our "detente from below" strategy.

We now have a real possibility of constructing new relationships in Europe that do not depend on the threat or use of military force. But huge military infrastructures and large stockpiles of weapons are still in place. And there are many major differences in the level of economic development and standards of living between East and West, North and South. Environmental degradation poses a serious threat to survival and gives rise to new conflicts. The Helsinki Citizens Assembly hopes to create a new type of security system and to do away with military power blocs. We want to make sure that it is no longer necessary to maintain troops on foreign territory, that all weapons of mass destruction are eliminated, and that military spending and conventional arms are drastically reduced.

The peaceful transition of Europe is unthinkable without the full observance of all human and civil rights. This becomes all the more important now since racism is on the rise in the former Eastern bloc. The reported 12 percent rise in attacks by neo-Nazi youth gangs on synagogues, Asians, Hispanics, and others causes us grave concern. Discrimination against Africans and other Third World people as well is increasing in Eastern Europe and there is now a rejection of internationalism and support for Third World liberation movements. In their quest to return to "Europe," there is the danger that many people in Eastern Europe will throw away the values of

Nonviolence Speaks to Power

universalism and internationalism and promote national chauvinism instead. No event demonstrates this attitude better than the demand by miners in the Ukraine during their strike last year that all aid to the Third World be stopped. There were twenty-two thousand Africans studying in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe up to 1988. This year there are only five thousand.

Now that people are able to open up and express themselves, racist ideology is creeping out. The pluralism now erupting everywhere is also revealing many bad attitudes. I am afraid that the EC, becoming more of a single market in 1992, will turn into a fortress--a fortress against all that which is not European! Immigrant workers in Europe face a rising tide of racism as well as prospective job losses and deportation. Political and economic refugees will soon feel that the doors to both Eastern and Western Europe are more tightly closed than ever. This is not the kind of Europe we wished for. May I also add that John Kenneth Galbraith was right when he stated recently that the Western European countries are reacting not with concrete help for Eastern Europe but only with their own ideologies!

I share another worry with my friend Vandana Shiva, an Indian environmentalist and feminist. With the end of tensions between East and West, she states, the Third World will increasingly become the supplier of raw materials for the new unified North and the dump for its hazards and wastes. She uses an African proverb: "When elephants make war, the grass gets trampled. When elephants make love, the grass gets trampled." The Third World environment and Third World communities have paid the highest price for the superpower rivalry. The Cold War in Europe had always been translated into real and burning wars in the Third World--in Central America, in Central Asia, and in the Horn of Africa. Since 1945, two hundred wars have been fought in the Third World. As the industrialized world now moves from an over-armed peace to a disarmed one, the military producers and traders merely find alternative markets in the Third World. As the

A Green View of German Reunification and Europe's Future

superpowers withdraw from Afghanistan, the neighbouring region of Kashmir goes up in flames and Pakistan and India become new markets for arms. Similarly the U.S.A. has sold tanks removed from Europe to Egypt. There is now a very real danger that arms released from East-West disarmament will be dumped in the Third World.

There is, of course, much environmental devastation in Eastern Europe. Thousands of Bohemian school children must now wear oxygen masks for the short walk to school. Pollution levels in Czechoslovakia this winter are soaring ten times above internationally accepted "safe" limits. The death of the Aral Sea in the Soviet Union is another example of this destruction and is connected with the ecology of overirrigation and chemicalisation of agriculture. But, this sudden exposure of environmental problems in the East should not blind us to the many ecological problems also existing in the market economies in the West. Unfortunately aid and expertise coming from the industrialised North continues to be the main support for environmentally destructive projects in the Third World. Here I need only mention the large dam projects in India. It is the Third World which will have to bear again the ecological costs of the new industrialism and consumerism in the North, including the cost of cleaning up Eastern Europe. East and West Europe will increasingly use the Third World as a dump. And when the transportation routes are too long to the Third World, then the West will use Eastern Europe for its dumping ground.

President Gorbachev has been one of the very few statesmen in the world who has understood that the world is interrelated, interdependent, and integral. He seems to have understood what the common environmental danger and the problem of human survival is all about. But do President Bush and Chancellor Kohl understand? I doubt it very much. Thus, we must work even harder in convincing others about green solutions.

Nonviolence Speaks to Power

Europe, if it is to become a true continent of peace, ecology, and nonviolence, must begin to understand that 20 percent of the world's population has been using 80 percent of the world's resources and that the planet is already devastated. Not only Germany has to learn policies of self-restraint, Western Europe also has to follow such policies.

Our goal must be European unity in diversity, through policies of nonalignment, active neutrality, and solidarity with the Third World. We must build a civil society, a fully demilitarised and socially just community whose economic development will not be at the expense of the environment and at the expense of the Third World.

Germany and Europe at the end of the Second Millennium have a chance of transforming themselves into a country and continent of peace, human dignity, justice, and worldwide solidarity. The hope comes from the independent citizens' rights movements that together with President Gorbachev and his policies have liberated Eastern Europe. Now, in Western Europe, we find ourselves learning to become dissidents so that we too can begin building a civil society at home. Learning from the nonviolent days of November and December 1989 must be one of our priorities. We have that chance of transformation now. Let us not spoil or lose it!