

# Lecture 14:

## Green Parties in Europe

Course: Environment and Politics in India

# Conflict areas

Vanashakti advertisements/'A Weapon of Democracy' (CSD)

- 'Wildlife' lobby *versus* Tribal lobby. Tigers *versus* *adivasis*? Questions of:
  - WHO poaches and WHY?
  - PROVING that community presence damages wildlife
  - WHY and HOW should resettlement happen?
  - Recognition of people's rights over land for resettlement
  - Allowing community participation/agreement to resettlement packages
  - Providing full facilities are provided at the resettlement site

# Conflict areas

- Industry lobby *versus* Tribal lobby. 'Environment' lobby often working WITH industry lobby.

## FACTS:

- 90% of India's grasslands have been converted to COMMERCIAL Forest Department plantations
- Five lakh hectares of forest converted in five years alone (2001-2006) for mines, dams and industrial projects
- Conversion of millions of hectares of forest for monoculture plantations by the Forest Department
- Proposals to privatise "degraded" forest lands for private companies' timber plantations

# Conflict areas

- 'Forest' lobby versus *adivasi* lobby. Arguments:
  - 4 hectares of land to each adivasi family will destroy forests
  - 'Forests' are arbitrarily designed, *Adivasis* need rights over forest produce
  - FRA will open gates to land grabbing
  - WHO should protect forests? Government or forest dwellers? Or BOTH?

# MoEF *versus* MoTA

- November 2012 PMO meeting with MoEF and MoTA: Efforts to dilute powers of the gram sabhas to ONLY consultation.
- MoTA's concern with the non-implementation of the FRA.
- MoTA's demands that FRA is not only about “recognising rights”, but equally about adivasis' right to manage forests THEMSELVES.

# The colours of green (European version)

Bulgaria



64ac63

Ireland



999900

Cyprus



8ed3b6

Czech Rep.



008400

Netherlands



ccff99

Luxembourg



339900

Denmark



5b8348

Belgium



009966

Finland



006633

Georgia



08510a

Greece



09d454

UK



009999

Belgium



7bff00

Netherland



007d53

Austria



42b529

Hungary



009933

Latvia



009933

France



009900

Switzerland



4cbe70

Spain



669966

Malta



008600

Portugal



009900

Germany



66cc66

Sweden



009e41

Slovakia



008001

Ukraine



339966

Italy



009933

Poland

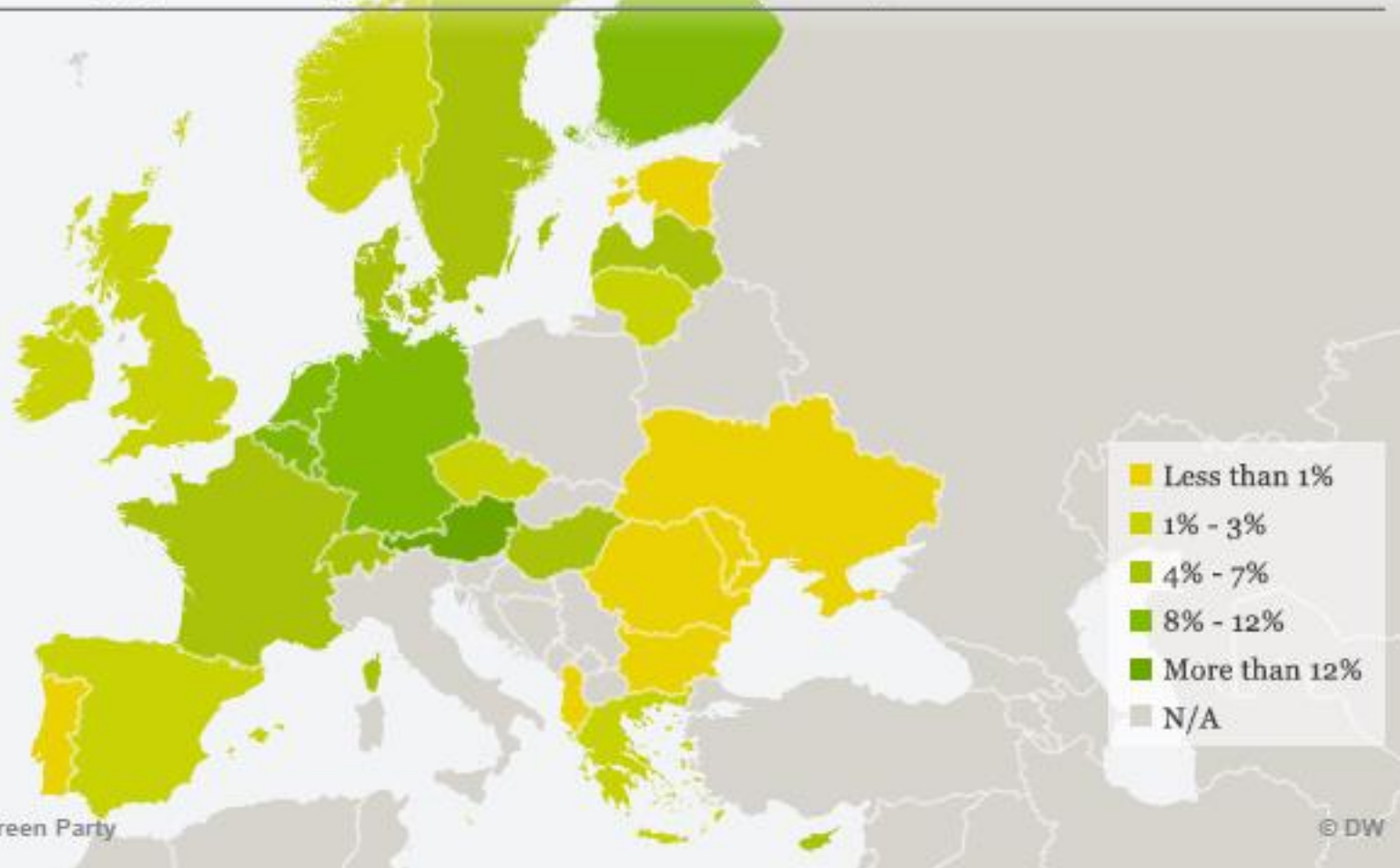


95ab3e

# Green Parties in Europe

- Most well-known: German Green Party (1980). But NOT the oldest.
- 1972: "Values Party" in New Zealand. No representation in Parliament due to British-style electoral system.
- 1979: FIRST representation in a NATIONAL parliament (Switzerland).
- 1982: Belgium's two Green Parties won seats in their national parliament.
- 1989 European Parliament elections: Established Green Parties across Europe (lesser growth in Portugal, France and Italy).
  - British Greens: 14.5%, NO seats.
  - Representation from: Portugal, Spain, France, West Germany, Netherlands.
  - Presence in national parliaments: Sweden, Finland, West Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, Austria, Switzerland, Italy, Portugal, Malta, Ireland, Greece.
  - In Norway,
  - Denmark and Iceland, 'alternative' parties have taken their space.

## Green parties by percentage of vote as of May 2017



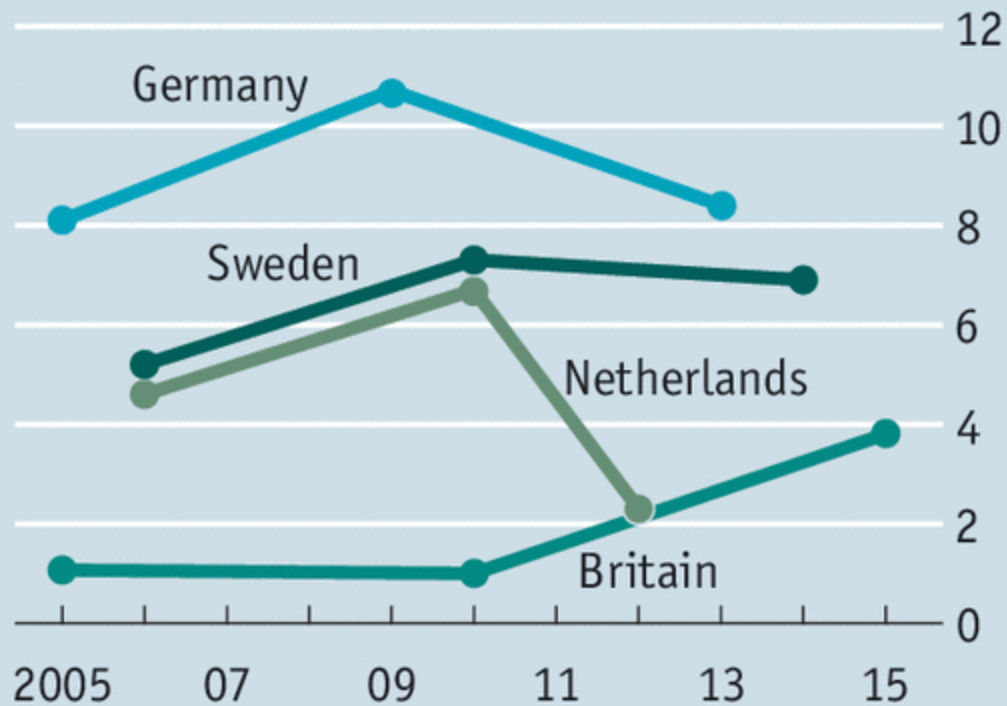
Source: European Green Party

© DW



## Wobbly paths to power

Green parties' share of vote in general elections, %

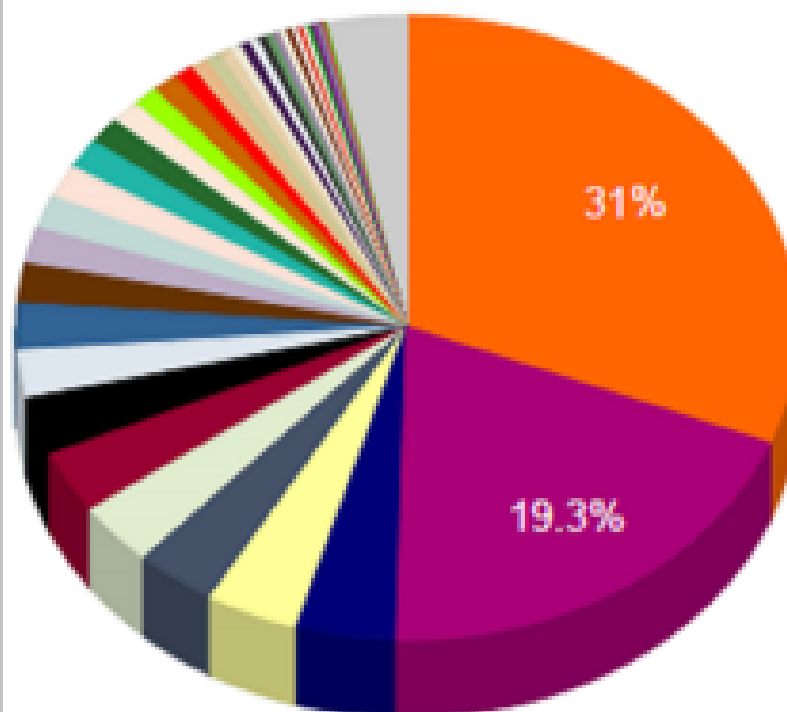


Sources: UK Electoral Commission; Der Bundeswahlleiter; Netherlands Electoral Council; Swedish Election Authority

	<i>The Netherlands</i>		<i>Belgium</i>		<i>Switzerland</i>	<i>Austria</i>			<i>Luxembourg</i>			<i>Germany</i>
	<i>De Groenen</i>	<i>GroenLinks</i>	<i>Ecolo</i>	<i>Groen</i>	<i>PES</i>	<i>Die Grunen</i>	<i>VGÖ</i>	<i>ALÖ/GAL</i>	<i>déli gréng</i>	<i>GLEI</i>	<i>GAP</i>	<i>Bündnis 90/Die Grünen</i>
1979					0.6							
1980												1.5
1981			2.5	2.6								
1983					1.9		1.9	1.4				5.6
1984									4.2			
1985			2.5	3.7								
1987			2.6	4.5	4.9	4.8	0.1	0.02				8.3
1989	0.4	4.1								3.7	3.7	
1990						4.8	2.0					5.0
1991			5.1	4.9	6.1							
1993	0.1	3.5										
1994						7.3	0.1		9.9			7.3
1995			4.0	4.8	5.0	4.8						
1998	0.2	7.3										6.7
1999			7.4	7.0	5.0	7.4			9.1			
2002		7.0				9.5						8.6
2003		5.1	3.1	2.5	7.4							
2004									11.5			
2006		4.6				11.1						8.1
2007			5.1	4.0	9.6							
2008						10.4						
2009									11.5			10.7
2010		6.7	4.8	4.4								
2011					8.4							
2012		2.3										
2013						12.4			10.1			8.4
2014			3.3	5.3								

# Lok Sabha Elections 2014, Partywise Vote Share

BJP	31%	171,657,549
INC	19.30%	106,938,242
BSP	4.10%	22,946,182
AITC	3.80%	21,259,681
SP	3.40%	18,672,916
ADMK	3.30%	18,115,825
CPM	3.20%	17,986,773
IND	3.00%	16,743,719
TDP	2.50%	14,094,545
YSRCP	2.50%	13,991,280
AAP	2%	11,325,635
SHS	1.90%	10,262,982
DMK	1.70%	9,636,430
BJD	1.70%	9,491,497
NCP	1.60%	8,635,554
RJD	1.30%	7,442,313
TRS	1.20%	6,736,490
NOTA	1.10%	6,000,197
JD(U)	1.10%	5,992,196
CPI	0.80%	4,327,298



JD(S)	0.70%	3,731,481
SAD	0.70%	3,636,148
INLD	0.50%	2,799,899
AIUDF	0.40%	2,333,040
LJP	0.40%	2,295,929
DMDK	0.40%	2,079,392
PMK	0.30%	1,827,566
RSP	0.30%	1,666,380
JMM	0.30%	1,637,990
JVM	0.30%	1,579,772
MDMK	0.30%	1,417,535
AIFB	0.20%	1,211,418
SWP	0.20%	1,105,073
IUML	0.20%	1,100,096
BLSP	0.20%	1,078,473
CPI(ML)(L)	0.20%	1,007,274
NFF	0.20%	994,505
AD	0.10%	821,820
BMUP	0.10%	785,358

Source: Election Commission of India

# Green Parties in Europe

- Erosion of the 'traditional' party system in Europe since the 1980s
  - Labour movement (Social Democrats, Socialists, Communists)
  - Right/Centre (Christian Democrats, Conservatives, Liberals)
- Emergence of 'middle class', citizen movement. DECLINE in the powers of the 'organized' institutions (church/trade unions)
- 'NEW' social movements: Issue-based (not CLASS-based) movements. Questioning the model of 'unlimited' economic growth.

EXAMPLE: Joint submissions in favour of nuclear power by the West German Confederation of Industry and the IGBE Mineworkers and Energy Union in the 1970s.

# German Green Party



- FORMALLY formed in 1980.  
First election (1979): 3.5%
- 1983: Entered the German Parliament (>5% of votes)
- Opposition to Nuclear Power
- Local councils/organisations -> State Parliament -> Federal Parliament
- New issues
- Heterogonous alliance: former extra-parliamentary activists, former Social Democrats, former Communists, former conservatives, and newly politicized people



# Social composition of the European Greens

WHO are part of the Green Party/Green Movement?

- Issue-based movement -> All political issues, from social security to civil rights to foreign policy.
- New members. Absorbed people coming from different political movements (feminist movement, the Third World solidarity movement, the civil rights movement, etc.)
- “Values that must be important for survival of mankind”, rather than for betterment of individual groups
- Social basis: Middle class, young and middle-age, women, educated.

Socio-demographically heterogeneous.

- Economic Policy: Left-leaning, supporting state intervention
- Social policy: Support gender equality, abortion rights, same-sex marriage etc. *Individual rights + International Cosmopolitanism*
- Support more public participation

# Green Politics in Europe

## 4 PILLARS:

a) Ecology   b) Grassroots democracy   c) Social justice   4) Non-violence

*"Ecological policy rejects exploitative forms of economy and the unscrupulous plundering of natural resources and raw materials, as well as the destructive interventions into nature's ability to renew itself. We believe that the exploitation of nature as well as human beings must be stopped if we are to master this acute threat to life on earth." "Both the capitalist and state-socialist form of concentration and monopolization of economic power yield destructive forms of economic growth which contaminate and destroy the very basis of human and natural life. Only by self-determination at the grassroots, the ecological, social and economic crises can be appropriately dealt with. Since we favor self-determination and the free development of every human being, and since we support the idea that people should be able to creatively determine their own needs and wishes free from outside pressure and in harmony with the natural environment, we strongly support human and democratic rights, in our country as well as abroad." - **From the Green Party's 1980 Manifesto***



## 10 MANIFESTO PRIORITIES

### European Green Party

#### 1. Reinvent the European economy

through a 'Green New Deal' by ending austerity, restructuring public and private debt and investing massively in sustainable sectors and technologies.



1.

#### 2. Create a more social Europe

with stronger workers' rights, better portability of social rights through a 'European social card' and the inclusion of employment promotion among the European Central Bank's policy objectives.



2.

#### 3. Rein in the financial sector

via a ban on dangerous financial products, the separation of investment and commercial banking and the creation of a strong European Banking Union.



3.

#### 4. Protect the planet

by agreeing to strong and binding CO2 emission targets, a common European energy policy, phasing out of nuclear and coal power, ending subsidies for fossil fuels and banning shale gas.



4.

#### 5. Promote gender equality

by setting clear and binding targets and adopting EU legislation to address gender-based violence.



5.

#### 6. Fight for a fairer tax system

by setting an EU minimum tax rate to prevent unfair tax competition, ending banking secrecy rules to fight tax evasion and implementing a Financial Transactions Tax.



6.

#### 7. Guarantee online liberties

through a digital bill of rights to protect privacy, personal data and net neutrality.



7.

#### 8. Deepen European integration

by strengthening the European Parliament and giving it control over all future EU bailouts, increasing the EU budget and working towards debt mutualisation via common Eurobonds.



8.

#### 9. Support a more ethical foreign policy

by declaring a formal end to the 'War on Terror', banning weapons such as depleted uranium ammunition and cracking down on the arms trade.



9.

#### 10. Avoid a 'Fortress Europe'

by making Europe a fair haven for refugees and keeping the door open to future enlargement of the EU.



10.

**YES**  
to a proper  
Living Wage

**YES**  
to publicly  
owned Rail

**YES**  
to reform  
of the EU

**YES**  
to an EU  
referendum

**YES**  
to Climate  
Change action

**YES**  
to protecting  
our NHS

# Vote Green Party

Every vote counts. You will elect more Green MEPs.





# Green Challenge

WHAT is the Green Challenge?

- Philosophical: Challenge to an anthropocentric world-view. Push for a bio-centric view (GAIA etc.).

*“The politics of the Industrial Age, left, right and centre is like a three-lane motorway, with different vehicles in different lanes, but all heading in the same direction. Greens feel that it is the very direction that is wrong, rather than the choice of any one lane...it is our perception that the motorway of industrialism inevitably leads to the abyss – hence our decision to get off it, and seek an entirely different direction”.*

**– Jonathan Porritt**

- Programmatic: Challenge to *consumerism* (spiritual aspect), *growth/consumption* (economic aspect).
- Identified ISSUES:
  - Unsustainable lifestyles and economies
  - Unresponsive governments and political processes
  - Need for mass mobilisation
  - Need for NEW, counter-narratives/culture
- CONTRADICTIONS: Ecologists *versus* Environmentalists.

# Green Challenge

WHAT is the Green Challenge?

- CONTRADICTIONS/INFLUENCING conditions:
  - ☐ State of industrial/economic development
  - ☐ Nature of POLITICAL competition (single versus multi-party system, nature of ideological divide)  
GREENS as the alternative “LEFT”
  - ☐ Nature of democratic, political structures  
EXAMPLE: Majoritarian representation parliaments *versus* Proportional representation parliaments
  - ☐ Economic incentives for parliamentary participation
  - ☐ Nature of BUREAUCRATIC structures

# Green Challenge

WHAT is the Green Challenge?

- ☐ Ecologism *versus* Environmentalism
- ☐ Political participation versus mass mobilisation
- ☐ HOW to win? Independent/Coalitions
- ☐ HOW to manage party structures, participatory democracy ONCE in power?