

# Contents

<i>List of Tables and Figures</i>	ix
<i>Preface</i>	xi
<i>List of Acronyms</i>	xiii
<b>1 Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
The Newcomers, 1	
Explaining the Green Phenomenon, 3	
The Greens and the West German Polity, 6	
The Greens and the New Europe, 9	
Studying the Greens, 12	
Notes, 13	
<b>2 Confronting Modernity: The Greens and the German Historical Legacy</b>	<b>15</b>
Reworking Past Traditions, 17	
Confronting Modernity, 17	
Too Little Enlightenment, Too Much Romanticism, Not Enough Liberalism, 18	
Student Politics and Middle-Class Radicalism, 1815–1945, 20	
Industrialization, Bureaucracy, and Technocracy, 22	
The Thousand-Year Third Reich, 1933–1945, 23	
The Second Republic Recovers, 1945–1969, 24	
The Party System: From Dispersion to Concentration, 1949–1980, 25	
The Christian Democrats in Power, 1949–1969, 26	
The Social Democrats' Move to the Center, 1959–1990, 27	
Extraparliamentary Opposition, 1960–1980, 29	
Causes for the Rise of the Extraparliamentary Opposition, 30	
Extraparliamentary Opposition: Fractured and Dispersed Among the Strands, 32	
The Old Student Slogan: Concretize Utopia, 33	
The Formation of the Greens: From Movement to Party, 34	

Something Old, Something New, Something Green:  
 Revitalizing Liberalism? 35  
 Notes, 37

### **3 Several Theories in Search of the West German Greens 41**

Postindustrial Society and the Greens, 42  
 Postindustrial Society: The Waning of Class Politics? 44  
 Middle-Class Radicalism: One Option for an Amorphous  
 Middle Class, 46  
 West German Postindustrial Politics, 48  
 The Changing Class Structure in West Germany, 48  
 Postindustrial Society, Postmaterial Politics,  
 and the Greens, 53  
 Testing Inglehart's Theory in West Germany's  
 Political Reality, 54  
 The "Pull" of Institutions and the Battle for Power, 57  
 Factors Explaining the Emergence of New Left Parties, 58  
 Summary: Approaches Explaining Green Politics  
 in West Germany, 60  
 Notes, 62

### **4 The Greens and the Electorate 67**

More Than a Decade of Green Campaigns: An Overview  
 of the Record, 1977-1990, 68  
 An Electorate in Transition, 72  
 "Green" Clouds on the Horizon for the Social Democrats, 73  
 Charting the Green Wave: Electoral Performance, 1978-1991,  
 and the Diversity of Green State Parties, 74  
 Background to the Electoral Battles, 75  
 The Green Wave Kicks Up, 1978-1980, 77  
 Incoming Tide, Running Strong, 1981-1984, 78  
 Crosscurrents, 1985-1987, 80  
 Ebbing More Than Flowing, 1988-1990, 83  
 The Wall Is Breached; Honecker Has a Great Fall, 84  
 Core Voters and Tactical Voters, 85  
 Who Votes for the Greens? 87  
 Political Attitudes of the Green Voters: A New Position  
 on the Left, 88  
 Support for Political Institutions: Toward a More  
 Democratic Republic, 90  
 The Green Electorate's Policy Positions, 92

- Mobilizing the Green Vote, 92  
Notes, 95
- 5 Party Organization and Grass-roots Democracy 99**
- Party Development and Democracy, 100  
Parteienstaat und Basisdemokratie, 102  
The Greens as "Antiparty" Party, 105  
The Greens as "Eine Stinknormale Partei"? 110  
The Crisis of Party Development, 113  
Conclusion, 117  
Notes, 119
- 6 The Programmatic Development of the Greens 123**
- Parties and Programs, 124  
Early Programs: The Late 1970s, 126  
Das Bundesprogramm, 129  
Changing Policy Circumstances, 131  
Greens Between Reformism and Radicalism, 133  
Das Umbauprogramm, 134  
Das Wahlprogramm 1987, 135  
Policy Debates and Factional Manifestos, 138  
East German Green Programs, 140  
Das Wahlprogramm 1990, 142  
Conclusion, 144  
Notes, 145
- 7 Parliamentary Politics and the Alternative Party 149**
- German Parliamentarism, 150  
Parliamentary Democracy and the Greens, 152  
Landtag Greens, 154  
Bundestag Greens, 158  
Bündnis 90/Grüne, 164  
Greens in Local Government, 168  
Conclusion, 169  
Notes, 171
- 8 The Impact of the Greens 175**
- Gauging the Impact of the Greens, 175  
The Greening of a Participatory Political Culture? 177  
The Changing Shape of Pluralism, 179  
Electoral Competition, 181

Policy and the Greens, 183	
Organizational Innovations and Organizational Imperatives, 183	
Greens and Citizen Movements of the East, 186	
The Influence of the Green Party from the Bonn Republic (1977–1989) to the Berlin Republic (1990–1991), 188	
Notes, 192	
<b>9 The “Greening” of Europe?</b>	<b>195</b>
British Greens, 196	
Other West European Greens, 199	
Europe: Rainbow and Green Politics, 205	
East European Greens, 209	
Conclusion, 211	
Notes, 212	
<b>10 Conclusion: Future Prospects for the Greens in the New Germany</b>	<b>215</b>
The Development of the Green Party, 216	
The East German Revolt and the Greens’ Response, 219	
The All-German Election Campaign, 220	
Election Results, December 2, 1990, 222	
Postlude: State Elections of 1991 and the Conference on Party Reform, 224	
Speculations on the Future of the Greens in the New Germany, 228	
Conclusion, 231	
Notes, 234	
<i>Select Bibliography</i>	237
<i>About the Book and Authors</i>	241
<i>Index</i>	243