

Going Green: The emergence and entanglements of the green movement in Australia, the USA and Germany 1970 to present day

The Australian pediatrician and antinuclear activist Helen Caldicott spearheaded an antinuclear movement in the 1970s in her native Australia, which forced an end to French nuclear testing in the South Pacific and managed to stop Australian uranium exports from 1975 to 1982. When the partial meltdown occurred in Pennsylvania's Three Mile Island nuclear reactor in the US in March 1979, Caldicott also became a leader in the antinuclear movement of the United States where she lived at that time: she headed the organization Physicians for Social Responsibility and with Caldicott at its front, its membership, budget, and size of paid staff continued to grow impressively. In the same year Caldicott travelled to Germany to attend the first women's anti-nuclear congress that took place in September 1979 in Cologne where she held a speech about the danger of radioactive materials and informed the participants about the nuclear weapons already stationed in Germany. One of the women at the congress was Petra Kelly. Petra Kelly, who had also lived and been active in the US, had started her struggle against the civil and military use of nuclear power and for mutual disarmament because she held radiation responsible for the death of her sister at a very early age. Kelly's fighting against nuclear power and thinking beyond national borders was influenced by her years in America and led her around the world, also to Australia. At the invitation of the local anti-uranium movement, she experienced something that became a key moment in the unfolding of the global environmental cause: Sydney's Green Bans movement that happened to take place at the same time as the anti-uranium protests and which was a fight to save an area of natural bushland in Sydney from destruction. This bushland was the last remaining open space in that area: the plan had been to build luxury housing on the site. Indeed, some argue that Kelly took back the idea of Green Bans, or at least the green terminology, with her to Germany.

These two transnational biographies of activism highlight a fundamental, albeit so far almost entirely neglected feature of environmental activism since the 1970s: the entanglements and perhaps unexpected ties and cultural transfers between and amongst activists and groups in all three countries and the transfers of ideas, cultural norms and assumptions between the German, US and Australian Green movements. The proposed symposium aims to contribute to debates about environmental issues from the perspective of the human sciences: it is intended as an exercise in social, cultural and intellectual history as well as in political and social theory. Inspired by the triangular relations between the three countries, this symposium proposes to undertake a comparative analysis of the cultural and intellectual milieu in which the German, American and Australian Green movements emerged respectively. Beyond the comparative level of analysis, the workshop aims to analyse the German-Australian-American transfer history and to build more general insights out of specific examples of transfer. In addition, it will examine the specific issues that prompted Green activism in each country and the evolution of the German, American and Australian Greens as regards political organisation, strategy, electoral participation and engagement with environmental activism worldwide. Finally, this symposium will explore the nuances of the political and social theories elaborated by the Green movements in all three countries particularly as regards the question of radical democratic practice, the relation between sustainability and social justice and the local/global nexus.

Germany, the US and Australia can look back on strong traditions of environmentalism. Since 1970 all three countries have seen the rise of substantial Green movements which have exhibited a willingness to engage in acts of civil disobedience. The rise of the Green movements in these countries has seen a multiplication in the number of protest groups, a broadening of the scope of protests to encompass not only a range of environmental issues but also social equity concerns, the unification of single issue protests into multi-issue

events, networking and cooperation among different groups and the emergence of leading 'Green' personalities at the national level. Topics that have been of concern for the movements are renewable energy, pollution and nuclear power plants. As indicated, in Australia, the USA and Germany the expansion and strengthening of the movement culminated in the founding of Green parties at the federal level.

However, close scrutiny of the emergence and growth of the Green movement in Germany, the United States and Australia also reveals some illuminating differences: differences that might prove instructive with regard to the future of environmental politics and natural resource management. While wilderness and forestry issues have tended to dominate the Australian and US environmental movement's thinking (albeit with such notable exceptions such as the Green Bans movement in Australia), it is urban issues that have generally been at stake in Germany. Thus, much of the energy of activists and grassroots campaigners in Australia and the US has been taken up with campaigns on projects like woodchipping, mining and dams in wilderness areas, whereas issues such as freeways, urban planning and green areas in the city have been more to the fore in Germany.

The ultimate aim of this symposium is to produce an edited volume. This edited volume will comprise a set of articles that will examine and compare the Green movements in Australia, the USA and Germany. We are expecting 8 participants. We are going to meet for 2 days in order to allow participants to discuss papers that they have prepared and distributed beforehand and then refine the form and structure of the anthology together. Below are the 3 main themes that could be addressed in the articles.

- History of Ideas/Political Philosophy
e.g. ideological context of movements, influence of democratization occurring in society as a whole, vitality of the movement as source of innovations and ideas, identity shaped by physical nature, cultural beliefs, radical democratic practice, theories of relation between sustainability and social justice; cosmopolitan theories/globalism
- Social Movements e.g. organisation, strategies, tactics, issues, party formation, struggles of ideological direction, influence of the movement as reflected in environmental policy, NGO's
- Transfer History e.g. of social movements/parties: transfer of ideas, adoption of political ideas and practices