

## The role of Ludger Volmer (LV) in the Global Justice Campaign in the 1980s

### **Hintergrund:**

*Historiker der Universität Cambridge (UK), die an einer Forschungsarbeit zu den Ursprüngen der Kampagne für globale Gerechtigkeit in den 1980er Jahren arbeiten, stießen in diesem Zusammenhang auf meinen Namen und kontaktierten mich mit der Bitte um weitere Informationen zu meiner Rolle. Das Ergebnis war nachfolgende Chronologie der Ereignisse, an denen ich beteiligt war.*

### **Developments in the 1970s, influencing green politics and parties:**

- Discussions in socialist and social-democratic parties about unjust terms of trade
- dealing with UNCTAD, STABEX, SYSMIN
- analyses and reports by Johann Galtung, André Gunder Frank, Gro Brundtland et al.
- German critical scientists describe unjust world structures (Elmar Altvater, Dieter Senghaas, Rainer Tetzlaff et al.)
- memorandum of Club of Rome
- disputes between theories of modernisation and interdependency
- development projects of aid agencies
- solidarity groups against apartheid, military dictatorship, colonialism, Vietnam war

### **Developments in the 1980s**

06.03.1983	The Greens enter the German federal parliament (Bundestag). LV is member of the “second crew”, that replaces the first one after half of legislative period. Second crew is integrated in internal decision making
Nov 1983	LV brings the proposal into parliamentary group to make the issue of International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank (WB) and world economy a focal point of their parliamentary work. The group agrees and grants the financial means
15.03.1984	LV starts elaborating 3 “mayor inquiries” by scientists about international debt crisis, IMF and WB, which shall be brought into Bundestag for answering by government.
12.06.1984	The 3 mayor inquiries are brought in (under names of official MPs). The initiative enforced the first statement of the government (CDU/FDP) and the first parliamentary debate in September. Broad response in papers and tv. From now MPs will be part of the German delegation to the annual meetings of IMF WB (“world finance summit”).
Sept 1984	Annual meeting in Washington D.C.: LV joins German delegation on behalf of the green party. Apart from official programme first contacts to US activists (natural resources defence council, Bruce Rich), meeting with dept crisis network (Philadelphia) and speech on the congress “Fate of the earth” in D.C.

	With US-groups critical campaign against world bank projects in the amazon area and deforestation. Start of dealing with the climate-issue (without using the climate term)
10.04.1985	LV becomes MP, assisted by a qualified staff. From now frequent motions and requires in the Bundestag; wrote various essays and papers for the green party and NGOs, gave speeches all over in Germany.
03.05.1985	first "alternative summit" against "world economic summit" in Bonn with 12 international experts, organized and paid by the greens (party board and office LV)
04.05.1985	first big demonstration (40.000 in Bonn) against unjust international finance policy, organized by greens and peace movement coordination
04.10. - 06.10.1985	First "congress of the greens on internationalism" adopted a paper of LV calling for global economic justice and debt cancellation
26.09. - 02.10.1986	Whilst annual meeting, LV MP has a public speech in front of IMF WB buildings in D.C. Returns with the information, that the 1988 meeting will take place in West-Berlin.
Oct 1986	LV and board member Jürgen Maier start the systematic cooperation with BUKO (federal congress of third world action groups, Germany) and a broad campaign for preparation of alternative events in 1988. Green party committee on internationalism (Gerd Busmann) supports.
Nov 1986	parliamentary hearing with critical experts on IMF WB, result of green initiative
25.01.1987	federal election. Greens incline, LV re-elected
May 1987	BUKO calls in his "Fulda Declaration" for a broad campaign. From now contacts with churches, unions, ecologists, left actors of other parties, youth organisations, international experts, and partners. Many discussions and meetings all over Germany
14.09.1987	greens present their first programme for climate protection, followed by motions for forest protection
27.09.-30.09.1987	LV joins annual meeting in D.C. Alfred Herrhausen, CEO of Deutsche Bank, and Horst Köhler, agent of association of local saving banks, give the signal of sympathy for debt reliefs. (Later AH has been assassinated, HK became Federal President)
06.10.1987	green motion in the Bundestag for changing world economy, responding motions from the other parties, Bundestag debate with speech by LV
Sept 1987	as a result, Bundestag implements a committee of enquiry for the protection of earth atmosphere

Apr 1988	again successful green initiative for a committee hearing in Bundestag on debt crisis
Mai 1988	again debate in the Bundestag, speech LV
Jun 1988	LV founds an informal party group for developing ideas of a social-ecological new deal (later: Green New deal)  activists of US debt crisis network do an internship in green parliamentary group
21.09.1988	green motion for protecting tropical forests
Sept 1988	during annual meeting of IMF WB in West-Berlin (LV member of official parliamentary delegation) four pillars of counter action were organized by a broad alliance of greens (office of LV, party board and commission, Berlin locals), BUKO, peace movement, ecologists and single supporters from unions, social-democratic party, churches:
23.09. - 24.09.1988	3000 people and many critical international experts join an "alternative convention" (biggest congress on a third world issue since Vietnam-congress 1968)
25.09.1988	Demonstration with nearly 80.000 people in front of official congress-building, headed by LV and staff, green board, BUKO, US friends
26.09. - 27.09.1988	"International Tribunal of Lelio-Basso-Foundation" against IMF WB (in the jury: Nobel Prize winners, LV, international MPs)
22.09. - 30.09.1988	numerous peaceful decentral actions and events in Berlin and entire Germany, violation by police, shocked international journalists  smuggled messages to opposition in East-Berlin
22.09. - 24.09.1988	at the same time, meeting of environmental organisations in Berlin, discussing damages by WB-projects
13.10.1988	final debate in Bundestag, speech LV  from now Wilhelm Knabe, forester and co-founder of the greens in 1979, is the leading green MP in the field of climate change and forest protection. He is intensely supported by Barbara Unmuessig, chief of LV-staff.  green MP Willy Hoss and his assistant (born in Brazil) start ecological projects in the Amazon area

### **Follow up**

1989	founding of "WEED" (Information World Economy Ecology Development) by activists of the campaign and LV staff members. WEED is releasing a monthly newsletter about these issues until today  Leading activists of the campaign become members of green party
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	LV MP initiates a parliamentary group that elaborates in a 2-year period (coordinated by Dieter Bricke) the green concept “on the way to a social and ecological world order”.
1990	greens present a comprehensive programme on the protecting of the world climate
08.03. - 10.03.1990	The world order concept is publicly discussed on a party congress with experts in Bonn.
30.03. - 03.04.1990	It was adopted at a party convention as part of the party platform for federal elections; little public interest because of German unification issues
02.12.1990	Greens fail the five-percent-hurdle and drop out of Bundestag. Slogan of electoral race was “everyone talks about Germany – we talk about weather”. Many actors of IMF WM campaign leave the party
27.04.1991	LV is elected as party leader of the greens. The party board publishes the world economy concept. The Green Group in the European Parliament publishes an English translation “Ecological Economics in One World. Concept for a Green Foreign Economic Policy”
1992	<p>this concept from “The Group of Green Economists” is also published under the title “Ecological Economics – a Practical Programme for Global Reform” in UK (Zed Books Ltd, London) an US (New Jersey) It was translated by a former member of the Jessie Jackson campaign. It is said that Al Gore read it bevor writing his book about climate change</p> <p>Barbara Unmuessig, former chief of staff of LV in the Bundestag, becomes the special envoy of German NGOs to Rio-Conference. Later she becomes co-leader of the green-related Heinrich-Boell-Foundation</p> <p>Thomas Fues, staff member of LV, becomes chief of an official development research agency, later appointee for One World Issues at state government of Nordrhein-Westfalen</p>
06.07-08.07.1992	G7-summit in Munich. TOES (The Other Economic Summit), a foundation of Jacob von Uexkuell, green MEP, and later donor of Alternative Nobel Prize, pursues the tradition of alternative summits. Greens support. Big demonstration with speeches of greens Petra Kelly and LV (3 month later PK has been killed)
16.10.1994	<p>federal election. comeback of the greens in the Bundestag. LV elected as MP, his period as party leader ends</p> <p>New majority in the green parliamentary group under leadership of chairman Joschka Fischer now rejects the fundamental critic on world economic structures and shows tendencies for neoliberal approach (green liberals, eco-capitalism)</p>

28.11.1997	LV MP tries to continue the debate from the 80s by organising a hearing about Tobin Tax (capital transaction tax) and a motion for the Bundestag, but response is small (Germanies unification first)
27.09.1998	federal election. Greens decline and start a governmental coalition with SPD. LV re-elected becomes deputy foreign minister. He writes policy papers which declare fair world economic structures a pillar of nonmilitary security policy
Jan 1999	Germany is host of G7/G8. Green MP Jürgen Trittin, Minister of Environment, saves the Kyoto process which was about to fail  Germany is host of EU-summit and calls for a special summit on a new EU security policy (on LV's initiative). This takes place
10.12.-11.12.1999	in Helsinki. Summit resolves German proposals (elaborated by LV) on nonmilitary crisis prevention as part of the new European Security and Defence Policy Concept
03.09.2001	during G7/G8 in Genova many activists are beaten by the police and imprisoned. LV travels to Rome meeting with the Italian Minister of Interior to get the prisoners free
<b>Until today</b>	New actors of a new generation join the fight for global justice and climate protection. The critics on neoliberalism and globalisation are universal now. Many actors do not know their roots, but believe, that
30.09.-03.12.1999	the demonstrations against WTO in Seattle and
22.01.2000	the founding of attac ( <b>A</b> ssociation pour la <b>T</b> axation des <b>T</b> ransactions financières pour l' <b>A</b> ide aux <b>C</b> itoyens) in Germany is the beginning. Activists of the 80s are in the attac-board, LV and his former staff members support the new approach and join demonstrations against G7, WTO, later TTIP etc
Oct 2005	after federal election LV resigns from parliamentary and active party politics and serves as University teacher and publicist for the next 15 years. He writes a lot of essays on structural crisis prevention, global justice and the green new deal and supports activities like "Fridays for future".