

# The Nazi roots of the Green Party

by Rainer Apel

Long before the Greens existed, or the Club of Rome was founded, a number of international organizations were formed to elaborate ecological arguments against industry and technology: the World Wildlife Fund (WWF), the Weltbund zum Schutz des Lebens (WSL—World Federation for Protection of Life), the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN), the Young European Federalists (YEF), and the Anthroposophical movement.

The founder of the IUCN and the WWF, Sir Julian Huxley, was as thoroughgoing a racist as any of the Nazis:

“In the long run the population problem is more important than war and peace . . . for man is beginning to overrun the whole planet like a cancerous tumor. . . . In all developed countries the level of inborn intelligence is falling . . . Quantity is placing quality in jeopardy . . . Through our medical knowledge and social solicitude the process of natural selection has been diminished, which has had the consequence of a degeneration . . . a positive population policy makes birth control for men of poor quality and the purposeful breeding of people of good quality essential.”

Huxley's racist world view did not prevent the later cofounders of the German Green movement, Bernhard Grzimek and Herbert Gruhl, as well as the cofounder of the WSL, gynecologist Bodo Manstein, from working with the IUCN and WWF. Gruhl, formerly a theoretician of the neo-Nazi National Democratic Party (NPD), wrote a book called *A Planet is Looted*, which asserts that only a “spaceship economy” can save the earth from depletion of resources. “This dictatorship eventually has to be tougher than Stalin's. . . . In the future, only those people will gain an advantage who succeed in maximizing their armaments while at the same time keeping the standard of living at the absolute minimum.”

As for Frankfurt Zoo Director Bernhard Grzimek, he had been a high official in the Reich Food Ministry and a member of the NSDAP [Nazi Party], and his Grüne Aktion Zukunft (GAZ—Green Action for the Future), founded in distinction to the “leftwing” Grünen [the Greens], exerted a magnetic attraction on old and new Nazis. Among his collaborators was former Goebbels adjutant Wilfried von Oven, who declared himself in the *Deutscher Nationalzeitung* of old fascist Dr. Gerhard Frey to be delighted that “despite the continuing general condemnation and vilification of Hitler and his worldview, the notion is beginning to assert itself that it was he who, according to Gruhl and many others, recognized and

sought to grapple with burning problems of an economic and social order that would deal justly with nature.”

Another collaborator of Grzimek and the GAZ was psychologist Crista Meves, a liaison to the French “New Right” and author of articles in the rightwing radical magazines *Information* and *MUT*, as well as a speaker at the congress of the racist Gesellschaft für biologische Anthropologie, Eugenik, und Verhaltensforschung (Society for Biological Anthropology, Eugenics, and Behavioral Research). Mrs. Meves had the following to say in a textbook for children: “For Hitler replaced the experience of the economic incompetence of a liberal democracy with order and a thrifty budget management.”

And so we see the National Socialist program of “blood and soil,” forced upon millions of victims after the destruction and leveling of the democratic organizations, which ushered in Hitler's “New Order” and his austerity policy!

Is it then any wonder that the rightwing extremist Volkssozialistische Deutsche Partei (VSDP) during the Hesse state parliamentary election of 1978 advertised in leaflets for the Grüne Liste Umweltschutz Hessen (Green Environmental Slate of Hesse), and that the NPD promoted the Green cause from the standpoint of the same worldview? Through the VSDP one can establish lateral connections to the Volkssozialistische Bewegung Deutschlands/Partei der Arbeit (VSDP/PdA—People's Socialist Movement of Germany/Workers' Party), which has meanwhile been banned, and whose chief, Friedhelm Busse, was arrested after a shootout between members of his group and the Munich police. Kurt-Eduard Wolfram, who was killed in this exchange, had connections to the former NPD-member and “National Revolutionary” Udo Reinhardt, who in turn became a prominent member of the Hannover Grüne Alternative Bürgerliste (GABL).

Another neo-Nazi with ties to the Greens is Michael Kuehnen, one of the heads of the Aktion Neue Rechte (New Right Action), who was released from prison with the approval of extreme environmentalist and former federal Interior Minister Gerhard Baum. Kuehnen, in an interview to the pro-environmentalist evangelical weekly *Deutsches Sonntagsblatt*, formulated a kind of political program:

“I see the leftists—or now we say the ‘alternatives,’ the peace movement, the anti-nuclear movement—as people who are against certain aspects of this system for quite honorable motives. And I believe that joint actions are possible. I believe that Roeder [head of the rightwing radical Deutsche Bürgerinitiativen—German Citizens' Initiatives] has called for joint [anti-nuclear] demonstrations in Brokdorf. I fully agree with this.

“When I think for example about the peace movement, the question arises once again of national neutralism. Proceeding from a basic enmity to the system there are also political issues raised by the destruction of the environment; sooner or later one must come to the issue of race. And I can certainly imagine that young National Socialists could demonstrate against the west runway at the Frankfurt Airport, as

well as against housing speculation. We have always said, after all, that we too are socialists.”

From the “left” side, Jo Leinen, spokesman for the BBU ecology umbrella group and the man who last year during demonstrations against President Reagan in Bonn threatened that the “movement” will “make this country ungovernable,” has for some years been a regular contributor to the right-wing radical journal *Wir Selbst (We Ourselves)*. The journal stands in the political tradition of the “National Bolshevik” and founding member of the old Nazi party, Otto Strasser, and maintains political contacts to Libya’s Muammar Qaddafi.

Another example of this political osmosis between right and left groups is provided by the Kommunistische Bund Nord (KB-Nord) group within the German ecology movement. Its newspaper, *Arbeiterkampf*, published in Hamburg, described the first violent actions of swastika-wearing punks as an indication of “revolutionary potential.”

The right-wing extremist connections of the above-named neo-Nazi organizations reach into the terrorist Wehrsportgruppe Hoffmann and thereby into the myriad French fascist and neo-Nazi groups and the “Fascist International” of former SS Commander Otto Skorzeny (also known as *Die Spinne*, the spider). This organization is now led by Skorzeny’s widow Elsa Skorzeny in Madrid, and by Klaus Barbie’s associate, the Italian right-wing terrorist Stefano Delle Chiaie, wanted for his role in the bombing of the Bologna train station in 1980, and particularly by the Swiss banker and old Nazi François Genoud, who advises governments on the introduction of “clean technologies.”

### **Armand Amaudruz and the Nazi International**

Another controller of the ecologists is Genoud’s old fascist cohort Gaston Armand Amaudruz, whose Swiss publishing company issued a Nazi pamphlet by Thies Christopherson, “The Lie of Auschwitz,” which is banned in West Germany. Amaudruz reportedly pulls the strings of “environmentalism” from behind the scenes, drawing together extreme leftists, anarchists and extreme rightists throughout Europe. In a discussion last year, he was asked about the common ground between his movement and the left-wing environmentalists. He replied: “That is nothing new. Environmentalism is something that has belonged to the right. The left, since 1968, has become interested in it.”

In a recent discussion, Amaudruz reportedly said that the political fight of both the extreme left and right has to be directed against the “system”—the system of capitalism and of socialism as well. Amaudruz termed the West German republic “the most repressive system in Europe,” followed by Italy, France and Spain (these being the countries where right-wing and left-wing networks were cracked down on by police in the past few months). Concerning France, Amaudruz said that the 1980 case of neo-Nazi Professor Faurisson was an example of political repression there. Faurisson had been put on trial in Paris because of a book he had written disputing the historical facts about Auschwitz. His cause was

supported by Noam Chomsky, by the French anarchist Gabriel Cohn-Bendit, and by other prominent French left-wing figures.

Amaudruz said that the fact that the anarchists of Paris had supported Faurisson was “very important . . . because the anarchists are still outside the system, not integrated by the system like the socialists.”

The West German economy was described by Amaudruz as very unstable and therefore very “favorable to our cause.” The collapse of the economy, the wave of bankruptcies, and the certain rise of mass unemployment in West Germany were described by Amaudruz as providing a unique opportunity for his movement—the “New European Order.” “People try to make believe that the 1930s won’t come back, but they will, and it will be even worse this time.”

The only remedy available to the West German government, he said, would be “to close the borders” in order to reach “autarky,” and “to implement a Labor Service” (a term from the Nazi period). This could reduce the drastic rise of mass unemployment, according to Amaudruz. But free-market liberalism as practiced in Germany made such “remedies” unlikely, and the collapse would be even worse. A major international political problem is the United States, he said, since “all of the present world decadence, most of the present threats to the world originate there.”

Amaudruz also maintains connections to the above-named Hamburg Gesellschaft für biologische Anthropologie, which earlier had the more unambiguous name “Gesellschaft für Erbgesundheitspflege” (Society for Good Breeding Stock), which is led by the right-wing radical lawyer Jürgen von Rieger. Among the members of the so-called “scientific advisory board” of this society are two names of leading functionaries of the WSL, Dr. Max O. Bruker and the Austrian Günther Schwab. Schwab, whose 1957 book *Der Tanz mit dem Teufel* (The Dance with the Devil) was termed by Amaudruz as well as by von Rieger a kind of “founding document” of the ecology movement, is the founder of the WSL and a friend of the Club of Rome’s Aurelio Peccei—who will be awarded a medal of recognition by the WSL in the summer of 1983 for his pioneering work in the field of “protection of life.” Peccei’s own views can be assessed from the following instructive episode: in 1974 he saw the fact that some of the survivors of a plane crash in the Andes kept alive by the consumption of their companions as an illustration of “man’s inborn motivation.”

The overlap between the Society for Biological Anthropology and the WSL is extensive; particularly striking is the fact that the right-wing radical Rieger merged his society in 1971 with the WSL and there led the “Working Group on Human Genetics” until 1974. Von Rieger’s Hamburg Society has direct connections to the racist journal *The Mankind Quarterly* (Oxford) and to the *Nouvelle Ecole*; the latter is run by the top ideologist of the French “New Right” (Nouveau Droite), Alain de Benoist. Relations also exist to the allegedly anti-nationalist but self-proclaimed “fascist” so-

called Malmö International, founded in 1951 by Per Engdahl in Sweden. Engdahl also belongs to the "Nation Europa" group in Coburg, West Germany, which was created in 1952 by former SS officers and other Nazis. A self-proclaimed fascist, he says of his relations with the ecologist "left": "We have to rejuvenate our movement. We tried to recruit young people from the extreme right, but we saw that they were too primitive. In the past few years we have, with some success, worked with young people from the extreme left who realized their old ideas of 1968 went in the wrong direction." Genoud and Amaudruz are part of this "Nation Europa" organization, whose aim is the overthrow of "the system," and which has on the one hand devoted so much attention to the Green movement, and on the other has for some years received an influx of people from extreme leftist circles.

### Robert Jungk and the Greens

It is also worth placing under the magnifying glass one of the principal ideologues of the whole ecological, anti-technology movement: Robert Jungk, who calls the president of the Club of Rome a "great humanist."

He has been crucial at every historical juncture in the post-war development of anti-technology movements, since his books have always been widely read. He was among the first journalists to get permits to visit the classified Los Alamos nuclear complex immediately after the war. His first book, *The Future Has Already Begun*, published in 1952, slandered the scientists working at and for Los Alamos as a caste working toward totalitarian power—the target of the anti-nuclear and anti-industrial movements, the so-called "military-industrial power complex," a phrase Jungk claims was invented by him.

Jungk's 1956 book, *Brighter Than 1000 Suns*, and his 1958 book about Hiroshima helped whip up the international "ban the bomb" movement led by Lord Bertrand Russell. Jungk's basic idea is that "all big technologies are a vital threat to human freedom," and many of the German mass demonstrations against nuclear power and the nuclear industry in the 1970s were organized under the deceptive slogan that "nuclear power will lead to fascism and a police state."

Apart from his role in the building of the ecology movement, Jungk is promoting an international campaign against the Third World under the guise of "protecting the indigenous populations" against "extinction" by the industrial nations. One of these "indigenous tribes" favored most by Robert Jungk is the American Hopi Indians, whose central cult symbol is a magic ring with an inscribed swastika. The second central cult symbol of the Hopi looks very similar to the cult symbol of the German Thule Society, which groomed Adolf Hitler. Jungk is also a close friend of Aurelio Peccei.

Jungk is presently working on a book to be published soon, *The Mankindquake*, which will describe "how a general upswing of man against the institutions will, like an earthquake, shake up these institutions, and lead to new institutions," as Jungk remarked recently.

## The Greens' program: back to the Stone Age

by Charlotte Vollrads

"It is not our goal to put everybody back on the payroll. . . . This industrial economy can never be rebuilt. . . . There are not too few people working, but far too many."

This is a policy statement from Green Party leader Rudolf Bahro. His program, which he formulated at the end of 1982, is readily available to the public. The Nazis, too, clearly stated their program before they ruled Germany: they wanted a return to a "pre-capitalistic form of society."

On Jan. 30, 1983, the fiftieth anniversary of Hitler's takeover, there was much discussion in West Germany of the Nazis' "legal seizure of power," and whether it might have been prevented. But public figures said nothing about the new green-fascist danger; on the contrary, hardly had the first Greens been elected to the Bundestag on March 6 when respectful words were heard from their fellow parliamentarians. Prominent politicians such as Social Democrat Georg Leber demanded that the Greens no longer be regarded as troublemakers, but be given respect as duly elected members of the Bundestag.

Rudolf Bahro was prepared for his role as Green strategist in East Germany, where he was sentenced to eight years in prison, of which he served 10 months; he was then "deported" to the Federal Republic with a ready-made martyr image, and was well received by the left as well as the right. Bahro participated in intimate political discussions with Social Democratic party chief Willy Brandt and radical novelist Heinrich Böll. In the following months, he was built up as one of the leading spokesmen for the Greens. Debates with "establishment" politicians such as Peter Glotz promoted his reputation as an "independent" critic of civilization, neither "left" nor "right," but a unifier of opposition to industrial society.

Bahro was appointed as a lecturer at the University of Hannover, a post which allowed him to work in close proximity to Club of Rome executive member Eduard Pestel, who shares most of his ideas. Bahro's inaugural address at Hannover was a plea for the dismantling of industry and a return to the conditions prevailing—in his own words—ten thousand years ago.

Bahro is the Green leader who keeps his troops focused on their collective goal, a return to blood-and-soil primitiv-