

Michael Kühnen Political Soldier

Part 7

POLITICAL SOLDIERS Today

The NEW FRONT - that's why we called our "information letter on the situation of the movement", which has been published monthly since the ban and which secures and documents the inner cohesion of our Gesinnungsgemeinschaft. Our comrades have come together in dozens of reader circles of the NEUE FRONT all over the FRG and even in the Ostmark. No organizational bond unites us since the ban ANS/NA, because we did not want to return to the underground with our forbidden troop. In any case, the ANS/NA was supposed to recede into the background and merely form the militant backbone of the overall movement, as is essential for the Sturm-Abteilung. The ban, however, had to appear as a test to see whether, even without a tightly organized force in the background, our community was already solid enough to survive as a pure community of ideas - held together only by a common understanding of program, strategy and tactics. The months since the ban have impressively demonstrated just that. Our Gesinnungsgemeinschaft has not only survived - no, today it is THE National Socialist movement par excellence, heir to the historical tradition of the NSDAP and SA as well as to all those efforts and endeavors since 1945.

In our ranks stood and stand:

Old fighters of the NSDAP and its subdivisions as well, but also the last faithful

from the SRP and National Socialists who kept their faith in DRP and NPD. With us are men from BDNS and circle of friends of the NSDAP, the order service of the NPD, the action WIDERSTAND and the ANR, former fighters of the European liberation front and active ones of the NSDAP/AO. Some of our young comrades have emerged from the life of national youth alliances, but they have also been marked by the struggle and failure of the Volkssozialistische Bewegung and the Wehrsportgruppe Hoffmann. Friends and supporters are men like our honorary members Knight's Cross recipient Otto Riehs and the last propaganda chief in the south of the Third Reich, Willi Krämer. Proud of this fighting, political youth is Major General Remer, who once put down the reactionary putsch against the Führer, then had been SRP leader and who spoke in front of far more than a hundred of our comrades in the summer of 1984 on the anniversary of July 20 at one of our rallies!

WE ARE THE HEIRS - WE ARE THE MOVEMENT TODAY!

This Gesinnungsgemeinschaft is thus now much more than merely a new SA, but it is nevertheless only viable if its young fighters continue to profess the tradition and spirit of the Sturm-Abteilung and live by it. What the future holds remains uncertain. But even when hard days and severe crises may come again - what has happened and been achieved cannot be erased! Again and again our community can and will renew itself out of this attitude to life, come together and draw its strength from this tradition.

The nine aspects of the SA tradition were not dogmatically determined and imposed on our troops from the very beginning. It began with the realization that National Socialism can succeed again only if the National Socialist movement is reborn - "NATIONAL SOCIALISTS BELONG IN A NATIONAL SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION!"

We had this decisive basis of our work in common with the NSDAP/AO. But where the latter were working on rebirth in the propagandist underground with cells operating out of illegality, we decided to fight in the tradition of the SA. From this addition to the original concept, we have learned in a long process of maturation and through many mistakes and bitter losses and setbacks, what this means concretely today. From the experience of this, now eight years old, uninterrupted struggle and the eventual first clear success on the road to rebirth, we have recognized those nine described aspects of the SA tradition and made them clear to us against the background of the history of the historical SA.

Today I am sure that the further success of our struggle depends on our young activists - especially those who have not experienced the past years themselves and join us anew - also maturing into political soldiers like us and understanding this tradition of political soldiering and realizing it in their lives in the way we have learned in the meantime. Political soldiering today - that can therefore only be the answer to the question of how the nine described aspects of this tradition have proven themselves in the history of our new SA and must be applied and realized in the future:

- Revolutionary League of Soldierly Men
- Core of a politically consolidated revolutionary people's army
- NSDAP Storm Detachment
- Rejection of the armed overthrow
- Indestructible community of mind
- Working through the lived example of the SA spirit
- Fight against dogmatism
- Not a criminal organization

When it started in Hamburg in 1977, there was already a stable group of National Socialists there, comprising several dozen people. It was not, however, a real organization: people belonged to one of the national associations, knew each other, and the young activists occasionally made illegal nocturnal propaganda missions as part of the NSDAP/AO or on their own. Our SA storm, however, organized only ten members by the end of 1977 - on the one hand, because most of them did not yet understand why they should take a greater risk instead of carrying on as usual; on the other hand, because we practiced a strict selection and did not take everyone. Of course, our SA men of the first hour were all conscious and confirmed young National Socialists, but that was not what distinguished them from the others. The difference between us and the rest of the Hamburg National Socialists was in their attitude to life: our men were prepared to break with the rhetorical pseudo-radicalism while maintaining a bourgeois attitude to life and retaining official bourgeois forms of politics - they were prepared to become real revolutionaries and to take upon themselves sacrifices and persecution in order to do so. And they all came from Bundeswehr or Wehrsportgruppen, the Hamburg JN, which consciously stood in the tradition of the OD, or the Wiking youth, whose elders in northern Germany at that time were strongly influenced by the NSDAP/AO. Thus, the first line of tradition vis-à-vis the SA resulted quite casually from the attitude and life history of the actual revolutionaries from the Hamburg NS scene. Without this having to be commanded or preached, we were from the very beginning a REVOLUTIONARY FEDERATION OF SOLDATICALLY PRISONED MEN.

This was the most important precondition for our success and survival as a community. In this spirit we then consciously educated those young people who newly joined us and who had no longer gone through the school of JN or WJ, but were won for us directly from the street. Today, only a few come from the old national associations - most of the new comrades come directly from the people. On the one hand, this is a very hopeful sign, since it proves that we have broken the national ghetto and can thus give hope for a future mass base. But it is also a problem, because a simultaneously revolutionary and soldierly attitude to life is not a matter of course for young people in the FRG - unlike for the returning front-line fighters of the First World War and their youthful admirers in the historical SA. Therefore, we must never sacrifice our spirit and style to an adaptation or a compromise with the bourgeois system - with us, the young National Socialists must be trained to become political soldiers in the future as well. This is the backbone of our Gesinnungsgemeinschaft and of the whole NS movement of the new generation. Without this attitude towards life we would fall back into the long night of political insignificance!

According to the principle "National Socialists belong in a National Socialist organization" we do not limit ourselves, unlike the national youth alliances to whose attitude to life we owe so much, to belonging to or building up any community that combines a general national-political confession with a soldierly attitude to life. According to the principle "We do not gather all National Socialists, but only those who are ready to obey!" we founded, unlike our predecessors in the NS-Kampfgruppen of the early 70's, not just any NS group: we founded from the beginning and quite consciously a STURM-ABTEILUNG DER NSDAP. We did not choose this traditional designation out of unpolitical nostalgia, but to show that we saw only in the refounding of the NSDAP a promising way to help National Socialism to a radiant rebirth. At the same time, by subordinating ourselves to the NSDAP/AO, we also documented that this new NSDAP did not yet exist again and that it could not be founded prematurely and hastily.

Unlike the underground cells of the NSDAP/AO, however, we believed that not the propagandistic underground struggle alone (perhaps not even mainly) would make this rebirth possible, but above all the open and political struggle in the ranks of a new SA, through which, on the one hand, an organizational core could then be brought together for the desired new founding of the party, and on the other hand, the political climate could be influenced and changed in such a way that this new founding would become politically possible and meaningful. Our path since then has shown that we were right in these considerations:

Only a new SA can lead to the reestablishment of the National Socialist German Workers' Party! We have made a good deal of progress in these eight years. One problem on which we only found a clear position in the course of time was the question of the justification and meaning of armed resistance actions. There was never any doubt in our minds about the moral justification of the "Werewolf," and the constant persecution and oppression constantly gave rise to the temptation in our comrades to go into the "real" underground. Some - including my first deputy in the SA Storm - took this wrong path and failed. All in all, we realized that by doing so we were only walking into a trap of the ruling system, and we struggled through to a clear **REJECTION OF THE ARMED ASSURGENCE.** The lessons of November 9, 1923, demand of us that this attitude be maintained!

The way of resigned adaptation to the bourgeois system we strictly rejected from the beginning as convinced revolutionaries; the temptation to armed resistance we learned, after bitter experiences, to regard as a trap of the ruling system; but the tough, patient small work in the propagandistic underground and in the framework of the underground cells of the NSDAP/AO seemed to be too little and too inadequate for our militant-soldierly feeling for life and community. So for us, inevitably and naturally, a single way to political effectiveness resulted: according to the example of the first fighting time, the EFFECT THROUGH THE LIVED EXAM-PLE OF THE SA SPIRIT!

The fact that we, regardless of persecution, intimidation and all the problems connected with it, regardless of suffering and sacrifice, of trials and imprisonment for our opinions, confessed ourselves as National Socialists and continued to fight even in hopeless situations; that we opposed the oppression by the system at every moment with our unshakable will to resist, this had an effect as an example and role model on ever new young people and finally made our community the leading force in the National Socialist movement of the new generation. Even in the darkest years in terms of organizational history, 1980 - 1982, when the organization had disintegrated and was "dormant", the SNE nevertheless remained the real role model and the most attractive movement, which became abundantly clear in the breakthrough of 1983 and caused the years of suppression of our force and imprisonment of its leaders to fail spectacularly. But we received the greatest recognition for this work from the system through the banning of the ANS/NA, in the justification of which it says:

"The anti-constitutional activities of the ANS/NA can only be stopped by banning the association. The previous convictions of the leading functionaries of the SNE/NA have had no effect on the activities and political objectives of the SNE/NA. Through convictions, leading functionaries of the ANS/NA have only felt strengthened in their rejection of the free democratic basic order."

After, as the Ministry of the Interior had so nicely put it, the convictions had "achieved nothing" and therefore our activities could only be "stopped" by the ban, it was to become apparent that this, too, was a failure: we have documented more than a dozen bans in these remarks - none of them could break and destroy National Socialism as an idea or attitude to life. But since 1945, they all achieved their goal of destroying the specific organization in each case. No national political or national revolutionary organization of the postwar period has ever survived its ban. Only our troop, like NSDAP and SA of the fighting time and unlike the post-war associations, survived the ban thanks to its self-conception as a National Socialist Sturm-Abteilung and thus as an INCREDIBLE COMMUNITY! Our community has survived the imprisonment of ALL leadership comrades of that time in 1980 as well as their ban in 1983, therefore nothing can frighten us anymore. We know: Our will is stronger than the system - as long as we hold on to what brought about our success!

Quite naturally, the obligation to FIGHT AGAINST THE REACTION arose for our community:

The reaction confronted us at the beginning as a fearful adaptation of "mouthpiece national socialists" who did not want to leave the protection and camouflage of the reactionary associations of the national camp and still forms the temptation to take the "comfortable" and "easy" way, the compromise with the ruling system. This erroneous path is the greatest internal danger for our community, since it seems to "trickily" circumvent suffering, sacrifice and persecution and still allow political activity. But this activity is then only political self-gratification, on a playground of the system, but no longer political struggle for Germany's freedom. With our first guiding principle, "National Socialists belong in a National Socialist organization," we took up a front against reaction from the very beginning and must stick to it. But we must also recognize the other manifold forms of reaction and tirelessly prevent and ward off their seeping into our world of ideas and attitude to life! We must exercise the same constant vigilance in the FIGHT AGAINST DOG-MATISM - a front which our community, as described above, recognized and adopted only late in the day - when the organization-damaging activities of the "SS faction" grew into a dangerous crisis. Our community must not accept ideological sectarianism and deviation from the party line, nor organizational tendencies towards self-understanding of subdivisions and factions, and certainly not that pseudo elitist claim to power of self-appointed masters, which is typical of dogmatism in every form and which poisons comradeship in our ranks and thus endangers the basis of our existence and our community!

Coming from illegality and owing to this fact a large part of our inner serenity, strength and sovereignty in the face of the system and the oppression it exerted, we nevertheless never practiced a "cult of illegality". On the contrary: already since the founding of the SNE in November 1977, and even more so since the failure of the original underground SA and its chief of staff at the end of 1979, we had recognized that the real task of the political soldiers of National Socialism could not be the building of an organized underground movement, but rather the way into the people, the work through confession, example, sacrifice and commitment, through which, for young people, National Socialism could once again become visible and tangible, once again a role model. Thus, we understood our struggle more and more as an obligation to organize a "legal arm" of the National Socialist movement, without, however, ever denying the necessity also of illegal propaganda, as represented by the NSDAP/AO, because the goal is the same:

The re-establishment of the NSDAP and its eventual, renewed seizure of power!

From this alone it follows that our commitment to legality does NOT include the recognition of the legitimacy and raison d'être of the ruling system: In our eyes, the West German state structure, which emerged from betrayal, defeat and submission to the will of the victors, is itself illegal and illegitimate from the very beginning - a protectorate of the USA with semi-colonial status. The only thing we concede and realistically must concede to this system is the fact of its de facto existence: we do not accept this existence, but we are forced to take note of its existence. Our confession of legality is only an expression of this taking note, because with the ruling system we also took note of the political possibilities to work and fight for our idea as a National Socialist in the

FRG!

So the consequence of our legal struggle is not adaptation but the use and expansion of freedom and, where this is not possible, the willingness to take on persecution and oppression, to go through the prisons of democrats in order to expose the hypocrisy of the "freest state in German history. As already mentioned, we found the way to legality by leaving the open Nazi propaganda to the NSDAP/AO and concentrating ourselves on the demand for the lifting of the Nazi ban.

Moreover, we never sought the restoration of the historical NSDAP, but the reestablishment of an NSDAP of the new generation and finally placed ourselves clearly in the tradition of the SA, which had itself been acquitted by the victorious powers of the accusation of being a "criminal organization. On this "verdict" of the victors in Nuremberg of the criminal character of the historical NSDAP, with which its prohibition by the Allies should have been justified contrary to international law, however, the continuance of this prohibition is based also up to this day, although the historical NSDAP does not exist any more and cannot be restored also as a result of the break of the direct tradition line!

Already the ban of the ANS/NA showed that the system let the mask fall and arbitrarily defined the NS ban more broadly than even the "verdict" of the victorious powers allowed. This was confirmed when, in January 1985, I was sentenced to more than three years' imprisonment by a Frankfurt state protection court, already because of the self-definition of the ANS/NA cited earlier, as a legal arm of the new Nazi movement in the tradition of the SA and propaganda built on it. Despite previous persecution and imprisonment of comrades, the appeal to the Nuremberg "verdict" according to which the SA was NOT A CRIMINAL ORGANIZATION had at least protected our organization and created a small margin for legal Nazi propaganda.

The ban and the Frankfurt verdict have changed this. The legal sense of this self-definition has thus diminished - if we want to continue to work legally (and we want to and must), then we must again leave this form of propaganda entirely to the NSDAP/AO, which thus once again acquires greatly increased importance after years of restraint, while we must concentrate on the practical questions of tactics and the use of concrete problems. Nevertheless, there will be further proceedings against our comrades and thus the appeal to the acquit-

tal remains important for the SA: It no longer protects in any way against legal persecution, but now accomplishes even more important things: It clearly exposes the arbitrariness of state oppression and the whole, against National Socialism, state protection justice! These refer their alleged legitimacy to the Nuremberg judgment of the victors, according to which the National Socialism, embodied in the historical NSDAP, is of criminal nature, which is why its continuation must be prosecuted as a crime even in a "free democracy".

Without acknowledging this "judgment", we forgave ourselves nothing when we pointed out, in accordance with the truth, that we belonged to a new generation which neither wanted to nor could continue the historical NSDAP, but strived for a new foundation and, moreover, stood in the tradition of the - acquitted - SA. This new foundation however and/or its organizational predecessors CAN therefore not at all continue those, as "criminal" designated, former NS organizations - the NS prohibition laws do not concern us at all, are not applicable to us basically at all. Their extension to us can therefore, even in the logic of the ruling system, not serve to make it impossible for an organization once branded as "criminal" to continue its activities - the Nazi ban meanwhile serves to suppress a present-day, system-critical opposition movement of young National Socialists who neither emerged from the historical NSDAP nor pursue criminal goals (although it must be asked what these actually are, since, as is well known, one can never and nowhere measure political shaping processes against the "bourgeois" code). This realization is the result of the Frankfurt state protection trial against me - here the disgusting hypocrisy is revealed in all desirable clarity, the phrases of thoughts and freedom of opinion! We will continue to insist on belonging to a NS-movement of the new generation, to stand as political soldiers in the tradition of the SA and not to pursue criminal goals.

We will point out again and again that we do not and cannot belong to that old organization which was called "criminal" and was smashed in 1945 - and we will continue to be persecuted and condemned. The youth will recognize this hypocrisy, recognizes it to some extent already today; and the youth, however it may stand politically, always hates hypocrisy with its healthy instinct. Since the system will never find the courage to openly and admittedly persecute its opponents and, according to its own logic, cannot find it at all, it will continue to persecute AND hypocrite, to imprison people because of their convictions AND deny that there are political prisoners, to listen to our commitment to a National Socialism of the new generation AND to condemn us for continuing the efforts of a former Nazi organization - but it will thereby also lose a bit more respect among the youth at every trial and become even more untrustworthy! It will condemn as "crimes" our central demands for national community and breaking of the bondage of interest, for protection of life and environment, for a German cultural revolution, for freedom, unity and neutrality of Greater Germany and a New Order in Europe and thus will find less and less understanding among those who recognize more and more clearly the needs of a turning point of time and the necessity of a new order from year to year!

The aspect of the SA tradition, which was one of the first to come to bear in the historical SA and which constituted its tragedy, naturally did not yet play a special role with us because of our numerical and political weakness: the self-image as the CORE OF A POLITICALLY CONSTITUTIONAL REVOLUTIONARY FOLK ARMY.

But in the clarification of our attitude towards the Wehrsportgruppen and the, armed resistance we were confronted nevertheless already early with a form of expression of this problem and solved it finally. It was my first deputy who wanted to make our young SA-Sturm not only a soldierly, but a paramilitary, force. During his negotiations with Karl-Heinz Hoffmann, conducted on his own initiative, in October 1977, the conflict became apparent. Hoffmann demanded the subordination - he demanded the renunciation of external political activity. I refused, my deputy separated from us, joined a military sports group in Schleswig-Holstein and finally went underground.

Our troop was and is not against military sports - it serves the disciplining of our fighters and the education to a soldierly attitude towards life, but it remains fundamentally subordinate to the political struggle and must never become an end in itself. It must always remain clear that our political soldiers form a soldierly, but not a military force. Likewise, however, we hold fast to the fact that this troop AFTER a seizure of power will form the core of the coming revolutionary army!

In doing so, we have clarified the nine aspects of our commitment to the SA tradition: they are related to each other and form an inner unity. In this elaboration, we first derived them from the history of the historical SA and then applied them to the present. In practice, this process took place in reverse: starting from our selfimage and attitude to life as political soldiers, these aspects of our tradition emerged from the eight-year concrete struggle of faith, its errors, setbacks, temptations, and finally the first great success, after which we applied these insights to the past and found them there, confirming our legitimacy as heirs. From the past to the present, from the present to the past - the ring has closed, the tradition is preserved and renewed! The fighter in the brown shirt, the political soldier of the National Socialist movement lives on in us. He will be victorious!



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