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Part 1

FOREWORD

National Socialism - that is not only a world view, that is also an attitude towards life!

National Socialism - that is not only a political conviction, that is above all a political deed!

National Socialism - that does not mean first of all the rational realization of the correctness of a program, it means work and struggle for a New Order!

National Socialism demands the whole man! National Socialist is not already he who recognizes the party program. National Socialist is the one who works selflessly for the national community in its place and according to his ability.

National Socialism does not ask for heredity, education or wealth, but it demands without restriction from man a life according to the principle "**common good comes before self-interest**" and fights for a community in which all laborless and effortless income is eliminated. Through political struggle and holistic education of man, the National Socialist movement realizes a New Order corresponding to these principles, in which there are no more sharp class antagonisms, no more exploitation and alienation, no more social arrogance - a socialist community organically divided into Nährstand (nourishment), Wehrstand (defense) and Lehrstand (education). This division into estates of the National Socialist people's state corresponds to the natural image of man of National Socialism, which is characterized by the type of the worker, the soldier and the

leader. For the National Socialist, being a worker, a soldier and a leader are ethical principles whose realization in his life enables him to find his place in the national community.

This paper deals with the tradition and spirit of the SA. It is to be achieved with it a position determination, explanation and justification of the political soldiering today. For even if the division of a National Socialist nation-state has as its prerequisite the seizure of power by the National Socialist party, it is already divided into workers, soldiers and leaders (party comrades, SA fighters and political leaders) in accordance with our conception of mankind. And also our Gesinnungsgemeinschaft under the conditions of the Nazi prohibition is divided into supporters, activists and leadership comrades. Thus, wherever National Socialists live and fight together, the natural order is restored.

The National Socialist Gesinnungsgemeinschaft (community of conviction), founded by me on 8.6.1977, placed itself from the beginning, until its prohibition in December 1983, clearly in the tradition of the SA. And also today, as in the future, the obligation is valid, all activists joining us, to this tradition - and the order to them, in the spirit of this political troop unique in the history, to educate themselves to fighting National Socialists!

The type of the brown shirt was, is and remains the sharpest and purest embodiment of National Socialism. The following elaboration is intended to convey this tradition to our young fighters and to make them aware of the spirit in which they must educate themselves and others to become those political soldiers who will then one day be able to fight for the New Order we long for and to realize a true Volksgemeinschaft (folk community)!

"As long as the real National Socialist Germany still awaits fulfillment, the fierce, passionate struggle of the SA will not cease. Therefore, the SA will not tolerate that the German revolution falls asleep or is betrayed halfway by the noncombatants!"

Ernst Röhm

JVA Frankfurt/M.
4/20/1985/96 JdF

I. THE TRADITION OF THE SA

THE DEFENSE ASSOCIATION (1919 - 1923)

In the following, it is not intended to write a history of the SA. Rather it is a

question of working out and explaining those traditions on which political soldiering is based today and in the future - this, however, against the background of the history of the SA which embodies this attitude to life exemplarily!

The world- and life-view principles of National Socialism are basically timeless - derived from the laws of nature and the biological nature and destiny of man. This is also true for the fundamental attitude to life of National Socialism - the working class as an ethical principle on the basis of "**common good comes before self-interest**".

But it became characteristic for National Socialism as a political fighting movement that the type of the political soldier developed from the circle of these workers addressed by it. This type of man has predecessors in the Spartans of antiquity and in the knights of the Middle Ages, but in modern times this type had disappeared. Its rebirth can be clearly dated historically - unlike that of the National Socialist movement as a whole:

The political soldier emerged from the steel storms of the First World War! This war was the first total war in European history since the storms of the migration of peoples - total for the German national community, since only the victory at all made possible the possibilities for a species-appropriate development, yes, for the survival as a highly developed cultural people - total, however, also for each individual national comrade, who, whether man or woman, whether at the front or at home, used all his strength exclusively for a victorious end. However, this war had a particularly total effect on the front-line soldier, who risked his life day after day for four years and often sacrificed millions.

In the past, wars were fought by soldiers, often pure mercenaries, but in 1914 - 1918 the whole nation was at war. And almost all men capable of bearing arms were at the front or were at least involved as soldiers in this fight for survival. Thus, the First World War turned all the people into workers and thus deepened the Prussian principle of service to the community - but it turned the men fit for military service into soldiers. The war community of the German people thus became a community of workers and soldiers! The enthusiasm of the year 1914 - the actual birth of the German nation, i.e. the community of will of the German people - had initiated this development on a voluntary basis. The sharpening war situation, but above all also the signs of corruption, war profiteering and betrayal, which could not be overlooked, caused this voluntary integration into the war community to crumble more and more, until finally almost only state coercion held everything together.

The front-line soldiers, however, preserved the spirit of 1914 to a much greater extent than any other strata of our people. Therefore, when the traitorous revolt of November 1918 broke the state's means of power of the Empire, the war

community of the German people also broke, but not the front! Militarily undefeated and disciplined, the front army returned home. There, of course, under the impression of the chaotic conditions and the overwhelming worries and hardships of the individual after all the years of war, it also disintegrated. But the memory of the front experience and the front community remained and was to become decisive for the great change of fate in 1933! At first, however, only a hard core of soldiers remained together:

They were no longer held by state coercion, they served voluntarily - not to the contemptible state of the nascent "democratic" November Republic! They served alone a Germany as they had once dreamed it at the front and as they still remembered it from August 1914. These soldiers formed Freikorps and continued to fight - on the bleeding and threatened eastern borders of the Reich as well as in the civil war areas threatened by communist uprisings. Soldiers of the nation they were - among their leaders men like Heines, Hayn and v. Heydebrek, who later rose to become the most important SA leaders! At that time they saved the unity of the German Reich, but at the same time - completely against their will - they also stabilized the democratic system of the November Republic. When the greatest hardship had been overcome, the danger of disintegration and communist uprisings had been eliminated by the Freikorps, they were dissolved by the system and later persecuted: They wanted another Germany - not that of workers and soldiers, but that of fat cats, profiteers, and parasites!

Then the soldiers understood: They could no longer serve the ruling system in which their Germany should become reality - they had to fight for their goals:

They became - political soldiers!

Our continuous commitment to such a soldierly attitude to life must not obscure the fact that there were and are other soldiers - and another soldierly tradition that has nothing to do with the one described. It is that of the apolitical soldier - which in extreme cases leads to an attitude to life that can rightly be called militarism. Our conception of soldiering has nothing in common with such uncritical glorification of soldierly obedience and soldierly devotion to duty, in the service of every conceivable system, even if this is so detrimental to the vital interests of our people. It is not for nothing that the NSDAP program calls for the abolition of mercenary troops and the formation of a people's army, for nothing other than mercenaries are such apolitical soldiers as prevailed in both the Reichswehr and the Bundeswehr - but unfortunately also in the Wehrmacht of the Third Reich, wherein lies the decisive reason for its failure! Outside of the state armies this attitude is found again in most warrior, soldier and tradition associations, reservist

comradeships and their respective youth organizations loyal to the state. Especially young comrades, who are active in the military sports groups, may beware of THIS tradition, which is nothing else than a lure in the fight of the reaction against a National Socialist people's state! The National Socialist fighter, however, is a POLITICAL soldier:

Soldier, because he is bound in a strict system of command and obedience, because he wants to realize in himself the eternal values of heroic humanity and is ready to consecrate his life completely to the struggle for our idea and movement and, if necessary, to sacrifice it - politically, however, because all this must not be an end in itself and must not be misused for reactionary goals, but because it must serve a political goal - the power-political victory of the National Socialist Party and the building of a true Volksgemeinschaft!

The former Freikorps fighters, but also active officers, NCOs and enlisted men of the young Reichswehr (the latter, however, were then completely forced out of it from 1923 at the latest) increasingly turned into such political soldiers under the impression of the events of the years 1918-1920. After the dissolution and dismantling of the Freikorps by the November Republic, they, too, formed military associations and soldiers' unions - but no longer in order to serve the existing system or even to ignore it in an apolitical way: They did it to overthrow the system, to advance a revolution, to transform a liberal-capitalist democracy into a people's state, into a homeland and community for the German people!

The former SA leader Bennecke writes in his book: **The Reichswehr and the "Röhm Putsch"**, 1962 in retrospect: *"Every revolution can only be sure of its success when it has created a new army from its own ranks."* Political soldiering will always be realized concretely as a revolutionary alliance of soldierly men. And from this fighting community, after the victory, the core and the backbone of a revolutionary army will have to be created, which must replace the mercenary troops of the past system!

This is how the military units of the years after 1920 are to be understood - and so far we also place ourselves unreservedly in this tradition.

The SA was originally only one of the many military associations - and one of the smallest, too, and mainly confined to Munich and the surrounding area. Its final breakthrough, which made it the embodiment of political soldiering par excellence, was due to the dual character that was typical of its early days, as well as of the peak of its development of power ten years later: on the one hand, a revolutionary military unit that prepared for the uprising and saw itself as part of a revolutionary people's army of the future; on the other hand, however, a department of a political party and, as such, subordinate to the party leadership and obliged to obey its political strategy and tactics. This fundamental tension runs

as a decisive problem through the entire history of the SA up to 1945. We will encounter it more often. It proves to be the cause of both the triumph and the tragedy of the SA.

Like no other, this problem is embodied in triumph and tragedy by the former World War II captain and later chief of staff of the SA, Ernst Röhm: Between 1919 and 1923, he becomes the foster father of the young SA, and from his key position, as an initially still active staff officer of the Reichswehr, he promotes practically all political-revolutionary military associations in Bavaria by recruiting men, providing logistical support and arming them. For him, who in those years tirelessly and restlessly demanded and prepared the armed uprising against the hated system, it was quite natural that from the military associations promoted by him, whose core was the SA, the coming people's army would be formed after the victorious revolution. Ernst Röhm, however, was also the first to understand that political soldiering can only be successful and have a formative effect if it organically combines with the creative will of a revolutionary party and subordinates itself to it. Only the party can win over the mass of the people, while the revolutionary alliance of soldierly men can always bind only the militant elite of a people to itself, that is, a minority.

It was to take some time before the revolutionary Freikorpsmen and other military conspirators understood this and no longer transferred their initially prevailing, understandable aversion to all parties and everything non-soldierly to the NSDAP, which, after all, as a party of a new type, is not the representative of the interests of a social group, but the vanguard of the nation. These reservations were never completely overcome, but the lessons of the following years were too clear:

All those alliances that refused to subordinate themselves to the revolutionary party wore themselves out in purposeless and futile conspiracies, revolts and sectarianism and thus finally lost their possibility of influence and existence, while the SA alone became the very embodiment of political soldiering!

Ernst Röhm, on the other hand, had recognized the necessity of the revolutionary party of the German working class just as from the other side the party leader and world war soldier Adolf Hitler recognized that such a revolutionary workers' party needs a soldierly alliance as storm detachment in order to be able to assert itself militantly!

So, while Adolf Hitler was forging the tools of the revolutionary party and winning back the masses for the idea of the nation, Ernst Röhm joined the NSDAP early on and moved all soldierly volunteers who could be won over to join the growing Sturm-Abteilung!

Admittedly, there were still many alliances that were not ready for such integration and subordination. But Röhm had enough leverage in his hand, since he was the liaison to the Reichswehr, whose help or acquiescence was vital for the success of the planned uprising, and he managed the rebels' weapons supplies.

He was the key figure in the German uprising that then broke out on November 9, 1923, after four years of intensive preparation. In the run-up to this uprising, Röhm had succeeded in taming even the unruly alliances to such an extent that they united militarily to form a German fighting alliance, but politically subordinated themselves to Adolf Hitler. The fight could begin!

