

NS News Bulletin

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Michael Kühnen Political Soldiering: SA tradition and spirit

Part 2

THE LESSONS OF NOVEMBER 9 (1923)

The analysis of the development from 1918 - 1923 has already shown us the first three lasting demands that arise from the tradition of the SA also for political soldiering today:

Political soldiers fight for a New Order - in which the soldier can take his rightful place and therefore join together to form a **REVOLUTIONARY ALLIANCE OF SOLDIERED MEN**.

• This federation opposes the lifestyle of non-political soldiering (militarism), which ultimately only stabilizes the ruling system, and, on the contrary, understands itself to BE THE CORE OF A POLITICALLY CONSTITUTIONAL REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S ARMY.

As a form of organization, of the militant elite of our nation, the Bund can fulfill its revolutionary task only if it subordinates itself as STURM-ABTEILUNG (SA) DER REVOLUTIONÄREN PARTEI DER DEUTSCHEN ARBEITER (NSDAP).

These traditional lines of the SA's formative years were to prove forward-looking and remain so to this day, as will be shown. The practical direction of the political struggle of the years 1919-1923, on the other hand, which sought to trigger a national uprising, an insurrection, by establishing an equal alliance, a still primarily militarily understood political association of soldiers (the Deutscher Kampfbund) with the revolutionary workers' party, cannot be a tradition for us. Our tradition does not result from the course of the failed uprising of November 9, 1923, but from the lessons to be learned from it. These lessons, of course, concern first and foremost the strategy of the political struggle movement and have therefore been comprehensively presented by me on various occasions, already in that context.

At this point it is only important how these teachings, which substitute the struggle for the masses and thus for the realization of a "legal revolution" for the affect the alliances insurrection. of political The relationship between the political-soldier organization and the revolutionary workers' party did not come to be an equal alliance, but must entail an unequivocal subordination of the militant haste to the will of the party to shape the revolution. That is why the "German Combat League" of 1923, which united the then active political soldiers of various leagues into a revolutionary-military insurrectionary organization and confronted the NSDAP as an equal partner, is NOT our model. We do not strive for the unification of soldiers into a military insurrectionary organization, but for the unification of the political soldiers of a Sturm-Abteilung a subdivision - of the party, which has the leading political role in this!

But both organizations together, which are only forms of organization of the different types of people within a movement, do not set themselves the task to overthrow the ruling system militarily, but strive to convince the masses of the population of our idea and attitude towards life! The revolution we strive for is not an uprising to change the power relations, but the winning of the masses of the people for a new ideal of life, which then the change of the power structures follows inevitably!

From the lessons of November 9, 1923, the fourth demand in the SA tradition thus arises for the political soldiers:

The SA of a fighting time understands itself as a soldierly, but not as a military organization - it therefore joins together to a soldierly subdivision of the party and not to a military insurrectionary movement! It wants to gather around itself the most valuable and militant elements of the people by example, example and education, but not to overthrow the ruling system by armed struggle. THE SA REJECTS THE ARMED REVOLUTION and professes the STRATEGY OF LEGAL REVOLUTION!

THE PROHIBITION PERIOD (1923 - 1925)

The inevitable failure of the national uprising of November 9, 1923, due to the betrayal of reactionary circles, led to the first, major and life-threatening crisis of the young National Socialist movement: The leader was arrested and sentenced to imprisonment in a fortress - the NSDAP was banned! Along with the party, the SA was also banned as a subdivision, which had thus failed twice over - as a military association and part of the military insurrectionary organization of the Deutscher Kampfbund, because the insurrection had ended in complete defeat, and as a militant subdivision of the revolutionary workers' party, because the NSDAP had been banned and was no longer in a position to intervene in the political debate in a formative way. In this situation, Ernst Röhm's ingenious organizational strength and unshakable fighting determination proved itself once again:

It is thanks to him that the revolutionary-political soldiering did not disintegrate again into countless associations and sects, but remained together as a community. Under the most difficult external conditions, he created a large and powerful military association Frontbann the legal cover as banned but still existing SA. What remained outside the Frontbann was reduced to apolitical soldiering or bled to death in the organization of attacks and assassinations, sacrificing itself in bloody actionism that ultimately remained in vain. The Frontbann, on the other hand, which soon comprised tens of thousands of fighters, became a large, unified fighting organization of political soldiers and loval Adolf Hitler. the German revolutionary was But a shining example as an organizer and fighter, Ernst Röhm as a political strategist was and always remained the swashbuckler who ultimately knew only one path to the new order - the organization of armed insurrection. This goal was basically also served by the Frontbann. But this could not be the way to the future and it was not. Adolf Hitler drew the lessons from the failed uprising:

During the months of his imprisonment in the fortress, the Führer came to his fundamental insights into the path of the German revolution and, derived from this, into the role and task of the SA in the German struggle for freedom. In his book "Mein Kampf" (My Struggle) all that is presented in detail and substantiated, which we have recognized as the first four also for us still binding conclusions from the history of the SA. Not the Wehrverband - and thus not the Frontbann - was the last and valid form of the new SA.

From now on, not the military but the political-propagandistic breakthrough battle was to be the clear and only goal of the Sturm-Abteilung. Thus the question of the

dual character of the SA was bindingly decided - although of a soldierly nature, the SA was not to be a military but a purely political force in the service of the party. This also initially separated the paths of Adolf Hitler and Ernst Röhm: loyal to the Führer, Röhm resigned from the leadership of the Frontbann and returned the commission to continue the banned SA. He subsequently left Germany to reorganize the Bolivian army as a military advisor on the General Staff. The way was clear for the new SA.

Initially, however, both the party and the SA continued to be banned. First, the ban had to be survived and the way had to be cleared for a new beginning. This first period of prohibition of the National Socialist movement - as short as it was - is nevertheless an important and interesting example for us, since we find ourselves in a similar, albeit much more difficult, situation:

Of the more than 65 years - since the National Socialist movement existed - it was banned for 41 years and is still banned today. In these long years of prohibition we had enough tent to analyze how such a suppressed movement, under such conditions, can live on and strengthen again. For eight years we have found and taken the clear and thoughtful path that now brings us more purposefully closer to the rebirth of our party. Ideas never die of persecution and bans - ideas only die of indifference and resignation. But who could oppose them more effectively and more decisively than the political soldiers of our philosophy of life, whose whole life is characterized by faith, obedience and struggle, all of which contradict every thought of indifference and resignation?

Here it becomes clear how much National Socialism is more than the rational realization of the correctness of an ideological and political conviction - how much it is also an attitude to life, which permeates the whole man in all his spheres of life! It may be possible to ban organizations and to break them up temporarily, but such an idea, which is both a world view and a way of life, can never be banned - and above all it was impossible to ban the people who not only adhere to this idea, but who live it uncompromisingly and faithfully, day after day, and stand up for it!

Every ban must fail again and again because of this fact! Workers, soldiers and leaders - the three manifestations of the National Socialist image of man - remain what they are, even if their organizational forms are smashed. And as workers, soldiers and leaders they will always form new organizational forms again, because they do not derive their strength and power from the existence of a certain organization, but from the fact that they form an indestructible community of ideas!

But while the community of a leader corps is vulnerable, since it naturally

comprises a comparatively small circle of people (thus the National Socialist movement broke up after 1945 not least because of the murder of its top leader corps and the many years of internment and consequent elimination of its middle and lower leader corps, by the Allies and their German collaborators), and while the community of small, hard-working, but often still very much involved in their private living conditions and life prospects, party comrades tends, under conditions of prohibition and without the strong backbone of a functioning party organization, to break apart into disparate groups and little groups and to tactically evade the prohibition instead of courageously fighting it, the community of political soldiers, even in the case of temporary fragmentation, with the healthy instinct and thanks to the prevailing comradely feeling for life of the fighter, will always have a decisive share in overcoming or at least neutralizing a prohibition!

This community of political soldiers does not require any particular form of organization - whether it lives on as a powerful military association, as it once did with the Frontbann (1924), or as a supposed bowling, hiking and savings club, as it did during the SA ban of 1932, or as a leisure club, regulars' table or fun club (Freundschaftsgesellschaft Deutschland-Obervolta), as it did after the new SA (ANS/NA) was banned in 1983, all this is possible, but not decisive. What is decisive is that insight which we, as the Fifth, can derive from the tradition of the SA:

The invincibility of our National Socialist outlook on life results essentially from the attitude to life of our political soldiers who, under the conditions of a ban, form an indestructible community of ideas which ensures the survival and rebirth of the movement regardless of concrete forms of organization!

THE FIGHTING PERIOD (1925 - 1933)

Shortly after his release from Landsberg fortress prison, the Führer refounded the NSDAP in February 1925. The lifting of the Nazi ban came after the promise that the National Socialist movement would operate strictly legally from then on and would not seek another coup attempt. As already mentioned, this assurance was not a capitulation to the bourgeois state or even a betrayal of the revolution. Rather, with this line of march, the lessons of November 9 were now put into practice and the strategy of legal revolution was applied, which then culminated on January 30, 1933, in the seizure of power by the leader of the NSDAP, which by this time had already grown to become by far the strongest political force in Germany!

These years from 1925 - 1933 have gone down in the history of our movement as the first period of struggle. It was during these years that the SA, which was also

soon to be founded, found its true form:

Now that civilian, unarmed party army of political soldiers came into being and grew stronger year by year. The type of this political soldier - made reality in the soon to be hundreds of thousands of brown shirts of the SA - became the hero of the nascent Third Reich. The "unknown SA man", whom Dr. Goebbels had once called the "aristocrat of the Third Reich", was with his struggle and sacrifice the real creator of the National Socialist People's State! 400 blood witnesses and several thousand wounded - that was the blood toll of the SA in its struggle for the new Reich. But unshaken and irresistible, this political army of our people marched forward to the final victory.

In September 1930, the NSDAP achieved its political breakthrough: Until then, those thousands of men who, in an apparently hopeless situation, formed the most active and militant element among the German people, had come together in the SA. After this first, great electoral victory, however, the memory of the front community of the First World War and all the national and social hopes that had once been attached to it - the longing for a real national community of workers and soldiers - reawakened in the broad masses of the people as well! What had been the struggle of a hurry became the people's struggle of the broad masses! Germany was awakening! The battle cry of the SA "Germany Awake!" now found its echo among hundreds of thousands of men - soldiers of the great war, but also many very young fighters, whose longing for community had fatefully awakened in that Weimar system of misery, corruption and democracy! This growth of the brown army naturally also brought with it enormous organizational problems, which the previous SA organization only struggled to cope with.

Now it was no longer a question of tending the fire, of holding out in the dark night - now the SA had to be brought into a form that could enable it to fight its way to power. For the great election victory of September 1930 was not the end of the struggle - it was only the beginning of the real breakthrough battle. Only now were the forces of yesterday really forming against National Socialism; now the KPD issued the order that became the beginning of mass terror: "Beat the fascists where you meet them!"

In this situation, Adolf Hitler recalled Ernst Röhm from Bolivia - and Röhm came and took over the leadership of the SA again as chief of staff. In retrospect, the Fuehrer's assessment of Röhm's work and the SA he commanded during these critical years is shown by his 1934 New Year's message to the Chief of Staff, which was published in the German press at the time:

[&]quot;My dear chief of staff!

The struggle of the National Socialist movement and the National Socialist revolution were only made possible by the consistent defeat of Marxist terror by the SA. If the army has to guarantee the protection of the nation externally, then it is the task of the SA to secure the victory of the National Socialist revolution, the existence of the National Socialist state and our national community internally. When I appointed you, my dear Chief of Staff, to your present position, the SA was going through a serious crisis. It is primarily thanks to you that after only a few years this political instrument was able to develop the strength that enabled me to finally win the battle for power by defeating the Marxist opponent.

At the end of the year of the National Socialist Revolution, I am therefore urged to thank you, my dear Ernst Röhm, for the imperishable services you rendered to the National Socialist movement and the German people, and to assure you how grateful I am to fate for being able to call such men as you my friends and comrades-in-arms.

In cordial friendship and grateful appreciation.

Your Adolf Hitler."

So it was not the diligent party worker, not the rousing orator and not the profound thinker who were the real creators of the Third Reich, however much they were all necessary for victory. The creator of the Third Reich - that was the "unknown SA-man" the simple brown-shirted soldier, who convinced more by his life, his struggle and his political work than any organization, any one-time mass rally and any theoretical writing could have done! Especially the incited masses of socialist and communist workers with their healthy instinct and disgust for every bourgeois-reactionary attitude and ideology could have been won for National Socialism only by the lived example of anti-capitalist and anti-bourgeois revolutionary workers and soldiers. The front community of the First World War, which according to the feeling of all front soldiers would have overcome the bourgeois class state after a victory and would have forced the social people's state of the German nation, but which was broken by betrayal and defeat by the emerging system of the bonzes and parasites had radiated to the young generation and now held new hope for the survival and new development of the German people - this front community had found its final form in the brown army of the SA and made possible the victory of the revolutionary German workers' party, the National Socialist movement!

We think of this SA fighting time above all when we hold on to the tradition and spirit of the Sturm-Abteilung and bring it to new life in our time and for our struggle.

This SA, however, did not work through an independent program or political

dodges - it worked solely through the lived example of the SA spirit, through the everyday tangible life and actions of each individual SA fighter, who in his place as an individual as well as part of the Brown Shirt Army was the sharpest and clearest embodiment of the National Socialist attitude to life and thereby convinced and carried away the people's comrades! In this work, through the lived example of the SA spirit, lies the sixth and probably most important line of tradition of the SA, without which everything else would be meaningless and to which we proudly profess as well as we understand and want to live it as a decisive task and obligation in our life and our struggle!







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