

Michael Kühnen Political Soldier

Part 4

THE DISEMPOWERMENT (1934 - 1945)

The execution of the best SA leaders on June 30, 1934, had broken the back of the SA: it was now greatly reduced in numbers and completely disempowered politically. Nothing was to change until 1945. Without any real function in the Third Reich, the SA henceforth formed a huge, apolitical military sports club without any significance. Even the war, which had started in 1939, did not change anything: The SA was not allowed to form its own military formations, most of the SA men did their duty within the Wehrmacht, like all other members of the people, SA leaders fought and died in inferior command positions without being able to exert any formative influence.

Thus, the years in power are rather unproductive for the present topic. However, even if there was a lack of positive possibilities for shaping the SA, the analysis of the disempowerment of the SA and its consequences in the negative sphere offers essential points of view on the tradition of the SA:

By its very nature, the SA was never an independent political force, but was always intended to be the organizational framework for the militant elite of the party. Inevitably, therefore, the disempowerment of the SA also had to affect the significance and assertiveness of the NSDAP, of which it was the militant branch. The Brown Shirts had been the clearest and purest expression of the National Socialist spirit, and their disempowerment therefore practically led to the downfall of the NSDAP as a revolutionary and formative force. The decision of June 30, 1934, brought about the renunciation of the completion of the revolution at all levels and divisions of labor with reaction, whose bastions of power in the army, administration and economy remained untouched against the promise of loyalty to the Führer. As a result, essential areas of state and social life were removed from the party's will to shape and its ability to do so. The former claim that "the party commands the state" was practically nullified in social reality. The NSDAP exercised control as far as it could in the wake of the national uprising of 1933/34.

After 1934, the revolution remained stuck unfinished, and even within its means, the party, lacking the revolutionary, idealistic and militant element of the original SA, degenerated more and more into what I once called elsewhere a "festive committee for organizing commemorations"! Certainly, great things were accomplished:

With its subdivisions, the NSDAP succeeded, where it could assert itself, in providing real and effective proof of National Socialist will to shape things - in the social sphere with the German Workers' Front, in the area of youth education with the Hitler Youth, in the recruitment and education of German women with the NS Frauenschaft. These achievements give an idea of what would have happened if the party had succeeded in asserting its former claim to total power in all areas. Thus, however, Dr. Goebbels, with his fascinating propaganda, created the ultimately dangerous illusion that the National Socialist state had been realized, whereas the Third Reich, in its essential power-political foundations, was at best a Germany becoming National Socialist, which, according to Rosenberg, would need about three generations for its realization - namely until the first generation, entirely educated and brought up by National Socialism, had grown up. Thus, the National Socialist state was not based on the power-political victory and the formative power of the revolutionary party penetrating all areas, as it was originally intended, but basically exclusively on the fact that the party leader had become chancellor of the Reich and had understood how to endow this position with extraordinary powers. Here also lies an explanation for the fact that after the death of the Führer, reaction quickly rose again and was able to restore a system to its liking, while the National Socialist movement, without a party leader in power, forfeited almost all capacity for action for a generation and only regained it in the 1970s.

After July 20, 1944, the party chancellery under Pg. Bormann did succeed in get-

ting the party more involved in power: With the formation of the Gauverteidigungskommissariate (Gau Defense Commissariats) and the Volkssturm (People's Storm), which was subordinate to the party, Adolf Hitler put the fate of the Reich back in the hands of the NSDAP after ten years, but in many ways it was too late.

After all, it is fascinating to observe how, under the stresses and hardships of war, the justification for concerns such as Röhm's proposals became increasingly clear: With a delay of almost ten years, the buildup of the Waffen-SS, as a National Socialist-influenced elite force, and the Volkssturm, as a National Socialist people's militia, realized the Chief of Staff's original conception of Wehrmacht, the party under Bormann conducted its desperate campaign against the power of reaction after July 20, 1944, and the Wehrmacht leadership proved to be riddled with reactionary traitors.

Two vouched-for sayings of the Führer in 1945 demonstrate the extent to which the disempowerment of the SA on June 30, 1934, had become the decisive tragedy of the Third Reich: "On my tombstone it would have to say: He was the victim of his generals!" and "Ernst Röhm was right: We would have needed a Wehrmacht filled with the revolutionary - National Socialist spirit!"

In addition to the compromise with reaction and the continuing disempowerment of the SA, June 30, 1934, brought about a third, fateful development that was also to play its part in the downfall of the Third Reich: The birth of dogmatism! By dogmatism we understand an inner attitude which declares individual beliefs, or also a coherent system of beliefs, to be the absolute truth and thus rapes and bends diversity and openness of nature and reality. Such an attitude is always fatal, because the attempt to lock reality in a cage of absolute beliefs and to bend it into shape always leads to behavior contrary to nature and to inhumanities in the effort to subordinate nature and its laws to dogma. Since this contradicts the inner nature of man, dogmatism produces in its adherents artificial and hysterical fanaticism, which is supposed to drown out inner doubt, but its opponents are suppressed, without any other justification than that they do not want to bow to a delusional system, to deny nature and reality. From primitive, higher and simple nonsense, like the Christian doctrine "I believe in it because it is absurd" and the liberalcapitalist basic law of the "equality of men" to the sophisticated system "we", the Catholic dogma, the psychoanalysis or the Marxist doctrinal edifice, the arc of dogmatic distortion of reality, from which the inhumanity of ideologies springs, reaches.

National Socialism, on the other hand, is not an ideology - it does not construct a dogmatic, artificial doctrinal edifice out of delusional beliefs, but looks at reality as a world and life view, gains a firm position in it through knowledge of nature and its laws, and builds on this a natural, organic order of life. Also the National Socialist party is not dogmatic - it demands discipline and subordination to the party line not because it pretends to represent the absolute truth of ideological doctrines, but because such a discipline is necessary to make it possible for a combative, revolutionary movement to replace the ruling society, which is contrary to nature, by a community, a New Order, which is in conformity with nature and its kind!

The same applies to the SA: Here, too, no artificial ideology was hammered in, but a free, revolutionary attitude to life was developed, through which the militant National Socialist - the political soldier - finds his proper place in the human community and through his militant commitment helps in the realization of the New Order!

Many personal reasons and attitudes in life lead people to National Socialism among them can also be those of a dogmatic nature, for dogmatism, with its promise of certainty and final explanations and with its imperious rigidity, is for many people a constant temptation to escape from pitiless reality. On the whole, however, National Socialism, the party and its SA had always kept clear of dogmatism.

With June 30, 1934, this also changed: Not only the reaction profited from the disempowerment of the SA, which from then on remained unchallenged until its national unreliability and its treacheries became obvious on July 20, 1944 - the SS also profited from it, which was no longer subordinate to the SA staff leadership, became an independent organization and gained more power and influence year by year until the end, even growing into a state within the state! Also the SS men of the fighting time, the peace years and the war time were political soldiers. What has been described for the SA so far, applies to a large extent also to the SS, which originally should be nothing else than a further selection and elite formation within the political soldiery.

Thus we cannot be surprised that the SS, in a tough struggle, step by step first conquered the internal security apparatus and finally, in the war with the Waffen-SS, finally realized the National Socialist revolutionary army. This also explains the exemplary soldierly greatness, comradeship, discipline, readiness for sacrifice and commitment of the SS men, who in many respects realized Adolf Hitler's claim to the National Socialist - to be the "purest embodiment of the value of race and personality"! In all this - especially in the example of the Waffen-SS - we see a true model of the political soldier's attitude to life. But all this is not actually typical for the SS: Much more thoroughly and ultimately radiating to all men of our people who are fit for military service, this should, according to Röhm's ideas, have been striven for and realized from the very beginning with the SA and its elite formation - the SA staff guards - and this would certainly have happened in the case of a victory over the reaction and in the initiation of the second revolution.

The problem with the SS, however, was not primarily that necessary developments that had been stopped with its help on June 30, 1934, had to be made up for years later. The problem with the SS, however, was not primarily that necessary developments, which had been stopped with its help on June 30, 1934, now had to be made up for by it only years later, in view of a war that had practically already been lost - the problem is rather that the SS, like the SA, originally started out from the model of the political soldier within the National Socialist movement, but under the influence of its Reichsführer Himmler increasingly developed its own dogmatic ideology, which finally had only the name in common with National Socialism:

The SS was not content to be a subdivision of the National Socialist party and thus to find its place in the Volksgemeinschaft, as was always taken for granted by the SA, but it saw itself as a state within the state - as future masters, rather than as part of the Volksgemeinschaft!

This is not the place to analyze the SS ideology in detail and to prove its inner incompatibility with the National Socialist view of life. Only a few keywords may suffice: Components of the SS ideology were the supremacy of the Nordic race, the inferiority of the Slavic peoples, the construction of a hereditary aristocracy as an absolutely ruling class - all these are anti-natural and dogmatic beliefs which decidedly contradict the core points of the National Socialist outlook on life - the recognition of racial diversity (which excludes racial hatred!) and the idea of national community (which is just as incompatible with a one-sided esteem of the Nordic race, which represents only a minority in the German national body, as the claimed master-manhood of a new blood nobility). The ideological alienation was followed by the organizational one:

Theoretically, the SS was a subdivision of the NSDAP - in practice, however, it formed more and more a completely independent body of power in the Third

Reich and was finally connected with the National Socialist People's State only by the personal oath of allegiance to Adolf Hitler. At the height of its power, leading SS circles dreamed of an independent SS Order State in Burgundy as the state nucleus of the European continent subjugated by the Nordic race and of the final replacement of the National Socialist Party as the leading force after the final victory and the death of the Führer and its replacement by the SS.

It should be explicitly noted:

Not the idea of an order, of elite education or even of a true racial nobility is to be rejected per se, but its mixture with Nordic delusions of chosenness and similar dogmatic degenerations, which had to artificially tear apart and divide the intended Volksgemeinschaft, as well as to turn all other peoples and races against us! Of course, it was only a small circle within the SS who indulged in such thoughts, but unfortunately very powerful and ultimately decisive, because the Reichsführer-SS himself was behind it. Himmler basically never understood National Socialism, but under this pretext always only tried to enforce his own ideology of racial arrogance and wrongly understood Herrenmenschentum. It needs no further elaboration to realize how much this SS ideology has damaged our cause and contributed to the downfall of the National Socialist People's State! Such dogmatic tendencies are - as mentioned - just as foreign to the SA as the formation of a state within the state!

Therefore, when I began to build up a new SA in 1977, which professed the tradition of the historical Sturm-Abteilung, this also included the decision from the beginning: "As long as I have something to say in this movement, there will be no new SS!"

In the meantime, against some opposition, we have fully asserted this in our community. How justified our concern about a harmful new edition of the SS ideology was, was shown by the crisis about the SS wing within our community, rallied around the former member of the ANS/NA organizational leadership Arnd-Heinz Marx.

Of course, the temptations to dogmatic distortion of our idea are not limited to the circle of the SS; and of course there were also many positive things within the SS (as described) - but outside the SS dogmatism never emerged decisively and influentially.

But since the SS was the direct beneficiary of the disempowerment of the SA on June 30, 1934, for us the FIGHT AGAINST DOGMATISM is part of the tradition in which we stand, along with the fight against reaction, which has already been discussed! Our oath that June 30, 1934 must never be repeated in the history of our movement demands the resolute rejection of dogmatic ideologies and organizational tendencies towards independence within our community. For our political soldiers this is the eighth aspect of the SA tradition!



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