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Political Soldier

Part 5

POST-WAR POLITICAL SOLDIERING (1945 - 1977)

On May 8, 1945, the Third Reich had capitulated - Germany experienced the worst end of the war since 1648. The Allied victors in East and West were not content with their power-political triumph and the complete destruction of German statehood and sovereignty - they also knew how to systematically eliminate any possibility of a national resurgence:

The NSDAP with all its subdivisions was banned and dissolved, the leadership of the Reich was dead or imprisoned and was soon to become the victim of a macabre judicial comedy, the Nuremberg Military Tribunal, the office bearers of the National Socialist movement down to the small local group leader were interned for years, the mass of soldiers were prisoners of war and would remain so for some time. Meanwhile, however, on behalf of the victors - again in East and West - German collaborators set about building puppet regimes.

Along with the NSDAP, of course, its Storm Detachment had also been banned and disbanded. A final example was given by its leaders imprisoned in Nuremberg in connection with the victors' tribunal: the SA was also accused of being a "criminal organization"; but the unity of the SA leaders, who were not swayed by threats or promises, remained united among themselves and true to their past, achieved the acquittal! Even by the distorted standards of the victors, the SA was

not a criminal organization.

Of course, for us National Socialists this decision is in itself of little importance, since we do not recognize the dictates of the victors, neither politically nor legally, and yet this is politically significant for us, because the Nazi ban, which has been in force since 1945, is based on the view of history prescribed to the Germans in the Nuremberg Tribunal, by which National Socialism is labeled as criminal and the confession of it is prosecuted as a "criminal offense! Almost 40 years later - at the beginning of 1985 - the acquittal for the SA should, as will be shown, play an important role in a Gesinnungsprozeß (political trial) against me and help to unmask the Staatsschutzjustiz (political police justice) of the FRG (Federal Republic of Germany)!

Thus, the acquittal of Nuremberg, the admission even by the victors that the SA was NOT a CRIMINAL ORGANIZATION, also belongs to our understanding of tradition. This renewed aspect of the SA tradition is at the same time the last one: As in the case of the NSDAP, the direct line of tradition ended in 1945. Some scattered werewolf commandos - formed by fanatical Hitler Youth - were the last direct successors of the historical NSDAP. When their activity also ceased after months, the re-education of the German people and the consolidation of the administrative structures set up by the collaborators made their steady progress, any hope for a possible restoration of the Third Reich was extinguished. It was not a restoration of National Socialism that the historical situation demanded, but a consistent new beginning, the tradition of which had to include not only the triumphs but also the mistakes of the Third Reich, which had to be avoided in the future.

Practically and organizationally, nothing at all could be done in the first years after 1945, because both the possible carriers (the former office bearers of the NSDAP) and the future fighters (the front generation of the Second World War) were still in internment or captivity. In these camps, however, the first National Socialists reunited and vowed to keep fighting! In all Western POW camps there were special departments and special camps for fanatical and unbroken National Socialists; many thousands of soldiers were placed in this category and were always the last to be released - not until the end of the 1940s - when the occupying republics were already largely consolidated. In the years 1945-1949, which were decisive for the restoration of the bourgeois system in the West, the National Socialists were completely eliminated. And yet they did not remain inactive: Those who were still or again at liberty immediately began political work. Small illegal groups - put together and made possible by personal acquaintances and old comradeships -

sprang up everywhere. We know little about them. Other National Socialists participated in national organizations - cultural communities, youth alliances and parties.

The earliest new start in public political life was made by the DEUTSCHE AUF-BAUPARTEI (DAP), which was founded as early as October 31, 1945. The party's founder was Joachim von Ostau, former head of the NSDAP's propaganda department. At that time, of course, only a verifiable anti-National Socialist could be considered as a figurehead. To this end, von Ostau teamed up with Reinhold Wulle, who in the Weimar period, together with von Graefe, had been the political head of the Deutsch-Völkische Freiheitspartei, which competed with the NSDAP, and had been in a concentration camp during the Third Reich. While Wulle, rejecting National Socialism, practically worked towards the foundation of an old-fashioned, German-national right-wing party with a monarchist undercurrent, von Ostau, who had not accidentally chosen the abbreviation DAP, confessed to the front experience as a model for the new political beginning of Germany!

In a newspaper interview at the time, he spoke out against the "dusty party methods that had been brought out again" and the "present-day party and class hatred" and evoked the memory of the front community - namely, that "out at the front there was no difference between factory owners or workers, Catholics or Protestants, Bavarians or Prussians, and that this spirit of soldierly togetherness should be transferred to the work of peace. But those to whom this appeal could have been directed were mostly still in the camps of the victors; within the party, the conservative and national-reactionary forces prevailed and drew up an unworldly program with Christian moral teachings, conservative confessions, recognition of democracy and demands for a "social monarchy". This essentially reactionary grouping eventually gave rise to the German Right and later Reich Party (DRP), in which, admittedly, German nationalists and National Socialists still struggled for influence. In April 1947 von Ostau was expelled from the DRP.

But time and again, National Socialist activism proved superior to the old Right, even if it had still not found a unified organizational form:

In Hesse, a conservative-monarchist "National Democratic Party (NDP)" had emerged in November 1945, and its openly National Socialist wing achieved a spectacular electoral success in the 1948 municipal elections in Wiesbaden, led by Karl-Heinz Priester, with 24.41%. The most dynamic Nazi group of those early years, however, had in the meantime become the "Gemeinschaft unabhängiger

Deutscher" (GuD), which in turn had been founded by Joachim von Ostau. He was now joined by those National Socialists who were soon to become famous - Dr. Doris, Krüger and Major General Remer, who had put down the coup against Hitler on July 20, 1944! The GuD became the nucleus of the "Socialist Reich Party" founded on October 1949, the only really National Socialist party since 1945! The situation was favorable for the SRP, after the foundation of parties was no longer subject to the approval of the victorious powers and now also many of the internees and prisoners of war had returned and immediately threw themselves into the fight again!

The SRP was really not one of these bourgeois-nationalist groups, which since 1945 have been predominant in the so-called national camp with their cowardice and conformity - it was a young party (the majority of the members were between 20 - 40 years old), it was a people's movement (all occupational groups and strata were equally represented and united in the struggle for the restoration of the Reich and the realization of the PRIMARY National Socialism - already at that time the revolutionary-socialist wing, which had been defeated on 30 June 1934, was clearly predominant in the NS movement. June 1934, as could already be seen from the naming of the SRP!), it was a soldierly party (95% of its members were former members of the Wehrmacht) and it was an emphatically national-socialist party (in the prohibition order of 1952 it is even reproached that its leader corps consisted mainly of former "old fighters" (NSDAP members before 1930) and active national-socialists and that it recruited for this leader corps also purposefully and with preference such former NS-officials, in order to become thereby the organizational collecting tank of the ideas of the Third Reich. In such a militant National Socialist movement, a militant elite in the tradition of the SA, a storm detachment of political soldiers, had to emerge quite naturally.

The upcoming political struggle for the election this year made it necessary to set up an active movement in the circles of the SRP. The name says what importance is to be attached to this movement. Every district and local organization must quickly find the most active people who are physically, age-wise, and commitment-wise capable of fully committing themselves to our goals. Only then, when we succeed in organizing that hurry of our people, which should be the carrier of our thought, our party work is carried by success. This in turn requires a summary of the generation of front-line soldiers of the last world war. The alignment and activation of this generation according to our goals guarantees not only the existence of our party, but the future of our people."

From these words of the founding appeal of the "Reichsfront" speaks unadulterated tradition and spirit of the SA and thus documents that National Socialism and its conception of the political soldier did not perish after 1945" The Reichsfront formed the core of the SRP and summarized those members "who are willing to selflessly place themselves in the service of our party in order to thereby render the highest service to the people through willingness to make sacrifices. Their slogan is: I am nothing, my people are everything!"

Of the party comrades who, according to their own information, numbered at last about 40,000, 6,000 were fighters of the Reichsfront! After spectacular local and regional electoral successes around 10% of the vote, the Socialist Reich Party, including its Reich Front, was banned at the end of 1952. The long night of National Socialism began!

As mentioned, small illegal groups formed the first form of organization of National Socialists after the war. A late example of such small secret organizations is described here, so that these efforts are also freed from oblivion: Completely independent of the SRP, the "Freikorps Deutschland" was founded on 17.8.1951, by the former Waffen-SS - member Hermann Lamp. This Freikorps numbered a few dozen fanatical fighters - honorary member was Hans-Ulrich Rudel; it recognized Grand Admiral Dönitz as head of state and legal successor of the Führer. Because of its National Socialist activities, the Freikorps was banned in February 1953 and its officials arrested in Hamburg. The prohibition order stated:

"Unquestioning obedience and strict secrecy are required of members. Each member must sign a commitment form upon joining and is listed only under a cover number or alias. Even the membership cards are numbered only. According to the leadership, the member commitment is to be surrounded by a "mystical nimbus" in order to bring the members together into a "conspiratorial community." It is announced to the members that in case of negligence everyone has to expect "that the harshness of the Freikorps will hit him". In the program, the Freikorps commits itself to the "revised 25 points of the party program of the NSDAP".

This is how and similar to what we have to imagine the first organizational efforts after 1945. And this is exactly how the independent Nazi fighting groups were formed and organized everywhere at the beginning of the 1970s, the most important of which, the NS-Kampfgruppe Großdeutschland (NSKG), is practically an identical new edition of the Freikorps Deutschland and is active exactly thirty

years later (1971 - 1973). From the NSKG's North American foreign organization, under the then 18-year-old Gerd Lauck, the most important NS underground movement of the postwar period - the NSDAP/AO, which is still active today - then emerges in 1973. There is no continuity in personnel between the Freikorps and the NSKG: to my knowledge, no once active member of Freikorps Deutschland ever became active in the NS movement of the new generation after 1968. But tradition, spirit and attitude of political soldiering always produce similar forms of organization - an encouraging example for the immortality of our idea!

The years between the SRP ban in 1952 and the founding of the Bund Deutscher Nationalsozialisten (BDNS) by Wolf-Dieter Eckart, as a representative of the new generation of National Socialists, at the end of 1968, represent the "long night of National Socialism" in the history of our movement. Apart from the "Gauleiterkreis" around the former state secretary in the Ministry of Propaganda, Dr. Naumann, which also still belongs to the efforts of the early 1950s, we are not aware of any clearly National Socialist organization in those years. But even without any clear, organizational form, National Socialism lives on and survived the long night. Two currents guarantee this survival:

Many National Socialists once organized in the SRP, who did not resign like most or want to be corrupted by the prosperity that was now gradually softening the resistance of the old generation, worked in reactionary national political organizations.

Practically all supporters of our present Gesinnungsgemeinschaft (community of conviction) from the older generation went the way from the SRP via the DRP and NPD, until they finally found their way back to an unequivocal NS-movement, which is built up by the new generation after 1968, or they were won as young members of DRP and NPD by such old fighters for National Socialism. This circle of comrades includes the two SNE honorary members Willi Krämer (bearer of the Golden Party Badge of the NSDAP, former chief of staff in the Reich Propaganda Department and last deputy of Dr. Goebbels in the Reich Government South - office bearer in the SRP and DRP, member of NPD and ANR) and Knight's Cross bearer Otto Riehs (also SRP, DRP and NPD); the same path was taken by the Chief of Staff of the SA of the NSDAP/AO and bearer of the Golden Badge of Honor of the HJ - the man with the code name "Armin". These three are to be mentioned representatively for all those comrades who embody in their person the unbroken tradition of the National Socialist movement and had made themselves available again in unshakable loyalty, also to the NS movement of the new genera-

tion!

The way via DRP, NPD and other national-conservative associations could not bring any successes for National Socialism - it only served the survival of the idea in a time when there did not seem to be the slightest political prospects for our movement.

The only success of those years is connected with the name of the former professional soldier (Reichswehr since 1930) and later SRP member Hans Schiekora, who joins the DRP in 1956, gets the state association of Rhineland-Palatinate under control with his National Socialist comrades and enters the state parliament as state chairman in 1959 with 5.1%. But on 27.1.1960 the LV Rhineland-Palatinate of the DRP is forbidden as successor organization of the SRP!

While in such, organizationally and propagandistically in the core reactionary parties, thanks to many quiet comrades, National Socialism lived on as an idea, it hardly played a role there as a life attitude of the political soldier: Neither the DRP, nor the early NPD formed an organization form comparable with SA or Reichsfront: Clearly a bourgeois life attitude prevailed - not that of workers and soldiers!

It was different with the second current, in whose stream National Socialism survived its long night - the national youth alliances! Even if there also formal confessions to the liberal-capitalist state and its democratic order prevailed and even if most of them - already from the low age of a youth alliance beginning with sixyear-olds - were no conscious and convinced National Socialists, nevertheless an attitude to life lived on here, which combined soldierly attitude with a national-political confession. For the older ones, however, the step to conversion to a clearly and unambiguously National Socialist organization was only a short one, as would quickly become apparent in the new formation of the SA after 1977.

The system also saw a great danger in such youth work and constantly persecuted these youth associations with harassment and bans.

In 1948/49, national youth alliances began their work - the sponsors of this work were mostly former members of folish-national youth groups of the Weimar period and younger HJ leaders. And they took a clear stand on the system that was forming. Exemplary for this are the resolutions of the folkish-oriented "Gefahrtenschaft" (companionship group) of February 1951, founded in 1950 by

the SPR office holder:

"We are not willing to cooperate in any way in the consolidation of the present German state conditions, which we reject as inadequate in every respect. We feel no internal or external obligation to the present state. We are of the opinion that its deficiencies cannot be remedied by any cooperation, but belong to it by their very nature."

Despite all the persecutions, up to 40,000 young people belonged to national youth organizations of this kind before the onset of prosperity led to a meltdown to a hard core in this area as well. Prohibitions, as well as the temptations of prosperity thinking, represented a terrible selection process. Prohibitions were:

- **Reichsjugend** under the leadership of Wegener 1956
- **Reichsjugend** under the leadership of Höller (independent of previous 1959)
- **National Youth of Germany** banned 12.1.1960.
- **Bund vaterländischer Jugend** (one of the best-organized and most powerful youth groups) banned in mid-1962 because of "anti-German constitutional tendencies".
- Bund Nationaler Studenten, banned 1961/62.
- Local group Bad Bergzabern of the Stahlhelm, forbidden 1966.

When the ANS/NA 17 years later, at the 1st time 1983 the first national-socialist May rally after the war in Bad Bergzabern accomplished, Stahlhelm comrades, who had belonged still to this, 1966 forbidden, local group, had carried out thereby organizational assistance. Thus always on's new the circle of the indestructible Gesinnungsgemeinschaft closes. Hardly two years later - 1968 - the first again clearly national-socialist organization arises with the BDNS, ends in this way the long night and documents the, in these years successfully accomplished, secret generation change!

The hardest and most successful movement of those dark years was - as mentioned - the BVJ, which was also clearly shown by the militant activities of some of its fighters. Quite a number of BVJ activists took part in the German struggle for freedom in South Tyrol: for example, in 1963, 14 young Germans were identified who were suspected of involvement in explosive attacks in South Tyrol; two students died in actions of this kind, thus becoming blood witnesses of a new generation of political soldiers.

However, the oldest national youth movement still in existence today - the Wiking Youth (WJ) - proved to be the most vital organization.

Founded as early as 1950 under the name Reichsjugend by the SRP official Matthaei and reformed in 1952 with other groups under the name Wiking-Jugend, the WJ still educates children and young people from the age of six to a national-political conviction and a soldierly attitude to life. Former and active WJ members played a decisive role in the formation of our SA-Sturm on May 8, 1977, even though the organization itself was skeptical to dismissive of us, until we were finally able to join hands in comradeship during a joint operation in December 1984. A youth organization cannot set the emphasis in the political struggle. The work of the WJ, however, produces young fighters who, when they grow out of the youth work in terms of age, can meaningfully work and fight only in our ranks!

The continuation of life and the generational change that was beginning to take place during these years can also be seen in the illegal propaganda that has constantly existed since the end of the war. Such pro-National Socialist and anti-Jewish so-called "smear campaigns" are, during the "long night", the only quite open evidence of survival. And in them it is shown that by young people symbols, taboos and irritant words of the Third Reich are understood as a sign of protest, the most radical and decisive protest against the bourgeois system possible! This realization is important, because without it the eventual emergence and success of an openly national socialist movement since 1968 is incomprehensible!

It is fascinating to see how ONE such propaganda action of two young BV activists - the 23-year-old Arbold Strunk and the 25-year-old Paul Schönen -, in Cologne against a Jewish synagogue, on the night of 24. December 1959, triggered the largest National Socialist propaganda offensive to date - and this entirely without any organizational backing from an illegal Nazi organization, as is typical of the 1970s:

By Jan. 28, 1960 alone, police authorities registered 685 anti-Jewish incidents; 234 people were arrested! - 76% of the activists are under thirty years old! Altogether in the course of this propaganda offensive of the year 1960 1083 activists are determined, to 50,3% under 30 years! No - also during the "long night" National Socialism lives on! The fewest of these activists are organizationally bound to existing national groups - they act out of a revolutionary protest atti-

tude, which should find its organizational expression only years later!

In 1966, the Federal Committee for Criminal Law Reform wrote about the potential of the future Nazi movement: "According to this, the offices for the protection of the constitution have registered the names of about 3,000 "incorrigibles" who have committed Nazi or anti-Semitic crimes of conviction, or who are urgently suspected of doing so ... Of the convicted offenders, about one in four belonged to a right-wing radical organization. The rest sympathize with these organizations. A large proportion of the fanatical young offenders come from the leadership class of banned nationalist youth groups." Barely three years later, the Bund Deutscher Nationalsozialisten is founded - a new chapter begins in the history of our movement:

Between 1964 - 1968, the national camp is completely under the impression of the surprising electoral successes of the NPD - in view of this triumph of bourgeois adaptation to the system (entry into 7 state parliaments with between 5 - 9% and more than 4000 local deputies in city and district parliaments), despite the considerable potential just described, national socialist organizational efforts have no chance - nor are they attempted, any more than they have since the SRP ban. Also the foundation of the BDNS is politically hopeless. It has its value in the symbolic: The first Nazi movement of the new generation is born. But also the political long-distance effect of the federation is considerable: In the middle of 1976 I joined the, since the BDNS prohibition of 1969 as successor organization active, "friend circle of the NSDAP" and thus in the long run our today's Gesinnungsgemeinschaft is heir of the, of the BDNS and Wolf-Dieter Eckart, suggested and brought into being Hamburg NS scene!

However, National Socialism only came to political fruition after the NPD's failure in the 1969 Bundestag elections, which became the actual trigger for the National Socialist struggle for freedom, which now began more forcefully year after year. The system, which had fought and defeated the peaceful bourgeois and adaptive National Democrats with hatred and agitation, reaped the emergence of a movement of revolutionary young National Socialists with which it could not cope!

The radicalization was already indicated by the foundation of the "Ordnungs-Dienstes" (Order Service) of the NPD (OD), which became inevitable by the violent disturbances of NPD events, with which, following an inner logic, against the will of the bourgeois NPD leadership for the first time again a potentially

revolutionary fighting organization of political soldiers arose: Many of these swashbucklers of the OD later found their way to us.

In 1970, an attempt to re-establish the NSDAP was made in Munich, but it failed, as did a second, more thorough and better organized attempt in 1976. More promising was the formation of the NS Kampfgruppen, from the most important of which - the HSKG - emerged the NSDAP/AO, as mentioned above, which developed the most realistic and best conception. In addition to these party-oriented organizational efforts, a number of other Nazi groups emerge, formed around a new "leader." A unified movement does not result from all this - on the contrary: increasing fragmentation and rivalry dominate the scene, which nevertheless grows numerically to a few hundred victim and ready activists!

In 1977 the hour of the political soldiers strikes, who for the first time consciously place themselves again in the tradition of the SA and thus open the way forward!







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