

NS News Bulletin

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Political Soldier

Part 6

THE NEW SA (1977 - 1983)

n terms of organizational history, our present-day National Socialist community of thought derives from the BDNS, via the Freundeskreis of the NSDAP, and from the HSKG, via the NSDAP/AO - both strands finally flowing together in the new SA formed in 1977. More important, of course, than the derivation from the BDNS and the Freundeskreis, which has only local political significance in Hamburg, where the first SA-Sturm was founded, is the one from the NSDAP/A0: The importance of the NSDAP/AO for the upswing of the National Socialist movement at the end of the 1970s could not be overestimated! It is no coincidence that it could assert itself in the constant ups and downs of the new NS groups as the most stable factor and that from its ranks our Gesinnungsgemeinschaft emerged, with which for the first time since 1952 a uniform, nationwide and powerful NS movement arose again and survived! In the 70's the NSDAP/AO under the leadership of Gerd Lauck managed to avoid all possible and actually by other NS-groups also committed wrong ways and to work out a realistic and promising conception for the national-socialist fight for freedom at the end of our century. What were these wrong ways that were taken by others?

• MORE AND MORE GERMAN PATRIOTS, ESPECIALLY OF THE YOUNG GENERATION, FINDED THEIR WAY BACK TO NATIONAL SOCIALISM. We had seen that the security authorities of the FRG had recognized already in

1986, BEFORE the organizational new beginning, about 3000 National Socialists - still many more hid themselves in other groups, cultivated their convictions only in the smallest, private circle and tried to remain unrecognized. Unfortunately, this hardly changed even after the founding of open Nazi groups, which were able to win over only a few hundred activists and supporters, but in most cases their fragmentation amounted to barely a dozen to at most a hundred comrades. Thus, many National Socialists remained and remain to this day in other national groups and camouflage themselves there. They want to work in silence, in secret. Others simply rename National Socialism and thus try to escape the Nazi ban and persecution. All this keeps National Socialism alive as well, but brings no progress and remains ineffective - a continuation of the sterility of the 1960s.

- THE UNFUEL OF THE LEADER CULT: A large part of the blame for the fragmentation and ineffectiveness of the new NS movement in the 1970s was borne by the ambition and vanity of small "little leaders" who all measured their unimpressive appearance against the titanic figure of Adolf Hitler and claimed for themselves to want to lead the movement with the same authority and with the claim to unrestricted personal command! Now, since the longing for a new leader in our movement is very great, not least because of the painful weakness and political insignificance compared to the historical NSDAP and its leader, each of these "little leaders" found a few devout followers who kindled a corresponding cult around him. And not only that often these "leaders" not only promoted absolute command, but also claimed for themselves the right to "interpret" National Socialism as an idea or even to "develop it further"! Thus not only the organizational, but also the ideological unity of the still hardly consolidated young NS-movement of the new generation was endangered or made impossible.
- THE IRRWAY OF ARMED RESISTANCE: In view of the constant persecution and suppression of National Socialism, it is precisely the best, most honest and fanatical young activists who are repeatedly tempted to leave the arduous path of confession and repression and to achieve supposedly rapid success and effect by organizing an armed resistance. In reality as experience has shown all such attempts fail after a few months because of the security apparatus of the FRG, on the contrary: unconsciously such comrades play a devilish, perverse game of the ruling system by the persecution the system drives the fighters quite consciously into the armed resistance, because it suppresses every legal and free attempt to the national-socialist propaganda work, on the other hand desperate reactions and explosions of the armed resistance, grown from justified indignation, are abused after their smashing again for agitation and as a pretext for the continuation of the special laws of the Nazi prohibition!

• THE TEMPERATE ATTEMPT TO RE-FOUND THE NSDAP: In order to overcome the fragmentation, to make possible again a binding definition of National Socialist ideas and policies as well as concrete, promising political work, comrades in the 1970s repeatedly fell for the idea, which was correct in itself, of re-founding the NSDAP. However, this regularly failed due to the numerical and organizational weakness of the current NS movement. The refounding must be carefully prepared and thoughtfully carried out - a premature attempt at refounding is harmful, a caricature and thus an insult to the Führer's party!

The NSDAP/AO escaped all these political dead ends:

It did not camouflage itself, as the National Socialists did in NPD and other national-conservative associations and attempted to do in the framework of the Fascist Front and the People's Socialist Movement, but organized itself as a distinctly National Socialist movement.

It did not proclaim a new "Führer," as did the Roeder movement in particular, nor did it claim the right to change, develop, or even falsify the National Socialist idea. Instead of obeying a new FÜHRER, it taught the National Socialists to recognize the leadership task of the PARTEI.

It did not call for armed resistance, as the European Liberation Front and even still the NSKG had done, but developed the concept of the "propagandistic underground".

And finally, it did not claim to be the new NSDAP, as groups of National Socialists unsuccessfully did again and again in 1970, 1976 and 1979, but contented itself with the practical organizational tasks of preparing and promoting the new foundation of the NSDAP as its foreign and structural organization. This working method and realistic assessment of the possibilities and chances of National Socialist organizational work won over to the NSDAP/AO those National Socialists who did not want to settle for political self-satisfaction and Nazi games, but were looking for a clear and convincing concept. Its radicalism and loyalty to the historical style of the NSDAP, however, also won the AO many of those unorganized, revolutionary-minded young people who simply recognized in National Socialism the sharpest and most merciless declaration of war against the bourgeois system.

Thus, by the end of the 1970s, the NSDAP/AO had become the strongest NS group in the new movement. And so it also attracted the most radical and con-

sistent fighters who, coming from JN and WJ, found their way into the ranks of the NSDAP/AO. Many of these fighters, however, were not satisfied with organizing themselves in small cells in accordance with the NSDAP/AO's work guidelines, which prohibited them from contacting each other and limited them to nightly, illegal propaganda operations. While this tactic was justified for security reasons, it was too little for the activism and sense of community of the young fighters. The first to understand this, in 1976, was "Armin," then coordinator of the NSDAP/AO in the federal territory. He came from a fanatically National Socialist family, his father was an SA leader, he himself had already been active in the HJ as a six-year-old during the fighting period, which is why he was a bearer of the Golden Badge of Honor of the HJ. And he developed the demand to form a unified and tightly organized force of political soldiers from the most active fighters of the NSDAP/AO, despite all security concerns in the underground - an SA of the NSDAP/AO. Although he had already had nationwide propaganda offensives of the NSDAP/AO carried out since 1976, a real organization had not yet been born.

This came into being just as accidentally, as ultimately fatefully, in March 1977 on the occasion of an NPD federal party conference in Hanover. The evening before, a central JN rally had taken place, which was to end with a torchlight procession at dusk. As the demonstrators began to form into a procession, a voice suddenly rang out from the darkness: "AO to the rear!" All the comrades who had hitherto declared their allegiance to the NSDAP/AO in isolation, without knowing about each other, fell into line at the rear, suddenly realizing that they constituted more than a third of the total strength. It was a fascinating experience, breaking out of isolation in small groups and ending the feeling of standing alone against everyone with just a few comrades. That weekend, under the impression of this experience and after a conversation with "Armin", who explained to me the strategy and tactics of the AO, I joined the NSDAP/AO from the Friends of the NSDAP and received the order to build up an SA-Sturm in Hamburg!

A few weeks later - on May 8, 1977 - I and two other comrades founded the first SA formation of the post-war period, the "SA-Sturm Hamburg 8. Mai".

For the history of our community it should prove to be decisive that we got together underground and thus created an illegal organization from the beginning. Only through the founding of the Action Front of National Socialists (ANS) as an advance organization in November 1977 did we emerge, at least in part, from illegality. Together with our attitude to life as political soldiers in the tradition of the SA, it was this birth in the underground that took away from us from the outset any

fear of persecution and banning, which had paralyzed all national groups for decades and thus ensured our success!

When we were actually banned in December 1983, it didn't change anything for us. We simply stayed together and began to form new forms of organization!

Our Hamburg SA-Sturm was also the first in the post-war period to clearly formulate its commitment to the spirit of the SA, and this was reflected in the "10 Commandments of the Political Soldier," which were published in the first issue of our monthly underground magazine, "DER STURM - SA-Kampfblatt für Hamburg und Umgebung," in June 1977. They asserted themselves in the entire area of the SA of the NSDAP/AO; in the same year also the Frankfurt "Kampfgruppe Großdeutschland" (KGD), independent of us, adopted the 10 Commandments as binding for itself - and in January 1983, finally, after the merger of the ANS with the "National Activists" and the subsequent nationwide breakthrough, they became obligatory for our entire community of thought everywhere in Germany!

The SA of the NSDAP/AO prepared sieh fast. After Hamburg, also in Hanover, Braunschweig, North Rhine-Westphalia and finally even Munich, SA storms had emerged - in December 1977, at a Führerthing in Hesse, a staff leadership of the SA was formed and "Armin" was appointed Chief of Staff. In April 1978, the first postwar issue of the Völkischer Beobachter appeared - published by the SA staff leadership in recognition of the leading role of the NSDAP/AO party leadership. And yet, in revolutionary practice, the justification of the NSDAP/AO leadership's warning against a tight underground consolidation and the formation of an underground headquarters, in the occupied territory of the Reich, was to become apparent.

As early as September 1977, the Hamburg SA storm was uncovered and the underground work, which had been consistently pursued despite increasing losses through persecution and imprisonment, finally failed at the end of 1979 with the arrest of the SA chief of staff "Armin", who in the end even failed to counteract a drift into armed resistance, broke down at the collapse of his work in prison and began to rage against himself and all others and to isolate himself completely. That is the reason why I do not want to mention the name of that man, who as a human being finally failed, as chief of staff of the SA with the code name "Armin", but for a certain stretch of our struggle for freedom acquired a great importance and an imperishable merit.

The Hamburg SA storm, of course, was only partly drawn into the collapse of the SA of the NSDAP/AO, since under my leadership it had long since ceased to limit itself to underground work, but since the founding of the ANS in November 1977 had concentrated more and more on legal, public propaganda work.

In the following hard years up to January 1983, the SNE was also confronted with all those aberrations already described, which were brought as temptations, both within and outside our ranks, to the National Socialists organized with us. However, the origin of our force from the NSDAP/AO and the commitment to its concept allowed the ANS to survive, despite losses and serious problems and crises. With the orientation towards public propaganda work, however, numerous questions and problems arose to which the NSDAP/AO concept, oriented towards pure underground work, no longer provided an answer. In these difficult times, our community finally formed a clear conception of the necessities and forms of public propaganda and organizational work by National Socialists in the tradition and spirit of the SA, which went far beyond the conception of the NSDAP/AO, but did not contradict it, but complemented it in a meaningful way. The result of this maturing process of our troops was formulated in the organizational order of the AN-S/NA of March 1983:

"The ANS/NA sees itself as the legal arm of the National Socialist movement of the new generation in the tradition of the SA and fights politically for the lifting of the NS ban. It professes the core and meaning of the 25-point program of the NSDAP of 24.2.1920, rejects violence for the implementation of political goals and endeavors to work within the framework of the existing laws. The ANS/NA dissolves as soon as the re-establishment of the NSDAP as a legal party in Germany is possible again and will then make its cadres available to it!"

Thus the new SA had finally found its organizational conception, its style and its attitude to life, and could now go to work with determination. The breakthrough of the year 1983 proved it right: Already in the summer of the same year the organizational basis had spread in such a way that the foundation of an electoral party under the name "Aktion Ausländerückführung - Volksbewegung gegen Überfremdung und Umweltzerstörung" (AAR) became possible. With this, our community had basically already outgrown its limitation as SA and had taken the next step towards the building of a national socialist PARTEI (on the difference and relationship between party and SA, I refer once again to the first two chapters of this writing as a reminder). At the end of the year, several hundred political soldiers were

organized in the ranks of the ANS/NA in 36 comradeships and nine states. But before this was achieved, our community still had to cope with a dangerous crisis - the confrontation with an emerging SS wing within the troops!

There are many misunderstandings about the attitude of our community towards the SS: We are not simply hostile to the SS; at first, as described, we merely took a positive approach to the tradition and spirit of the SA, without associating this with a declaration of war on the tradition and spirit of the SS, which, after all, originally embodied only a further intensified attitude to life of political soldiering. Admittedly, our commitment to the SA also brought with it a well-considered and critical assessment of the tragedy of June 30, 1934, and already in the second post-war issue of the Völkischer Beobachter, in the fall of 1978, the staff leadership of the SA, on behalf of the NSDAP/AO, announced the rehabilitation of Ernst Röhm and his recognition as a great National Socialist revolutionary. Even this, however, did not imply a front against the SS, but only an intensified rejection of reaction.

Our SS-critical attitude began only in the summer of 1983, when we had to witness that an organization-damaging group around the then member of the ANS/NA organizational leadership, Arnd-Heinz Marx, behaved more and more harshly and rejecting the tradition and spirit of the SA and conversely identified more and more with the historical SS - and just NOT with the SS, This was precisely NOT with the SS, insofar as it embodied the same ideals and attitudes as the SA, but with that anti-party tradition of the SS, of all things, which in terms of ideology amounted to a dogmatic degeneration, in terms of organization to an independence, and in terms of attitude to life to an arrogant, non-compradely claim to rule over the movement. In the fall of 1983, the creeping crisis reached its climax when Marx, contrary to my orders, had comrades from the Frankfurt and Hanau comradeships swear in HIS PERSON.

It was not only intolerable within the organization that thus the No. 3 of the movement, without regard for the other two members of the organizational leadership, took an oath on his person - it was also intolerable ideologically, since since the death of the Fuehrer no one has the right to identify his person with the party and to demand subordination to the person instead of to the party. This provocative claim to arbitrary rule over the movement, instead of working and fighting as a leadership comrade in and for the community, as we demanded in the tradition of the SA, and the justification of this attack on our self-image and our organization with a look back to the historical SS, which

was soon followed by partly insinuating, partly threatening allusions to June 30, led to our not only excluding the group around Marx, but now also publicly clarifying our attitude, towards the historical SS in the way it is presented in Chapter 6.

When Marx did not stop his struggle against the movement and for its splitting efforts, but even intensified it by personal assassination attempts against leadership comrades of our community and intrigues, we had to ostracize him and his followers and declare them party pests. Connected with this was the declaration of June 30 as "Fighting Day against Reaction," which has been celebrated annually since 1984, in opposition to those party-damaging tendencies that objectively serve reaction. Even if today Marx has sunk into the abyss of complete insignificance, vigilance remains necessary against those tendencies which he embodied and with which he wanted to smash our movement. This explains our critical attitude towards the historical SS, to which he referred in his party-damaging machinations, without us therefore condemning sweepingly everything connected with the SS or being blind to all the great and exemplary things that SS comrades and above all Waffen SS comrades have achieved and which we certainly include in our understanding of tradition!

With the expulsion of Marx from our community in the fall of 1983, the crisis was largely resolved and the basic comradely attitude in leadership and following was restored.

At the end of 1983, we could proudly state that, for the first time since 1952, there was again a functioning, nationwide, unified National Socialist movement. At that time, this already included not only the new SA - embodied in the comradeships of the National Activists and the cadre of the ANS - but also, under the leadership of the former SRP activist Knight's Cross bearer Otto Riehs, a "Circle of Friends of German Politics", which organized our supporters of the older generation, a company cell organization and a girls' association. Organizationally independent, but politically under the leadership of my deputy Thomas Brehl, there was also the electoral party AAR. The SA had already become a real, small, but active people's movement, even though the political soldiers clearly predominated numerically and politically. Thus, already towards the end of 1983, the decision was made that in the coming year the AN-S/NA should take more of a back seat in order to consolidate and train its cadres, while the political emphasis should be placed on the expansion of the

AAR and the branches of our movement, which had now practically become THE national socialist movement par excellence!

But on December 7, 1983, the ANS/NA with its subdivisions, as well as the AAR were banned by the Bonn system. The history of the new SA, our Action Front of National Socialists, thus ended in its previous form - the struggle shifted to a NEW FRONT!







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