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IN THE  
INTERNATIONAL MILITARY TRIBUNAL

TRIAL BRIEF

CRIMINALITY OF THE STURMAUTEILUNGEN (THE SA)  
OF THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST GERMAN  
LABOR PARTY

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10 November 1945

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*Omission -*

*S.A. - 1920 - 1934 - Thirly covered.  
Evidence available  
Court records, political murder  
Nazi monographs.  
Main emphasis*

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GOERING

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SECTION OF INDICTMENT

The following sections of the Indictment pertain to the Sturmabteilung (SA) of the National Socialist German Labor Party:

COUNT ONE (H)

INDIVIDUAL, GROUP AND ORGANIZATION RESPONSIBILITY  
FOR THE OFFENSE STATED IN COUNT ONE

... Reference is hereby made to Appendix B of this Indictment for a statement of the responsibility of the groups and organizations named herein as criminal groups and organizations for the offense set forth in this Count One of the Indictment.

Appendix B of the Indictment contains the following:

DIE STURMABTEILUNGEN DER NATIONALSOZIALISTISCHEN  
DEUTSCHEN ARBEITERPARTEI (COMMONLY KNOWN AS THE SA)

"Die Sturmabteilungen der Nationalsozialistischen Deutschen Arbeiterpartei (commonly known as the SA)" referred to in the Indictment was a formation of the Nazi Party under the immediate jurisdiction of the Fuehrer, organized on military lines, whose membership was composed of volunteers serving as political soldiers of the Party. It was one of the earliest formations of the Nazi Party and the original guardian of the National Socialist movement. Founded in 1921 as a voluntary military formation, it was developed by the Nazi conspirators before their accession to power into a vast private army and utilized for the purpose of creating disorder, and terrorizing and eliminating political opponents. It continued to serve as an instrument for the physical, ideological and military training of Party members and as a reserve for the German armed forces. After the launching of the wars of aggression, referred to in Counts One and Two of the Indictment, the SA not only operated as an organization for military training but provided auxiliary police and security forces in occupied territories, guarded prisoner-of-war camps and concentration camps and supervised and controlled persons forced to labour in Germany and occupied territories.

Through its purposes and activities and the means it used, it participated in and is responsible for the commission of the crimes set forth in Counts One, Two, Three and Four of the Indictment.



LEGAL REFERENCES

The Sturmabteilung is named in the Indictment as one of the groups or organizations "which should be declared criminal by reason of their aims and the means used for the accomplishment thereof and in connection with the conviction of such of the named defendants as were members thereof..." (Indictment, Paragraph II).

Authority for including groups and organizations in this manner is to be found in Article 9 of the Charter, which provides as follows:

"Article 9.

At the trial of any individual member of any group or organization the Tribunal may declare (in connection with any act of which the individual may be convicted) that the group or organization of which the individual was a member was a criminal organization.

After receipt of the Indictment the Tribunal shall give such notice as it thinks fit that the prosecution intends to ask the Tribunal to make such declaration and any member of the organization will be entitled to apply to the Tribunal for leave to be heard by the Tribunal upon the question of the criminal character of the organization. The Tribunal shall have power to allow or reject the application. If the application is allowed, the Tribunal may direct in what manner the applicants shall be represented and heard."

Article 6 of the Charter provides that the following acts constitute crimes within the jurisdiction of the Tribunal:

- "(a) CRIMES AGAINST PEACE: namely, planning, preparation, initiation or waging of a war of aggression, or a war in violation of international treaties, agreements or assurances, or participation in a common plan or conspiracy for the accomplishment of any of the foregoing;

- "(b) WAR CRIMES: namely, violations of the laws or customs of war. Such violations shall include, but not be limited to murder, ill-treatment or deportation to slave labor or for any other purpose of civilian population of or in occupied territory, murder or ill-treatment of prisoners of war or persons on the seas, killing of hostages, plunder of public or private property, wanton destruction of cities, towns or villages, or devastation not justified by military necessity;
- "(c) CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY: namely, murder, extermination, enslavement, deportation, and other inhumane acts committed against any civilian population, before or during the war; or persecutions on political, racial or religious grounds in execution of or in connection with any crime within the jurisdiction of the Tribunal, whether or not in violation of the domestic law of the country where perpetrated."

From the evidence summarized and set forth in the within brief, it must be concluded that the Sturmabteilung participated in a conspiracy which contemplated and involved the commission of each of the three types of crimes set forth in Article 6 of the Charter as quoted above; and, therefore, that the Sturmabteilung must be found to have participated in the offenses described in Counts I, II, III and IV of the Indictment.



THE SA

## I. DEVELOPMENT AND ORGANIZATION OF THE STURMABTEILUNG (SA), STORM TROOPS, OF THE NSDAP.

In Part I of this Trial Brief on the SA a statement will be presented of the evidence showing the historical development of the Sturmabteilung (SA), Storm Troops of the NSDAP, and the form of its organizational structure.

A. Outline of the Development of the SA:

The SA was created by Adolf Hitler in the year 1921. At the outset it consisted of bands of meeting hall guards. The organization was given its name "Sturmabteilung" (Storm Troops) by Hitler on the occasion of the Hofbrauhaus riot in Munich on 4 November 1921.

2168-PS; Book by SA-Sturmfuhrer Dr. Ernst Bayer, Die SA, compiled on order of the Supreme SA Headquarters, 1938, Berlin, pp. 8-9.

2760-PS; Adolf Hitler, Mein Kampf, 1933 edition, pp. 563-567, Houghton-Mifflin Co., U.S.A., 1943 edition, English translation, pp. 502-507.

Membership in the SA was voluntary:

"Service in the SA is and remains voluntary. Recruiting (Werbung) for entrance into the SA shall neither promise advantage nor exercise pressure of any kind."

2354-PS; Organisationsbuch der NSDAP, edited by Dr. Ley, Central Press of the NSDAP, 7th edition, 1943, Munich, p. 367.

2471-PS; Brochure by Victor Lutze, Chief of Staff of the SA, The Affairs and Tasks of the SA, Central Press of NSDAP, 1936, Munich, p. 22.

After the Munich Putsch (November 1923) the SA was declared illegal. It continued to exist, however, during the entire period of Hitler's imprisonment.

2168-PS; Bayer, Die SA, p. 10

In February, 1925, upon his release from prison, Hitler formally re-created and re-organized the SA.

2168-PS; Bayer, op. cit., p. 10.

In 1926 the SA was declared by Hitler to be a branch and agency of NSDAP,

2168-PS; Bayer, op. cit., pp. 11-12.

During the years 1926-27 the SA was organized into groups and formations along military lines, including divisions, brigades, regiments, companies, and platoons.

2168-PS; Bayer, Die SA, p. 12.

In 1927 the membership in SA was approximately 30,000. By 1931 its membership had increased to approximately 100,000.

2168-PS; Bayer, op. cit., pp. 12-13.

From April until June 1932, the SA itself, the SA uniform, and demonstrations by the SA were prohibited by the Reich Government. The SA continued to exist and to carry on their activities during this period.

2168-PS; Bayer, op. cit., p. 13.

Bayer states that: "The word 'forbidden' was all too well-known to SA men" and that the Berlin SA coined the phrase in May, 1927, "In spite of prohibitions, not dead" (Trotzdem Verbot nicht Tod).

2168-PS; Bayer, op. cit., p. 12.

These prohibitions were lifted by the Reich government in June, 1932.

2168-PS; Bayer, op. cit., p. 13

On 30 January 1933, Hitler was named as Chancellor of the German Reich, and there was a great demonstration by the SA, especially in Berlin:

"Then the day dawns which meant victory and fulfillment of the struggle of the SA: the 30th of January, 1933. No command was given on this day, and yet 10,000 of SA men and National Socialists stood ready in the evening, in their old tattered brown shirts in which they had marched through murder and terror, to greet the Fuehrer, their Supreme SA Fuehrer, as Chancellor of the German Reich."

2168-PS; Bayer, op. cit., p. 14

After Hitler came to power, the development of the SA continued. For evidence relating to the part which the SA had in aiding the Nazi conspirators to consolidate in the State the position of the National Socialist Party after 30 January 1933; the purge of the SA leaders, among whom was Ernst Roehm, the Chief of Staff of the SA; and the role played by the SA in assisting the Nazi conspirators to prepare for war between 1934 and 1939, see Part II of this trial brief on the SA.

B. Outline of the Organization of the SA.

NOTE: In presenting this subject see first page of Document Book for an organizational chart based on SA-Sturmfuhrer Dr. Bayer's book, Die SA, pp. 16-30. The chart represents the SA in 1938.

1. Headquarters Organization.

During the period from 1931 to 1943 the SA underwent various stages of development and reorganization. As of 1938 the branches in the Supreme SA Headquarters included the following offices:

Chief of Staff, with his personal offices  
Operational Headquarters  
Education Office  
Health Office  
Personal Affairs Office  
Administrative Office  
NS-Tournament Office

2354-PS; Organisationsbuch der NSDAP, 5th edition, 1938, p. 361.

2168-PS; Bayer, Die SA, pp. 16-25.

2. Military Formations.

Immediately subordinate to the Chief of Staff of the SA were units of the SA organized into military formations. They existed "in all the regions of the Reich and in the free city of Danzig" and were divided "according to political and territorial considerations." In 1938 there were 24 divisions (Gruppen) which bore a territorial name. The units below the level of a division were SA brigades, composed of several regiments; regiments were composed of three to five battalions; battalions of three to five companies; companies of three platoons; and platoons of three squads.

2168-PS; Bayer, op. cit., p. 7

By 1940 the SA had 27 divisions (Gruppen).

2354-PS; Organisationsbuch der NSDAP, 6th edition, 1940, p. 359.

Three years later in 1943 the SA had 28 divisions (Gruppen).

2354-PS; Organisationsbuch der NSDAP, 7th edition, 1943, p. 359.

The various editions of the Organisationsbuch der NSDAP from 1938 down to 1943 give the same military set up with charts for these SA military formations.

2354-PS; Organisationsbuch der NSDAP, 5th, 6th, and 7th

editions, 1938, 1940, and 1943, p. 359 of all three editions. For charts see pp. 360, 362, 363 of all three editions.

3. Uniformed Body.

The SA had a distinctive and official service uniform with a brown colored shirt. There were some variations between the service uniform and the dress uniform.

2354-PS; Organisationsbuch der NSDAP, 6th edition, 1940, see insert between pp. 358 and 359.

4. Special SA Units.

In order to accomplish its purposes the SA set up certain "special units": engineer companies, signal companies, cavalry companies, naval units, and medical or first aid units.

2168-PS; Bayer, Die SA, pp. 25-29.

2354-PS; Organisationsbuch der NSDAP, 1938, 1940, and 1943 editions, pp. 364a - 364b of all editions.

In addition to the above, officer training schools were established to select and train SA officers.

2168-PS; Bayer, op. cit., pp. 19, 29-30.

II. PURPOSES AND ACTIVITIES OF THE SA IN AID OF THE CONSPIRACY.

A. Period 1921 to 1933:

From 1921 to 1933 the immediate task for the SA was to serve as the "fist", "the iron spearhead", "the mightiest instrument in the hand of the Fuehrer", and the National Socialist Movement in accomplishing the seizure of sovereignty in Germany, "if necessary .... by strong arm means."

2168-PS; Bayer, op. cit., Quotations in the order given above are to be found on the following respective pages: pp. 8, 10, 12.

2760-PS; Hitler, Mein Kampf, p. 598. English translation, p. 534.

SA-Sturmuehrer Dr. Bayer further states in his work, Die SA, that the SA men was "not companion along the way to great decisions but was the one who prepared the way". The SA "stopped the breaches".

2168-PS; Bayer, Die SA, pp. 15 and 11 respectively.

In effecting this immediate objective the SA was employed by the Nazi conspirators to achieve the following:



1. Prevent disruption of NSDAP meetings.

2760-PS; Hitler, Mein Kampf, pp. 600-601, English translation, pp. 536-537.

2168-PS; Bayer, Die SA, p. 10

2. Mastery of the streets.

2760-PS; Hitler, Mein Kampf, pp. 595-596, 608, 613, English translation 532, 543, 548.

2168-PS; Bayer, Die SA, pp. 9, 11.

3. Combatting any and all opponents of the Nazi Party.

2760-PS; Hitler, Mein Kampf, p. 617, English translation, p. 551

2168-PS; Bayer, Die SA, pp. 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15.

2472-PS; AFFIDAVIT of Rudolf Diels, Chief of Prussian Police in 1933 and 1934.

2471-PS; Lutze, Chief of Staff of SA, Affairs and Tasks of the SA, 1936, p. 5.

4. Participation in elections.

2168-PS; Bayer, op. cit., pp. 13-14.

5. To be examples, propagandists, and heralds of the National Socialist Ideology. The SA man's "weapon is his Ideology."

2760-PS; Hitler, Mein Kampf, p. 603, English translations, p. 538.

2168-PS; Bayer, op. cit., pp. 8, 9, 10, 15.

2471-PS; Lutze, op. cit., p. 9.

B. Period 30 January 1933 to 30 June 1934.

1. Consolidation of Power.

On 30 January 1933, Hitler was appointed Chancellor of Germany. The SA was employed to "clean up" all that was "worth cleaning up" and was proud to "be the tool for strengthening the structure of the new state." Hitler spoke to the SA on the 30th of January and told them: "All that you are, you are through me; and all that I am, I am through you alone!"

2168-PS; Bayer, op. cit., 15.

When the Reichstag Building was burned on 28 February, 1933, the Nazi Party placed the blame on Communist opponents. The SA participated in the persecution and arrest of the Communists and other political opponents.

2472-PS; AFFIDAVIT by Rudolf Diels, who was Chief of the Prussian Political Police at that time.

Shortly after this, on 3 March 1933, the defendant, Goering, made the following statement in a speech at an NSDAP demonstration at Frankfurt am Main:



"Certainly, I shall use the power of the State and the police to the utmost, my dear Communists! So you won't draw any false conclusions; by the struggle to the death, in which my fist will grasp your necks, I shall lead with those down there -- these are the Brown Shirts."

1856-PS; Book of Speeches and Articles of Hermann Goering, 1939, p. 27.

On 21 April 1933, in a circular letter, No. 6/33, issued in Munich, order was given by Dr. Ley, Nazi labor official, relative to the fact that "on Tuesday, May 2, 1933, the political coordination of the free trade unions begins." Further down in the same circular letter it is stated: "SA as well as SS are to be employed for the occupation of trade union properties and for the taking of personalities who come into question into protective custody."

392-PS; The Social Life of New Germany with Special Consideration of the German Labor Front, by Prof. Willy Muller (Berlin, 1938), NSDAP Circular, pp. 51-52

On 21 June 1933 the Veterans' Organization, the Stahlhelm and the Stahlhelm Youth, were absorbed by the SA by agreement between the Reich Chancellor Hitler, the Reich Labor Minister Seldte, the Reichswehr (war) Minister, and the Vice Chancellor.

2260-PS; Excerpt from NSK, National Socialist Press Agency publication, 21 June 1933, p. 1

During 1933 there were many excesses perpetrated by the SA against Jews and political opponents of the Nazi Party within Germany.

Official United States Department of State reports and dispatches made by George S. Messersmith, American Consul General in Berlin to the Secretary of State in Washington, give evidence relating to SA excesses both against political opponents and Jews.

L-198; State Department file 862.4016/156, March 14, 1933, Subject: "Molestations of American citizens domiciled or temporarily in Berlin, by persons wearing the uniform of a political party".

L-201; State Department file 862.4016/714, April 19, 1933, Subject: "With further reference to the displacement of Jews and other persons from public office and from the professions, and with respect to the establishment of party dominance in practically all aspects of German life."

L-121; State Department file 862.00/3422, April 27, 1934; letter from Messersmith in Berlin, to Under Secretary of State Phillips, re conditions in Germany; action against Jews, p. 1.

Social Democrats, members of the Central Party, and Communists were "arbitrarily" arrested by the SA, who were unauthorized to do so, and by force superseded the normal police functions and prevented the police from functioning in their normal capacity for the protection of citizens from attacks by other people. The SA set up at this time approximately 30 concentration camps (28 of which were later discontinued as SA camps) for the purpose of holding in custody political opponents of the Nazi Party. Two known concentration camps of the SA were: Oranienburg and Papenburg.

2472-PS; Affidavit of Rudolf Diels, who was Chief of Prussian Political Police in 1933-34.

Further evidence in respect to establishment of SA concentration camps for political opponents exists in the U.S. Department of State report of 19 April 1933, cited above:

"The Department is aware that barracks in various parts of Germany are being utilized as places of confinement for political prisoners and that special concentration camps have been erected . . . more particularly for Communists."

L-201; State Department file 862.4016/714, April 19, 1933 re persecution of Jews and Party dominance of all aspects of German life.

A book published in 1934 entitled "Concentration Camp of Oranienburg" by the camp commandant, SA-Sturmabfuhrer Schaefer, who names it in the subtitle as the "first German concentration camp", describes the origination of this camp for political prisoners.

2824-PS; Konzentrationslager Oranienburg, by SA-Sturmabfuhrer Schaefer, Regiment 208, Camp Commandant, (Berlin 1934), pp. 18-83.

In order to check the excesses of the SA and impose discipline but still to employ it in consolidating the Nazi Party within the State, a law for Securing the Unity of Party and State was passed on 1 December 1933. This law made the Chief of Staff of the SA a member of the Reich Government "in order to insure close cooperation of the offices of the Party and SA with the public authorities." This same law stated further that the SA bore great responsi-

bility toward the Fuehrer, the People and the State, and that "in case they violate these duties they will be subject to special jurisdiction by Party and State." Article 4 of this law provides that any activity injurious to the NSDAP would be a violation of duty.

Article 6 requires that "public authorities" must grant "legal and administrative assistance to ... the SA".

1395-PS; 1933, Reichsgesetzblatt, I, p. 1016.

## 2. Commitment to Military Program

In 1933 the SA was fully committed to a military program. Evidence to that effect is contained in a "Strictly Confidential" letter of 26th of May, 1933, written on the stationery of the Chief of the Ministerial Office in the Reich Military (Reichwehr) Ministry in Berlin to the Supreme SA Headquarters at Munich by an official named von Reichenau wherein it is stated:

"I call to your attention that the wish has been transmitted to me by the Military Political Office (Wehrpolitisches Amt) of the NSDAP, to be also represented in the Reich Defense Council. I would like to leave to your consideration combining this representation with that of the Supreme SA Headquarters in a personal union and to commission one suitable person with both representations."

2822-PS; original letter.

In a memorandum of 25 July 1933, from the Supreme SA Headquarters in Munich, all SA authorities were told to "exercise the greatest caution with regard to any publicity given to the SA service not only in the press but also in the information and news sheets of the individual SA units", because the Reichminister of the Interior a short time before "at the request of the Foreign Office, has given strict instructions to all Reich authorities according to which the most severe control is to be exercised on all publications which might give other countries an opening to construe German infringements of the terms of the Versailles Treaty". The same memorandum threatens that any violation of the instructions relative to publications will be severely punished and that

"pictures of the technical specialized units of the SA and SS, in particular of the

signal, motorized and possibly also of the air wings which now exist outside these formations, are forbidden, such pictures enabling other countries to prove the alleged formation of technical troop units".

This memorandum was signed for the Chief of Staff of the SA by Gruppenfuehrer and Chief of the Central Department SEYDEL.

D-44; original of circular letter Z No.1393/33.

On the 12th of December 1933 "Service Regulations by the SA of the NSDAP (Allgemeine Dienstordnung (A.D.O.) für die SA der N.S.D.A.P.) were issued as approved by the Supreme SA Fuehrer, Hitler, who stated that they applied to all branches under the SA Headquarters. This edition of the Service Regulation superseded a draft edition of service regulations published on the 20th of March, 1932.

The contents of the 12 December 1933 edition list the following sections: duties of the SA man, special duties of SA Fuehrers, disciplinary service regulations, and complaint regulations. In Section I thereof on the duties of the SA man, the following articles are set forth:

\*Article 1. "The SA man is the political soldier of Adolf Hitler ....

He enjoys, because of that, special prestige  
and has definite rights in the State".

\* \* \* \* \*

Article 3. "He who enters into an alliance with enemies of the Movement, or in any other way injures or seeks to injure purposely the Movement by act or neglect, or he who receives information of such situation and conceals it, breaks his vow of fidelity and makes himself guilty of treason.  
The most severe punishment will be inflicted upon traitors."

Article 7. "The SA man obeys his superiors joyously.  
Discipline and obedience are the steel foundation pillars of every soldierly unit.

He who can or will not subordinate himself, is not suited for the SA and has to withdraw.  
Disobedience of official command will be punished.

Disobedience by words or gestures, persistent disobedience, will be followed by severe punishment.



For enforcement of obedience every superior is entitled to apply every suitable means, even ~~if~~ his weapon if necessary."

\* \* \* \* \*

Article 18. "The SA man may use weapons which are entrusted to him, only in execution of his service or for legal self-protection.

Illegal use will be strictly punished, likewise the careless handling of weapons and ammunition if thereby human beings have been endangered, injured or killed."

Section III of these Service Regulations lists the following punishments:

- "a) simple reprimand in private
- b) severe reprimand in presence of accused's superior and public announcement at service roll call.
- c) order forbidding the wearing of the service uniform for a period of not in excess of 6 weeks . . . .
- d) order forbidding participation in service for a period not in excess of 6 weeks.
- e) mild arrest (confinement to quarters) for a period not in excess of 14 days.
- f) more severe arrest (confinement in the guard house (Arrestzelle) for a period not in excess of 14 days.
- g) order forbidding the wearing of the weapon for a period not in excess of 4 weeks.
- h) expulsion from the SA for a period not in excess of 3 months.
- i) reduction in service grade.
- j) permanent expulsion from the SA."

2820-PS; Service Regulations for the SA.

In January 1934 a Lt. Col. Auleb from the Reich Military (Reichwehr) Ministry was assigned to the Supreme SA Fuehrer in the office of the Chief of Training Division. His task, as described in a letter notes with Roehm's signature, was to support the Chief of the Training Division of the SA in the work assigned to the latter.

"For this purpose Lt. Col. Auleb is attached to the responsible office in the Staff of the Chief of the Training Division. He receives the official designation 'Chief of Staff' and is immediately subordinate to the Chief of the Training Division. Those sections which are predominantly concerned with training and organization are subordinate to him according to order of the Chief of the Training Division .... The previous task of the officer assigned to the Staff of the Chief of the Training Division as liaison officer is omitted. Chief of Staff, Staff Fuehrers and Section Directors of the Chief of the Training Division Company, as far as necessary, direct contact with the corresponding offices and divisions of the Reich Military Ministry. Lt. Col. Auleb facilitates this liaison in the transition period. . . . He regulates the correspondence



between the Reich Military Ministry and the Chief of the Training Division, which ensues with the Reich Ministry of War as previously through Troop Office, T-4, Major (ret.) Scultetus . . . . As a disguise Lt. Col. Auleb will wear SA uniform with rank insignia according to more detailed stipulation of the Supreme SA Fuehrer".

2823-PS; Draft Copy

A letter from the Supreme SA Fuehrer, written in Munich on the 19th of March, 1934, and signed "Roehm" has the subject "Top Organization of the SA and Collaboration between the top agencies of the armed forces (Wehrmacht) and the SA". Paragraph 1 of this letter states "that the upper organization of the SA is clear from the regulation "Organization of the Staff of the Supreme SA Fuehrer", and the cooperation between the top offices of the armed forces (Wehrmacht) is "evident from the inclosure". Paragraph 2 of this letter states:

"Since the operational office of Obersturmbannfuehrer Count v.d. Schulenburg, as well as the Chief of the Training Division of the SA, Obergruppenfuehrer Krueger are in Berlin, permanent liaison between RWM /Reich Military Ministry/ and the Supreme SA Headquarters in respect to all training work and all questions of training, is assured. An appointment of special liaison officers remains to be completed".

In paragraph 3 of this letter the Chief of the Training Division of the SA was given the following duties: "a) forwarding of policies (Richtlinien) and curriculums for training set up by the RWM; b) unified formation of training within all components of the SA (including SS and Reich University Office) ...."

2821-PS; Original

By letter of 29 March 1934 from Berlin, American Consul General, Messersmith, reported to Undersecretary of State Phillip that the SA and Reichwehr (Reich Military) were at odds because Roehm, Chief of Staff of the SA: "wants organized units of SA men in the Reichwehr, for it gives him the definite control of the whole military force."

L-119; State Department file 862.00/3419, 29 March 1934.

3. Purge of SA, 30 June 1934:

On the 30th of June 1934 Hitler ordered a purge of the SA leaders, accusing them of high treason. Ernst Roehm and other SA leaders were, without judicial process, shot "for high treason", and Victor Lutze was named the new Chief of Staff.

"Opportunity was given the former Chief of Staff Roehm, to expiate the consequences of his traitorous activities. He did not do that and thereupon was shot."

2407-PS; Official NSDAP newspaper, Voelkischer Beobachter, South German edition, Munich, issue of 2 July 1934, p. 1 and 2. Also issue of 1 July 1934, p. 1.

C. Period from 1934 to 1939:

1. Expansion of Military Program of SA.

Between the 30th of June 1934, and the beginning of the war in 1939, the SA continued to be an organ of the Nazi conspirators for popularizing the National Socialist Ideology and "was commissioned to obtain an increase of and preservation of a warlike power and a warlike spirit as the expression of an aggressive attitude". It had the purpose of creating and maintaining an armed strength and carrying out a program of creating and maintaining in the German people physical and mental fitness for bearing arms.

2471-PS; Lutze, p. 8;

2168-PS; Bayer, Die SA, pp. 16 and 31.

The Operational Main Office of the SA had a subdivision named the Office for Physical Fitness which:

"on the basis of the SA sports badges must prepare the fighting training of the bodies of all Germans capable of bearing arms (Wehrfähig) and as preparation therefor must organize the execution of corporal exercises (basic physical training) and sports achievements, so that the widest stratum of the population is laid hold upon and will be kept in condition to bear arms (Wehrtüchtig) both physically and spiritually, as well as ideologically in character up to greatest old age."

2168-PS; Bayer, op. cit., pp. 18-19.

The main office for NS-Tournaments was created in February, 1937, following a decree of Hitler in November, 1936. A Reich Sports Fuehrer was appointed, thus

"guarantee is given that, in comradely cooperation with the Reichsbund for physical training, the tasks set by the Fuehrer in respect to the military fitness (Wehrtüchtigung) of the entire nation and the formation of his Folk will be solved by physical training ....

The main office for the NS-Tournaments is divided into three offices: Organization, Armed Sports, (Wehrsport), and sports which from their titles alone indicate the limitation of their spheres of work."

2168-PS; Bayer, Die SA, pp. 23-24

There were engineer units, signal units, cavalry units, naval units, and medical or first aid units. The engineer units could make a "bridge with the turn of a wrist" and practice "blasting"; the signal units "lay their field cables, set up their telephones", work blinker apparatus, and "relay reports by bicycle riders, messenger dogs, or carrier pigeons, in short ... they established connection between the front and the staffs and thereby secured smooth cooperation". The SA special units, therefore:

"are not the last things of extraordinary value in the service for defense of the country. On one side the young SA men who enters the armed forces (Wehrmacht) from his branch, comes prepared with a multitude of prerequisites which facilitate and speed up training in technical respects; while on the other side those very soldiers, having served, who return out of the armed forces into the SA keep themselves, by constant practice, in a trained condition physically and mentally and impart their knowledge to their fellows.

"Thus they contribute a considerable portion to the enhancement of armed strength (Wehrkraft) and armed spirit (Wehrgeist) of the German people".

2168-PS; Bayer, op. cit., p. 26.

So far as the mounted or cavalry SA is concerned:

"after . . . the necessary organization prerequisites were created, ... the SA each year is able to furnish many thousands of young trained cavalymen to our Wehrmacht .... At present the SA cavalry has at its disposal 101 cavalry units in whose schools, year in and year out, young Germans who are obligated for military service receive the training which fits him for entrance into a section of troops which is of their own choosing".

2168-PS; Bayer, op. cit. pp. 26 and 27.

It is stated in the same book, The SA, at page 27, that "the service of the naval SA operates as preparation and development for the Navy."

Officer Training Schools, known as Reichsfuehrer Schools, which had been established in Munich in 1931 and another in Dresden, were expanded.

"Many thousands of SA officers are directed here in accordance with the perceptions of the fighting period in their new form and have been trained .... In a nine months' course of study, the future SA officers are introduced into all spheres of political life".

These schools also gave each year a refresher course to the "older unit officers from regimental commanders up to, and including, staff divisions".

2168-PS; Bayer, The SA, pp. 29-30.

In a final review of the SA, Dr. Bayer remarks that:

"today the SA exists for the great task of being guardian and fashioner of the armed desire (Wehrwillen) and armed strength (Wehrkraft) of the German people. Its devotion, its preparedness to sacrifice, its belief in the Idea, and its soldierly, competent attitude will create and preserve in the German people that physical fitness and armed (Wehrhafte) preparedness which the Fuehrer and the Reich need and without which a people cannot live".

2168-PS; Bayer, op. cit., p. 31

The training program of the SA is set out in the Organisationsbuch der NSDAP for 1938 and includes rifle service, gas and air protection, and special schooling for SA officers.

2354-PS; Organisationsbuch der NSDAP, 5th edition, 1938, pp. 367-369.

In the same source the prerequisites for the "SA-Sports Badge", which were earned at the NS-Tournaments during the yearly Reichs Party Day, are listed. There were three groups of prerequisites: physical exercises, armed sports, and terrain service (water service.)

The latter two groups consist of these prerequisites: 25 kilometer pack march, small caliber shooting, hand-grenade target throwing, 200 meter cross-country run with gas mask over 4 obstacles, basic first-aid, terrain recognition, terrain judgment, evaluation of distance, camouflage, observation and reporting, and use of terrain and general conduct in terrain service.

2354-PS; Organisationsbuch der NSDAP, 5th edition, 1938, pp. 370/371



In 1939 by an order of the Fuehrer of 19 January, the SA was charged with pre-military and post-military training, and the SA Sports Badge was changed to the SA Military Badge.

2383-PS; Book, Verfügungen/Anordnungen, Bekanntgaben, Vol. I, Central Press of NSDAP, Munich, (not dated), pp. 586-587.

Evidentiary material portraying the war preparation activities of the SA is in the official publication of the SA known as Der SA-Mann. The newspaper published in Munich by the Press and Propaganda Division of the SA as the "fighting sheet of the Supreme SA Headquarters", appeared weekly and usually consisted of approximately sixteen pages.

2168-PS; Bayer, The SA, p. 18.

Copies of Der SA-Mann from the issue of the 6th of January 1934 through the issue of the 24th of February, 1939, have been carefully screened. Practically every issue has articles and photographs which may be divided into certain categories. The first category is preparations for war. Under this heading the articles and photographs may be divided in three parts: a) Propaganda articles and photographs fostering a militaristic and nationalistic spirit; b) articles and photographs designed to familiarize SA members with the weapons and methods of modern warfare, and c) articles and photographs which show cooperation between SA and Wehrmacht in connection with preparations for war.

The second chief division of articles and photographs show that the SA was supported in its war preparation by the leaders of the NSDAP.

The third category of articles deals with the SA as the ideology bearer of the Nazi Movement, the "political soldiers" of the Movement.

The fourth classification of articles and photographs are concerned with historical accounts of the activities of the SA in the early period of the Movement as told by SA members as personal experiences. Each article relates to a particular street fight or meeting hall fight which took place during the period from 1929 to 1933. The articles are written in a vein of reflection of the "glory" of the Nazi struggle to power and were designed to foster a combative spirit.



The fifth category of articles are designed to foster hatred of the Jews and generally treat with Nazi racial theories. Especially derogatory are the cartoons and photographs printed in connection with these articles.

The sixth and final classification of articles and photographs deals with religious questions and may be termed as anti-religious propaganda primarily against Catholicism.

### III. PARTICIPATION OF THE DEFENDANTS, HERMANN GOERING AND RUDOLF HESS IN THE SA.

#### A. Hermann Goering

Hermann Goering was one of the early leaders in the SA and in 1923 was entrusted with a re-organization of the SA which took place in that year.

2168-PS; Bayer, The SA, p. 9

On the 30th of January, 1936, Goering wrote an article for the Voelkischer Beobachter on occasion of the annual SA roll call. In this article entitled "The Fighting Troop of Adolf Hitler", Goering stated:

"When the Fuehrer entrusted the SA to me in the first years of the fight, there began for me a period of hard work and proud joyousness .... There grew in the SA a group of men as hard as steel who knew nothing but their Fuehrer and their Fatherland .... We never stood resignedly, we have never appealed to the achievements of the past....The old SA men were tough fighters, genuine revolutionaries of action....For them there was ....and still is only one action which is straight as a string: The desire for the Fuehrer".

1856-PS; Excerpt from book entitled "Hermann Goering, Speeches and Articles", published by NSDAP Press, Munich, 1939, 3d Edition, p. 223-225.

On the 3rd of March, 1933, Goering made a speech at an NSDAP demonstration in Frankfurt am Main in which he threatened to use the SA "Brown Shirts" as a force against the Communists.

1856-PS; "Hermann Goering, Speeches and Articles", op. cit., p. 27.

In the purge of the SA leaders, beginning 30 June 1934, the defendant, Goering, executed the actions in Berlin. In a press release to the Voelkischer Beobachter, date-lined "Berlin, 1 July", Goering reported that the Chief of Staff of the SA Roehm, wanted to be: -19-

"the strong man of Germany. Thus, it occurred that plans by the SA Headquarters were forged to injure the Movement, destroy the State, and erect a State which would be the State of this sick individual .... The Fuehrer himself has intervened like lightening. He has made a short case in Munich and Wiessee, where the Chief of Staff was. Days before, he gave me the command to strike here at the signal word and conferred upon me therewith complete power."

2407-PS; Voelkischer Beobachter, South German edition, Munich, issue for 2 July 1934, p. 2.

On 1 December 1937 Goering became Obergruppenfuehrer of the elite SA Regiment, known as the "Feldherrnhalle Regiment", named in memory of the Nazi abortive putsch in 1923 in Munich at the Hall of the Field Generals (Feldherrnhalle).

2168-PS; Bayer, The SA, p. 28

2354-PS; Organisationsbuch der NSDAP, 6th edition, 1940, p. 364b.

In the various issues of the SA newspaper, Der SA-Mann, from 1934 to 1939, Goering is portrayed on many occasions either in SA uniform, inspecting SA troops, or participating in SA parades and events. For typical examples of Goering's support of and participation in the SA in its preparation for war, see Appendix A to this brief under the division of Articles and Photographs which show that the SA was supported in its war preparation by the leaders of the NSDAP.

Goering also participated in the purge of SA leaders in 1934, helping to execute the plan for the killing of certain SA leaders and political opponents without judicial trial. Goering was in charge of the carrying out of the murder of these persons in Berlin.

2468-PS; Affidavit of Rudolf Diels, Chief of Prussian Police until 1934, in regard to the events surrounding the purge, p. 2.

2407-PS; Voelkischer Beobachter, South German Edition, 2 July 1934, p. 2.

#### B. Rudolf Hess

The defendant, Rudolf Hess, became an early member of the SA, participating in the Munich Hofbrauhaus riot in November 1921, at the time of the founding of the SA.

2760-PS; Hitler, Mein Kampf, p. 544. Eng. trans, p. 506

On the 23rd of November, 1922, an 11th "Hundertschaft" of the SA was created in Munich almost exclusively of students. "The present deputy of the Fuehrer, Rudolf Hess, took over the leadership of this century."

2168-PS; Bayer, The SA, p. 9

The active participation and support of the SA by the defendant Hess is shown in articles and pictures printed in Der SA-Mann. See Appendix A of this trial brief under the division of Articles and Photographs which show that the SA was supported in its war preparation by the leaders of the NSDAP.

THE SA  
Room 322

### CONCLUSION

It will be clearly apparent, from other briefs being submitted by the prosecution staff, that the defendants and their co-conspirators, during the period from 1921 to 1945, engaged in a continuing conspiracy; and that, as alleged in the Indictment (IV B), the objectives of this conspiracy were to abrogate and overthrow the Treaty of Versailles and to unlawfully acquire territories in continental Europe and elsewhere. The evidence discussed in such other briefs likewise establish<sup>es</sup> that the defendants and their co-conspirators, in carrying out the said objectives, committed acts which constitute Crimes against the Peace, War Crimes, and Crimes against Humanity, as defined in Article 6 of the Charter.

The evidence considered in the within brief demonstrates the participation of SA in the aforesaid conspiracy. Thus, it is shown that the SA was first employed by the conspirators to destroy, by force and brutality, all opponents of National Socialism and to disseminate the so-called ideology of the Movement throughout Germany (Page 7-8, supra). Thereafter, upon the seizure of state control by NSDAP, SA was used to consolidate and strengthen Nazi power, and to cruelly persecute and destroy all so-called "enemies" of the State, including Jewry and the Church (Page 8-15, supra). Finally, during the period from 1934 to 1939, the SA was employed for the specific purpose of fostering militarism in Germany, and for the actual preparation and training of the German people for war. (Page 15-19, supra). ✓

Thus, at all times during the course of its existence, the functions of the SA corresponded to and were designed to promote the progression of the conspiracy through its various phases; and it must be concluded therefrom that SA was an organization devoted exclusively to the task of assisting the defendants and their co-conspirators in carrying out the objectives of the conspiracy alleged in Count I of the Indictment. (Thus, in this sense, SA, as well as its members, were in fact co-conspirators, and their participation in the conspiracy contemplated and involved Crimes against the Peace, Crimes against Humanity, and War Crimes.

The foregoing summary of evidence likewise establishes that the defendants Goering and Hess acting in their capacity as SA members and leaders, participated in the conspiracy alleged in Count I of the Indictment, and committed acts constituting the crimes alleged in Counts II, III, and IV thereof.

Accordingly:

1. The SA is an organization, in the sense in which that term is used in Article 9 of the Charter.
2. The defendants Goering and Hess committed the crimes defined in Article 6 of the Charter in their capacity as members and leaders of the SA.
3. It was, at all times, the exclusive design and purpose of SA to participate in and aid the carrying out of a conspiracy which contemplated and involved the commission of the crimes defined in Article 6 of the Charter.

It is submitted, therefore, that SA, by reason of its aims and the means used for the accomplishment thereof, is, and should be declared, a criminal organization, in accordance with Article 9 of the Charter.

Respectfully submitted:

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OUTLINE AND CLASSIFICATION OF ARTICLES  
APPEARING IN COPIES OF "DER S A MAN"  
DURING THE PERIOD 1934-39

## I. Preparations for War

## A. Articles and Photographs designed to foster a militaristic and nationalistic spirit:

## 1. Articles relating to the Nazi "Lebensraum" philosophy:

5 January 1935, p. 13

27 April 1935, p. 13

## 2. Articles condemning the Versailles Treaty:

19 January 1935, p. 13 - Declaring that the Versailles Treaty is leading to hatred between peoples of the world.

16 March 1935, p. 1 - Entitled "What About Germany's Fight for Equal Rights".

## 3. Articles supporting Germany's right to the return of colonies lost in World War I:

10 October 1936, p. 15 - Entitled "Our Rights—Our Colonies".

24 February 1934, p. 2 - Relating to the Saar territory.

## 4. Articles unfavorable to other European countries:

31 October 1936, pp. 1, 14 - Anti-Russian

18 May 1935, p. 1 - Anti-Czechoslovakian

7 November 1936, p. 11 - Anti-Belgium

20 January 1934, p. 3 - Anti-Austrian

13 January 1934, p. 12 - Anti-English

## 5. Purely nationalistic articles:

13 July 1935, p. 1 - "Who fights against us we will defeat; who provokes us will be attacked".

## 6. Articles on Leaders of the German Army in World War I:

20 January 1934, p. 8

13 January 1934, p. 14

## 7. Articles on Military History:

22 January 1934, p. 13

## 8. Articles describing preparations for war purportedly being carried on by other countries:

10 February 1934, p. 15 - Declaring that the United States Congress has appropriated \$400,000,000 for the construction of 90 battleships).

20 January 1934, p. 13 - "France provides herself with motorized army".

- 27 January 1934, p. 13 - On procurement of oil for French Army.
- 27 January 1934, p. 17 - On English aviation.
- 10 February 1934, p. 15 - Alleging that French war industries have failed to carry out demobilization plans.
- 17 February 1934, p. 7 - On tanks in various countries.
- 24 February 1934, p. 15 - On the alleged mobilization of Czechoslovakia.
- 10 March 1934, p. 1 - Picture of French tank.
- 10 March 1934, p. 12 - On tanks in various countries.
- 10 March 1934, p. 14 - On English planes.
- 24 March 1934, p. 13 - On tanks in various countries.
- 5 May 1934, p. 12 - Regarding France's failure to demobilize.
- 22 June 1935, p. 13 - On Russian Air Force.
- 18 May 1935, p. 13 - On Naval construction in France and Italy.
- 12 May 1934, p. 13 - Suggesting that France is planning war.
- 5 January 1935, p. 13 - On French and Belgium fortifications.
- 27 April 1935, p. 15 - On English fleet maneuvers.
- 8 June 1935, p. 13 - On American fleet maneuvers.
- 28 February 1935, p. 15 - Entitled "England in the Air".
- 11 May 1935, p. 13 - On colonial military policy of the Netherlands.
- 26 January 1935, p. 14 - About supposed steps in English military training, with picture of Eton students in traditional Eton dress (tall hats, etc.) carrying rifles.
- 13 July 1935, p. 13 - On Russian war power.
- 9 March 1935, p. 14 - Article on Russian war power.
- 29 August 1936, p. 10 - Entitled "Russia Prepares for World War".

For other articles similar to the above, but not directed toward a specific country, see the following issues:

- 14 April 1934, p. 20  
7 April 1934, p. 13

27 January 1934, p. 12  
20 January 1934, p. 13  
25 May 1935, p. 13  
22 June 1936, p. 15  
4 May 1935, p. 13

B. Articles and Photographs designed to familiarize SA members with the weapons and methods of modern warfare:

1. Articles on rifle and pistol firing:

4 August 1934, p. 5  
17 February 1934, pp. 7-13  
26 January 1935, p. 19.

2. Articles on gas attack defenses:

25 January 1936, p. 3

3. General articles on the organization of the Navy and Wehrmacht, including detailed discussions of routine maneuvers:

26 June 1936, p. 15  
12 September 1936, p. 16  
2 February 1936, p. 13  
16 February 1935, p. 15  
13 April 1935, p. 1  
22 June 1935, p. 15  
1 May 1936, p. 13

4. Articles on grenades, flame throwers, anti-tank weapons:

10 October 1936, p. 16  
14 November 1936, p. 14

5. Article on history and development of incendiary weapons:

29 September 1935, p. 13

6. Article on infantry battle tactics:

8 February 1936, p. 13

7. Article on mechanized and motorized warfare:

13 July 1935, p. 15.

8. Article on cavalry:

20 July 1935, p. 13

9. Article on artillery:

12 October 1935, p. 14

10. Article on Navy:

4 May 1935, p. 9

11. Article on general military training:

27 January 1934, p. 9

12. Article on torpedoes:

27 January 1934, p. 14

13. Articles on planes:
  - 17 March 1934, pp. 13-14
  - 3 March 1934, p. 13
  - 3 February 1934, p. 7
  - 13 January 1934, p. 8
14. Articles on marksmanship:
  - 12 May 1934, p. 7
15. Articles on military geography and geopolitics:
  - 5 May 1934, p. 13
  - 10 March 1934, p. 13
  - 3 March 1934, p. 15
16. Photograph showing military activities by SA:
  - 10 February 1934, p. 3
  - 13 January 1934, p. 6
  - 27 April 1935, p. 1
  - 20 April 1935, p. 14
17. Series of Articles entitled "The New Wehrmacht" appearing intermittently between 8 January 1938 (p. 12) to 29 July 1938.
18. Article on explosive mines:
  - 11 April 1936, p. 14
19. Article on military training and equipment:
  - 4 August 1934, p. 5
  - 18 August 1934, p. 7
  - 1 September 1934, p. 5
20. Article on Military training program by SA:
  - 22 May 1936, pp. 4, 5
21. Photographs by SA units on military marches:
  - 10 February 1934, p. 3
22. Photographs of SA men at rifle and grenade practice:
  - 14 May 1938, p. 20
- C. Articles and Photographs which show cooperation between SA and the Wehrmacht in connection with preparations for war:
  - 11 January 1936, p. 1 - Blomberg inspecting SA.
  - 25 January 1936, p. 7 - Hess and Blomberg at review of MSFK.
  - 27 July 1935, p. 7 - Picture of Blomberg, Fritzsche, and Huhnlein.
  - 7 September 1935, p. 1 - Picture of SA, Wehrmacht and Hitler Jugend.
  - 6 October 1934, p. 1 - SA and Wehrmacht cooperation.
  - 18 June 1938, p. 12 - Wehrmacht constructs SA Sports Stadium.



In addition to the above articles it should be pointed out that the advertisements which appear in "Der SA Mann" consistently reflect the military character of the SA. In many issues there are advertisements for the sale of uniforms, helmets, boots, rifles, pistols, and other articles of military equipment.

## II. Support of SA Military Activities by NSDAP Leaders

### A. Photographs of SA and NSDAP Leaders:

- 21 September 1935, p. 3 - Goering reviewing SA Unit.
- 15 June 1935, p. 1 - Himmler, Lutze and Huhnlein.
- 4 May 1935, p. 3 - Goering reviewing Danzig SA.
- 19 September 1935, p. 3 - Goering in SA uniform.
- 20 April 1935, p. 3 - Goering receiving honor shield of SA.
- 19 September 1936, p. 4 - Lutze and Hitler.
- 16 November 1935, p. 7 - Hitler, Goering and Hess.
- 8 June 1935, p. 3 - Hess in SA uniform.
- 16 November 1935, p. 16 - Hess, Goering and Hitler.
- 23 January 1937, p. 3 - Goering and Lutze.
- 18 September 1937, p. 14 - Hess and Goering in SA uniforms.
- 14 October 1938, p. 6 - Goering in SA uniform.

## III. SA as Ideology Bearer of Nazi Movement

### A. These articles, in general, refer to SA as the "Political Soldiers" or "Strong-Arm" of the Movement:

- 11 May 1935, p. 1
- 28 April 1935, p. 1
- 8 June 1935, p. 1
- 5 January 1935, p. 2

## IV. Activities of SA in early days of the Nazi Movement:

### A. These articles are presented in the form of historical reminders of the early days of National Socialism. Each article relates to some street battle which took place between the period 1929 to 1933. The articles portray the SA man, in his street brawls, as a chivalrous and heroic warrior. A list of such articles follows:

- 1 September 1934, p. 5
- 22 September 1934, p. 5
- 12 January 1935, p. 7
- 6 April 1935, p. 7
- 11 January 1936, p. 7
- 13 January 1934, p. 3
- 10 March 1934, p. 3

11 January 1936, n. 7  
4 January 1936, n. 7  
13 January 1934, n. 3  
17 February 1934, n. 12  
1 September 1934, n. 5  
22 September 1934, n. 5  
22 December 1934, n. 13

V. Persecution of Jews

A. Articles designed to create and foster an anti-Jewish spirit:

27 July 1935, n. 5 - Entitled "Finish Up with the Jews".

20 July 1935, n. 5 - Defending practice of excluding Jews from certain resorts.

21 November 1936, n. 1 - Quoting Goering's speech against Jews and Bolsheviks.

4 April 1936, n. 11 - Entitled "Murder, the Jewish Slogan".

29 February 1936, n. 5 - Referring to Jews as people with "baggy noses and flat feet".

12 October 1935, n. 8 - Entitled "Face of the Jew", with distorted picture of allegedly Jewish faces.

5 October 1935, n. 10 - Story concerning supposed attempt of a Jew to rape a Nordic girl, and prevented from doing so by an SA man.

5 October 1935, n. 6 - Entitled "Face of the Jew."

Weekly, from 2 January 1937 to 13 March 1937 - Series of articles entitled "Grave-diggers of World Culture".

24 April 1937, pp. 1-2 - Concerning anti-German propaganda allegedly being disseminated by foreign Jews.

22 May 1937, n. 4 - Entitled "The Camouflage of the Jews - Beginning or End?"

19 March 1939, n. 15 - "The Poor Jew --- Well, Well!"

Weekly, from 22 May 1936 to 10 July 1936 - Series of Articles entitled "The Jewish Mirror".

B. Cartoons designed to create and foster an Anti-Jewish spirit:

1. Probably the most effective and at the same time the most vicious type of propaganda is to be found in the anti-Jewish cartoons which appeared weekly in 1935-36. These cartoons portray the Jew as the possessor of the wealth of the world, as a rapist, profiteer, thief, and murderer. The drawings represent the Jew with distorted features. Typical of such cartoons are those which appear in the following issues:

10 August 1935, p. 8  
24 August 1935, p. 2  
17 October 1936, p. 3  
8 August 1936, pp. 12, 13  
24 July 1936, p. 5  
3 July 1936, p. 5  
10 July 1936, p. 5  
26 June 1936, p. 12  
5 June 1936, p. 15  
19 June 1936, p. 5

VI. Religious Persecutions

A. Anti-religious articles:

1. The following articles are anti-religious - generally anti-Catholic - in nature:

20 July 1935, p. 1  
17 July 1936, p. 1  
31 July 1936, pp. 4, 5  
22 August 1936, pp. 4, 5  
5 September 1936, pp. 28, 29  
5 October 1935, p. 1  
19 October 1935, p. 3  
3 July 1937, p. 11  
10 July 1937, p. 11  
24 July 1937, p. 11  
3 July 1937, p. 4  
27 February 1937, p. 21 - Entitled "My Dear Franciscans".  
12 August 1938, pp. 1, 2 - Entitled "Joe Louis and the Pope".  
8 October 1938, pp. 1, 2 - Entitled "Does the Vatican Want War?"

2. The following references relate to cartoons reflecting an anti-religious attitude:

22 August 1936, p. 1  
17 October 1936, p. 3  
10 August 1935, p. 8