The Transformation of Our Struggle

by Reinhard Heydrich

The text that follows is a pamphlet written by Reinhard Heydrich and published in Munich in 1935. The pamphlet, entitled Wandlungen unseres Kampfes, was intended for SS personnel and members of the German police. In it Heydrich describes the critical turning point that Germany had reached in 1935. After being in power for two years, Heydrich argues that Nazi Germany's struggle against its domestic ideological enemies is beginning a new phase. By 1935 all of the official organizations of non-National Socialist groups had been outlawed. New racial legislation had also been published. Within this context, Heydrich states, the SS and police must focus its attention on rooting out and destroying those enemies of the National Socialist state and German people who remained in Germany. He particularly discusses the concept of the „hidden enemy“, people who professed loyalty to the state but were secretly pursuing ideas hostile to the state. The section on the churches is relevant. Theoretically, only politically „misguided“ Christians are the problem. However, behind this veil stood Himmler's intense dislike of Christianity and his desire to revive ancient forms of German paganism.

Heydrich's pamphlet appeared at an important time in the history of the SS. Its ranks swelling with new recruits in 1935, the SS was expanding its reach throughout German society. Newcomers to the SS required a guide to the ideological goals of the organization. Heydrich's pamphlet was intended to be this guide.

1. Changing the Way We Lead Our Struggle

As everywhere in the life of nature, so also the life of the people consists of eternal struggle between the stronger, the noble, the racially superior and the inferior, the subhuman. However, the way in which this struggle is conducted is constantly subject to change. This form of struggle depends mainly on who has the upper hand at the moment.

The struggle of our leader and the movement began at a time of camouflaged domination of subhumans, which was on its way to open, brutally all-destroying domination through Bolshevism. This opponent could not be defeated from outside the state. From the outside, an internal reconstruction of state and people was hardly possible. Thus, the Fuehrer set for his followers as the first immediate goal to be striven for: „The attainment of external state power.“

The means to this end were therefore inevitably those of the opponent and therefore initially relatively external: elections, assemblies, organizing the masses, and organizing them more tightly than the opponent did.

The party itself, as the motor of this electoral following, was a faithful community of like-minded people. The faith was in the achievement of the near goal set by the leader and the associated smashing of the visible parts of the opponent, his organizational work, party, trade unions, etc.

Since the pace of the struggle with this well-prepared opponent was tremendously fast, the fighting community of the party had only little time to grasp the principles of the world outlook proclaimed by the leader in all their depth and to make them clear to the ever newly arriving fellow fighters.

When suddenly the near goal was reached, most of the fellow fighters felt that with the destruction of the opposing organizations the enemy had disappeared altogether. They looked for him and did not find him anymore, since he had mostly become the same. There came the condition, which unfortunately still continues with many today: Unable to find the opponent in his new positions, they dissipate their energies in senseless, irrational personal illegalities. In this way they harm the idea of the leader and at the same time show that they are still far away from grasping the immense size of the idea itself and the tasks connected with it.

Unfortunately, in reality they have only seen and fought the opposing parties. They do not realize that these parties were only the outward manifestation, most favourable to the situation at the time, of spiritual forces which in the Fuhrer and the N.S.D.A.P. are fighting Germany, which want to exterminate Germany with all its strong forces of blood, spirit and soil.

The same fighters of the movement, in the years of struggle before the seizure of power, naturally remained loyal to the Fuhrer and faithfully followed him, in spite of, or precisely because, the opponent dissolved the National Socialist organizations, banned the newspapers and took off the uniforms. They all unconsciously felt that the power of the state leadership of that time was ineffective against their faith and ideological attitude. And now, when the form of the struggle is changing, when the organizations of the enemy are broken, they no longer remember their own experiences.

The organization is nothing without the forces that inspire it ideologically. If the enemy's organizations have been smashed or are in the process of being transformed, this means for us that only the form of the struggle has changed. The driving forces of the enemy remain eternally the same: World Jewry, World Freemasonry and a largely political priesthood which abuses the religious creeds. In their manifold ramifications and forms they persist in their aim of destroying our people with its blood, spiritual and soil forces.

It is necessary that we recognize that the struggle has become deeper. It can no longer be waged only by technical means. We must learn to recognize the enemy from the history of the last millennia. We will then suddenly see that today, for the first time, we are grabbing the opponent at the roots of his power. Is it any wonder that he fights back more fiercely? that he tries to play his centuries of experience of fighting with all registers?

We must recognize that these opponents cannot be eliminated merely by external takeover of the state apparatus, for they are seated with their cross connections in all branches of our people's life and of the state fabric. We must calmly note that up to the last few years the enemy was well on the way to systematically undermining the character and spirit of the German people, to poisoning them and leaving them only the Nordic face.

We fighters must find our way through this realization: We need years of bitter struggle in order to finally push back the enemy in all areas, to destroy him and to secure Germany bloodily and spiritually against new incursions by the enemy.

Unfortunately, there are also with us, the S.S., some who are often not aware of this great distant goal. When after the seizure of power everything securely adversarial had disappeared, when the fight of the spirits began, then they lacked with the realization of the comprehensive greatness of the adversary the armament.

It will be explained to them here in further episodes that the prerequisite for the successful continuation and completion of the struggle are two things:

The correct recognition of the opponent in his deepest and the unified seeing of one's own tasks, but also of one's own mistakes, with all prerequisites and consequences.

As in any true struggle, there are clearly only two possibilities: „Either we overcome the opponent for good, or we perish.“

2. The visible opponent

It must be said in advance that the enemy cannot be treated exhaustively here. It can only be suggestions and hints to sharpen the view of the enemy.

In order to be able to overcome him, one must learn to recognize his changing manifestations and his means of struggle. In order to assess it accurately, we must not be deceived by the multiplicity of apparently feuding groups with their divergent programs. They are all only skilful subdivisions and side-links of the great opponents. They are meant to serve as outposts or catch-all organizations. Therefore, if Freemasonry was mentioned alongside Judaism, it was only for better understanding. In truth, Freemasonry is an expedient organization of Judaism, so that in the last analysis we can regard as the basis of all groups of opponents the Jew and the political clergyman (in its most pronounced form called Jesuit).

These opponents wage their struggle on the one hand in a visible, graspable form and on the other hand in a camouflaged and not immediately visible form. Let us first try to deal in broad strokes with the discernible doings of the adversary.

a) The Political Misuse of the Churches

Above all, we must recognize in time the anti-state and anti-people intentions and effects of the confessional struggles of which Germany is once again the scene. Originally, the churches were to be servant mediators between God and man. As their founders proclaimed, the kingdom of the churches was to be „not of this world.“

However, a completely political and worldly ambitious priesthood has bent the teachings of their founder. They all claim that they and only their church has the general authority of God for this mediator role. Regardless of whether they are justified in making this claim or not, they all derive their worldly political actions from this authority. Not enough that through centuries they have tried to destroy blood and spiritual values of our people, they pretended the preservation of these values by adopting the external forms and today they claim to be the guardians of these values. Instead of being true selfless mediators, they conquered one worldly position of power after another under the protection of ecclesiastical things.

But in order to secure and underpin these worldly positions, the followers of the churches were organized politically. Before the takeover of power, the politically secular character was clearly expressed in the pure form of the party (Zentrum, Bayrische Volkspartei). Today, even earlier associations founded in wise foresight as catch-all organizations, etc., have become the successors of the parties (Katholische Aktion, etc.) In ecclesiastical dressing up, the political penetration of all areas of our national life is demanded and striven for here. While the ecclesiastical press of Germany denies the political character of these associations, the foreign voices of the same churches openly admit it. The best example of this presumption of a secular nature is probably the statement of the churches and their attempt to sabotage the sterilization law and the racial legislation. In order to expand their secular sphere of influence, after the seizure of power, the ecclesiastical training of the non-priestly auxiliaries, the so-called laity, began in tremendous strength. In hundreds of retreat houses they are „exercised“, as the name characteristically says. I.e., everything must be mechanized as much as possible, so that those concerned do not notice how all inherited strengths of blood and spirit are systematically bent or killed off.

In National Socialism, the Fuehrer has finally created, after centuries, the unification in one great community. This was only possible because in National Socialism he resurrected the inherited foundations of our people. Now the secular ambition of the political clergy had not taken this into account. However, since openly political or social division was not possible to save the position, suddenly the old church dispute had to revive under the motto: „The confessions are in danger.“ Thus today distrust and doubt are carried into the community of the people united by the leader and attempts are made to sow discord in party and state.

This fight is supposedly waged against godlessness for the salvation of Christian virtues and the preservation of „German“ culture. But if one looks at the political leader corps of clergymen, from whom the devout follower of his church takes for granted the past life in these „endangered“ virtues, one has to realize with disappointment that these preconditions are not given.

On the contrary, mountains of documents show how mendacious in many cases is the moral and cultural basis of this corps of leaders and also the slogan of their struggle. In truth, they are not fighting positively for the preservation of religious and cultural values (which are not in danger at all), but they are continuing their old bitter struggle for the secular domination of Germany.

b) Judaism (The Jews)

The Jew has always been the mortal enemy of all Nordic-led and racially healthy peoples. His aim was and remains the domination of the world by a more or less visible Jewish upper class. For the achievement of this goal every means and every form of organization is right for it, may it look outwardly still so stupid and ridiculous. The way always remains the same.

Every nation, which in times of political and bloody weakness allowed the immigration and above all a later bloody mixture of the Jews, was systematically decomposed. The decomposition of the blood, in addition to the racial bastardization, resulted in a slow blurring of the distinct racial thought of the „host people.“ With it also a creeping penetration of all areas of the people's life and a systematic mental poisoning became possible. Thus, for example, in the Middle Ages in England and in our country, the guild and building trade was turned into purely Jewish Freemasonry through complete penetration with Jewish customs and Jewish basic elements.

While in earlier centuries Jewry conquered the key positions at the courts of princes, such as treasurers and political advisors (who were often disguised as court jesters), the aristocratic German upper class, which was for the most part on good racial footing, was disintegrated until the World War. Clever money marriages and the nobility unfortunately lent by many princes to their Jewish backers so bastardized the upper class, which had not yet been completely ousted from leadership, that the Marxist and Bolshevik revolts, again developed and led by Jews, could easily overcome them.

After the seizure of power, the racial legislation did, within certain limits, severely restrict the direct influence of Jewry. But the Jew, in his tenacity and single-mindedness, sees it only as a limitation. At first, for him there are only the questions: How can the old position be regained, and how can I work to the detriment of Germany?!

In judging the struggle of Jewry, one must distinguish between the Jewish organizations which work openly as Jews, and between the auxiliary and special-purpose organizations led by the Jewish world organization.

The Jews living in Germany are divided into two groups, the Zionists and the Assimilantes (who characteristically call themselves Deutsch-Juden). Although the Zionists hold a strong racial viewpoint and strive to create their own Jewish state by emigrating to Palestine, they must not be taken in by the fundamentally anti-people position of the Jews.

The assimilationists deny their Jewish race either by claiming to be Germans, insisting on their long-standing residency, or by claiming to be Christians after having been baptized. It is these assimilationists above all who, with all kinds of declarations of loyalty and with the intrusiveness peculiar to their race, try to overthrow the National Socialist principles.

They also tried to take advantage of the proclamation of general conscription. After the promulgation of the law, the blinders (Reichsbund judischer Frontsoldaten and Verband nationaldeutscher Juden), led by former officers of the Beurlaubtenstand, had left no stone unturned to achieve the inclusion of Jews in the Wehrmacht.

Although the individual Jew, who is not at all interested in German conscription, shows no particular inclination to take upon himself voluntarily the demands of soldiering, he was urged to enlist voluntarily by the sharp action of the Verband leaders for the sake of political goals.

While here, in order to break the Aryan law, the Jew is behaving in a tremendously patriotic manner, the wave of Jewish boycotts and the foreign press led by Jewish emigrants continues to roll against Germany without restriction.

The Masonic lodges and the organizations related to them, which are likewise under Jewish supreme leadership, have only the purpose of organizing people in apparently harmless social form and making them useful for the purposes of Judaism. for all forms of government and occupational strata there are the corresponding organizations. No matter who rules, a form of their lodge always fits the momentary form of the state. In the times of liberalism and democracy the humanitarian lodges were in the foreground, at the time of national governments the so-called national lodges. If Bolshevism had broken through, the workers' lodges would have been in the lead.

The methods of stultification and domination of people are peculiarly similar to those used in the retreat houses of the political priesthood. Through the most diverse exercises of this mechanization, one blood German and spiritual characteristic after another is tried to be killed and turned aside. In case of admission to higher degrees, a blind incomprehensibility, not disturbed by any racial instinct, is thus guaranteed.

Moreover, this blind subservience to unknown and secret superiors is demanded in the Lodge in stark contrast to the self-evident principles of a healthy national and state life.

This obedience is confirmed by an oath framed with gruesome Jewish customs.

That Bolshevism is one of the most important creations of Judaism will hopefully be understood by the most forgetful fellow citizens on the basis of the experiences of the last years and decades. A discussion of its danger is superfluous here.

With the Aryan Law, the danger of Jewry for Germany has not been banished.

The Jewish purpose organizations with all connections to their international leadership are still working on the destruction of our people with all its values. All the branches of our national life, such as art, science, economy, etc., which the Jew has almost completely permeated with his ideas, are by no means free of the enemy, as a result of the fulfillment of more necessary close tasks. Here are the surreptitious ways by which he tries to extend his spheres of influence step by step through millions of channels.

His work is made easier by the fact that there are still people (the churches even demand this attitude) who recognize the Aryan legislation only forcedly and do not want to grasp the racial foundations.

While apart of the German people is already beginning to become indifferent to the Jew after two years of the National Socialist revolution, we see on the part of the Jew a tenacious, eternally unchanging striving for his goal, which is always only: the domination of the world and the destruction of Nordic peoples.

3. The Hidden Enemy

Unlike the visible enemy, the camouflaged enemy is not organizationally tangible.

He works illegally, perhaps we can call him the invisible apparatus of the already mentioned great enemies. Its goal is to destroy the unity of the leadership in the state and the party in order to make it impossible to achieve the ideological tasks of National Socialism. The people are to become reserved and uncertain towards the leadership, the leaders are to become nervous and distrustful of each other.

To this end, there is a network of cross-connections with almost all agencies of the state apparatus, public life and the movement. On the one hand, this system of channels informs the enemy of the danger ahead. He thus learns in good time of all prepared state measures, orders and laws. On the other hand, the same channel system serves the purpose of preparing the countermeasures that are important for the enemy.

The organs of this channel system work partly consciously treacherously, partly their personal weaknesses are abused unconsciously.

The mainstays of this opposing consciously treacherous work are some hostile elements remaining in the state apparatus, who, behaving one hundred and ten percent, immediately switched themselves into line. The civil service law passed them by. Believing in the authenticity of their declarations of loyalty made in a tone of conviction, they were left in their positions as professionals.

While we National Socialists understand by bureaucracy in a good sense the concept of the perfect exactness of the excellent and smooth working of a created and administrative apparatus, these soulless and hostile elements abuse the same bureaucracy for hindering, obstructing and bending our National Socialist tasks.

The ramifications of this network are monstrous. A complete enumeration is impossible here. The layman can recognize the ramifications only by their effect: Here, attempts are made to turn away legislative measures.

There, attempts are made to throttle funding for areas of responsibility that are vital to the fair movement and the state. At the universities, attempts are made to bend National Socialist ideas in favour of liberalism through „purely scientific and objective“ treatment.

In prehistoric research, attempts are made to play into the hands of one-sided, unpopular elements the leadership of the excavations, so that the assertion of the „lack of culture“ of our ancestors can continue to be maintained without danger.

Through the attempt of an anti-national-socialist personnel policy, the aim is to get important Schfissel positions in the state back into the hand so that, if a national-socialist law goes through, the execution can be sabotaged and back doors can be opened by implementing regulations. In the case of National Socialist well-meaning men, an attempt is made to gain influence on them as well through social entanglements (invitations, clubs, etc.). The hot will of National Socialist superiors to adapt German legislation and German administration to the nature and feeling of the people, they twist in execution and thus try to bring these National Socialist men into opposition to the movement.

In order to bend a measure of the Fuehrer or one of his agents, or to bring down inconvenient and dangerous organizations of the movement and the state, they use the means of systematic rumour-mongering and press agitation. Through thousands of channels it is whispered to the authoritative bodies what „dangers“ the leader's policy is allegedly threatened by these measures or these organizations, and at the same time a wave of complaints sets in. The versatility of these complaints often reveals in a flash the channel system of the adversary.

At the command of usually one of the Masonic Swiss or „ German“ emigre newspapers, the attack is completed by a systematic series of articles of the vilest lies. At the same moment the apparatus for exploiting the weaknesses of character of individuals is now set in motion. Man is only so easily inclined to believe untrue and unbelievable rumours more than factual facts. Knowing these weaknesses and the gossip addiction of humans the rumours are brought to personalities, who have certain sympathy or antipathy for these organizations and provide thus of itself again in positive or negative sense for the further spreading.

Only too fast a preconceived opinion is produced, which then forms the soil for the fulfilment of the momentary goals of the opponents.

Thus, all forms of subversion attempts to disintegrate the fabric of the state and to drive a wedge between leadership and followers. In the underlining of the tasks not yet fulfilled, the deeds and achievements of the first two years are to be made forgotten and the ground of any positive work, the trust of the people, is to be gradually pulled from the leader and his faithful.

We must see this work and tactics of the enemy to be able to counter him.

How the enemy wants to see the situation in Germany and which way seems right to him may be shown by the following sentence from an enemy secret report: „ The situation in Germany is marked by the attempt to bring the N.S.D.A.P. into line by bureaucracy and other clandestine opponents of National Socialism.“

4. Our task

Recognition of the enemy has been discussed as a great prerequisite of the struggle. We now know his aim, his changing methods and his new manifestations.

Now, what are the necessities for us, the movement, to meet the transformations of the struggle?

First of all, we must be clear that the state apparatus, the state police in particular, cannot lead this struggle alone. The police can only meet the outwardly legally tangible anti-state attitude of the opponent and is therefore more an organ of defence and defence. Weltanschauliche opponents can decisively defeat the Weltanschauung only in the spiritual struggle. After the first months of the revolutionary conquest of the state power, therefore, the equalization was stopped. When many fellow fighters did not recognize the necessary transformation of the struggle, the word was coined from revolution to evolution, from the outwardly conquered position of power to the spiritual and ideological winning of all.

What demand does this new stage of struggle make on us, the S.S.?

We must work on ourselves. In unheard-of self chastisement we must anchor in ourselves and adhere to the eternal principles of the world view given to us by the Fuhrer.

First of all, we must make ourselves spiritually equal, so that everyone thinks about every opponent equally, rejects him equally in principle, without making personally egoistic and pitiful exceptions. In order to preserve our nation, we must be tough with the opponent, even at the risk of hurting the individual opponent humanly and possibly also of being called uncontrolled brutes by some certainly well-meaning people. If we as National Socialists do not fulfil our historical task because we were too objective and human, we will not be credited with extenuating circumstances. It will simply be said: before history they did not fulfill their task. If someone is our conscious opponent, he is only subjectively and without exception to be wrested down as an opponent. If, for example, every German, out of false pity, would exclude from the fight only the „one decent“ Jew or Freemason of his circle of acquaintances, then these were just 60 million exceptions. The work on ourselves must be done in terms of character and performance. We must deepen the good elements of our German heritage. With all harshness we must be just, we must be the most loyal, and there must be no better comradeship than ours. But we must also, with as much harshness as possible, root out the shields and shortcomings in our own ranks. To prove the correctness of the principles of our community and our selection, we must gradually become the best in all fields. We must provide the best recruits to the nation's armaments carrier within the framework of compulsory military service, we should always be among the first in sports. In the professions, too, it must become the rule that the consciously political S.S. man is also the best specialist, both in the examinations and in practice. We must make the pure „non-political“ only specialist dispensable by our performance. We have to expand the knowledge of our ancestors or even acquire it in the first place. It is the knowledge of all the values that God has given to our people: Our blood, our kind, our true historical past. This also includes our ancient folklore, which has its roots in times that, contrary to the assertion of many, lie far before the turn of time and further before the 8th century, which is so significant for Germanisms. We must exemplify the eternal principles given by the Fuehrer and try to win over in a positive way the people who in the first months did not want to go along with an outward conformity out of characteristic attitude. All these people, who could not find the content of the idea above formal errors, we must personally conquer man by man by our achievements and the strength of the belief that we as a National Socialist movement may be the smallest link between the high cultural past of our people to further millennia of German national history. And we, the S.S., want to be the ideological shock troop and the protective squadron of the idea of the Fuehrer and at the same time, in the fulfilment of the tasks of the State Police, as far as we are on duty in it, an inner-political protective corps of the National Socialist state.