# The religious factor in the German and Soviet ideological fight during the war

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**Abstract.** The problem of use of a religious factor by the Nazi propaganda in the manipulation of the consciousness of the population of the occupied areas of the Soviet Union is investigated in the article. The article begins with the analysis of the policy of the Soviet government in relation to religious institutions and clergy. In the twenties the Soviet government mainly fought against church, tried to undermine its material resources; there was closing of churches and monasteries everywhere. In the 30s they tried to eradicate religion at all, to introduce a materialistic view of the world instead of religion. The authorities started "bringing up" a generation of atheists. A fierce fight of the Soviet government against religion and clergy led to the reduction of churches and the clergy number. This shady side of the Soviet policy was used by the Nazi occupational authorities during the war. The object of research is the policy of the Soviet government in relation to religious institutions and clergy. Methods: The theoretical and methodological basis of research is made by the civilization theories relating to the linear interpretation of history of development of human society. Facts: The policy of the Soviet government in the sphere of religion was based on the ideas of scientific socialism, i.e. the idea of socialism was considered a scientific theory; while religion was thought antiscientific. Basic concept: During this period several possible ways of social development were outlined. There were certain social and political forces behind each model; therefore a global fight between alternative models, i.e. the fight between a totalitarian utopia and real liberal democracy began. This fight led to a more destructive accident, World War II.

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**Key words:** antireligious policy, atheism, the Union of Militant Atheists, Nazi propaganda, church property, repressions

## 1. Introduction

The XX century is characterized by the growth of power of information. It developed great opportunities for the manipulation of people's consciousness. World War II was conducted not only with armed forces but also with mass media. Propaganda war played a special role in the Soviet and German front line. It is necessary to say that both sides used all methods of lie, slander and name calling. Ethnic and national problems always played a special role in the international relations and the foreign policy of great powers. So, the idea of solidarity of the Slavic peoples was a kind of powerful propaganda means of Russia in the fight against Turkey and Austria-Hungary. In the period of the Russian and Turkish conflicts Turkic peoples of the Russian Empire sympathized with Turkey. In the period of Turkic peoples of the Russian Empire sympathized with Turkey. In the period of the Great Patriotic War Nazi Germany used the religious factor widely.

The scientists of Russia and foreign countries deal intensively with the problem of propaganda opposition in the occupied territory of the USSR during the Great Patriotic War.

Yu.V. Basistov (Basistov, 1999), M. V. Shkarovsky (Shkarovsky, 2002), B. N. Kovalyov (Kovalyov, 2001), O. Buchbender (Buchbender, 1978), B. Kvinkert's (Kvinkert, 2008) works are of special interest. Various aspects of psychological and information war between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union are analyzed in them.

## 2. Materials and Methods

The theoretical and methodological basis of research is made by the civilization theories relating to the linear interpretation of history of development of human society. The world wars of the first half of the XX century are considered here as the periods of a civilization break: World War I reflected crisis of an industrial civilization, and the intermilitary period and World War II became a transitional stage, a period of crisis, the decline of an industrial civilization and the formation of postindustrial one. Having brought down the current world order and its main ideas World War I became the starting point of a new stage in the history of European civilization. The model of social development formed in the West during the premilitary period had run its course. The world war became the reflection of deep crisis

tendencies characteristic of the development of the western civilization of the first decades of the XX century. During this period several possible ways of social development were outlined. There were certain social and political forces behind each model; therefore a global fight between alternative models, i.e. the fight between a totalitarian utopia and real liberal democracy began. This fight led to a more destructive accident, World War II.

During World War II there was a fight between ideologies: traditional democratic ideals and totalitarian ideas faced. A totalitarian society as a well-adjusted mechanism of suppression of individuals' aspirations, those ones which were not authorized by the state ideology, and of deprivation of any freedom of choice arose in two large states of Europe: Germany and Italy. This regime with its own distinctive features differed from despotism of the past; for example, the scales of suppression changed in the XX century, and the mechanism of people destruction improved. The German Nazism returned illusory meaning of life and a feeling of importance of actions approved by the ideology to people in despair in the conditions of crisis, offered safety in a group of its adherents led by a strong leader. familiarized mass to the feeling of power with help of unpunished aggression against the weaker.

We do not consider the results obtained by the analysis of sources as the statement of facts. We think of them only as tools, so the terms of validity and falsehood are inapplicable to them; it is possible to speak only about the best or worst tools giving a chance to present a picture of a studied problem in a certain treatment.

#### 3. Results

The formation of the main lines of the policy of the Soviet government in relation to religion and clergy began with the Decree on Land. According to it monastic land, church land with all their live and dead stock, farmstead constructions and all accessories passed into the order of volost land committees and district councils of peasant deputies. In "The Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia" of November 15, 1917 the "cancellation of all and any national and national and religious privileges and restrictions was proclaimed" (Dekrety, 1957: 17-20, 39-40). In the next months the Soviet government issued a number of resolutions on the restriction of the role of church and clergy in public life. In December, 1917 the decrees "About a civil marriage, about children and keeping books of acts of a status", "About divorce" were adopted. They targeted at undermining the dominant position of religion in the field of family law and household. It is known that during the pre-Soviet period in Russia

and its national provinces there was practically no civil marriage. According to the decrees of the Soviet government, church marriage or divorce had no legal grounds and imposes no mutual obligations of spouses. The marriage relations could be considered lawful only after the registration of a civil marriage in local authorities. All religious and administrative agencies which had been engaged earlier in the registration of marriages, birth and death on the ceremonies of religious cults had to send these registration books to the corresponding town, district and volost territorial councils.

On December 24, 1917 the resolution "About Transfer of Child-Rearing and Education from the Spiritual Department to the National Commissariat on Education" was adopted. All parish schools, religious schools and seminaries, female diocesan schools, missionary schools, academies and all establishments of spiritual department were subject to transfer (Sobranie, 1942:129). All educational institutions which were earlier under the jurisdiction of church were transformed to the secular ones. After that a special commission which was to draw up a decree about separation of church from state was formed. National commissioner of education A.V.Lunacharsky, national commissioner of justice P.I.Stuchka, lawyer M.A.Reysner, priest M. V. Galkin and specialist in religion questions from the Board of the National Commissariat of Justice P.A.Krasikov were members of the commission. On December 31, 1917 the commission published a draft of the decree. Subsequently on the basis of this project the decree text "About a Freedom of Worship, Church and Religious Societies" was developed. After amending the project text by V. I. Lenin, a final version of the decree was prepared, and its name was also changed. The document was published on February 5, 1918 in an official publication under the name "The Decree about Separation of Church from State and School from Church" (Dekrety, 1957: 373-

Declaring separation of church from state the decree emphasized secular character of the Soviet state. Carrying out religious practices and ceremonies was forbidden while state or other public actions were being held as well as a mark about religious affiliation of citizens in official documents. At the same time the decree provided citizens with the right to profess any religion or not to do any. All church and religious societies were subject to the general provisions on private societies and unions. These basic provisions of the decree were included in the first Soviet constitution, the Constitution of the RSFSR of 1918. It was emphasized that in order to provide workers with a valid freedom of worship church was separated from state, and school was

separated from church, and a freedom of religious and antireligious propaganda was declared for all citizens.

According to the decree official guardianship of church and religious institutions over schools stopped; confessional schools were closed; teaching of dogmas in educational institutions and the publication of corresponding textbooks were cancelled. Having separated schools from church the decree allowed the right of citizens for receiving religious education privately. In fact the first parts of the decree were the continuation of the process of the secularization which started in Russia of the pre-Soviet period. It is known that in pre-Soviet Russia as well as in other European states the secularization was shown as the process of deprivation of religious institutes of a number of social functions, reductions of cult practice, replacement of religious points of view with secular ones, the introduction of irreligious outlook in public and individual consciousness. The modern western civilization is a direct consequence of a similar secularization process in absolutely different areas: from the system of the government and law provisions to science and art. In the Soviet state this process began with the separation of church from state and schools from church and subsequently turned into a large-scale repressive campaign against church and clergy.

In 1914 in the territory of the Russian Empire there were 54 174 Orthodox temples (including monastic, house, cemeterial, invalid and assigned, but without military churches), 25 593 chapels, 1025 monasteries. As of April 1, 1936 in the country there were only 15 835 operating temples (Gubkin).

During the period of 1918 - 1920 673 monasteries were closed; their premises were used as warehouses, asylums, barracks, prisons and concentration camps. The monks who showed discontent were punished by punitive bodies severely. In April-May, 1922 demonstration trials against clergy in Moscow and Petrograd took place. On August 13 Metropolitan Veniamin (Kazanskiy) of Petrograd was shot. There were about 70 bishops, which was more than a half of the survived episcopate, in prisons and exile at the end of 1924 (Istoriia, 1997: 90, 116).

According to the decree, all the property of existing in Russia church and religious societies was declared national property. Church and religious societies lost the status of a legal entity. Buildings and subjects intended specially for divine service were given according to special resolutions either to local or central government or to corresponding religious societies for free use. All church buildings which were not used for church service were subject to the nationalization. Moreover, any state subsidies

to church and religious organizations stopped. From then on religious societies could receive buildings necessary for commission of church services after the permission of local or central authorities. The capital worth 4 billion rubles, 827 thousand dessiatinas of land, 84 plants, 1112 retirement homes and hospices. 704 hotels, 277 hospitals and asylums, 436 dairy farms, 603 farmyards and 311 apiaries were withdrawn from monasteries (Istoriia, 1995). On May 8, 1918 the special 8<sup>th</sup> Department ("the Liquidating Commission") was created at the National Commissariat of Justice on the implementation of the decree "About Separation of Church from State and School from Church". At the first meeting, the tasks of the 8<sup>th</sup> Department were defined. Its main aspects "the development of concerned documents supplementing and explaining provisions of the decree about separation of church from state" and "help in consideration of various disputable cases arising during carrying out church reform in the field". The Commission headed by P.A.Krasikov developed a set of explanations and orders concerning implementation of the basic provisions of the decree. At the end of September, 1922 the Commission on Antireligious Propaganda was formed at the Department of Campaigning and Propaganda of the Central Committee of the RCP (of Bolsheviks). In various governmental bodies there were also correspondent antireligious commissions. In October, 1922, all commissions which dealt with issues of church and antireligious work were dismissed. Instead of them a united government body, the Commission for carrying out separation of church from state, was created at the Central Committee of the RCP (of Bolsheviks). P. A. Krasikov, the head of the fifth (former the 8<sup>th</sup>) Department of the National Commissariat of Justice, which was responsible for questions of cults, became the temporary chairman. The commission appealed to the Political Bureau to appoint Trotsky, who was not present personally, to the post of the chairman. However, the Political Bureau made the decision to charge N. N. Popov. who was from the office of the Central Committee, with presidency. The commission on carrying out separation of church from state was called the Antireligious Commission since June 13, 1928. The commission made final decisions in political issues in relation to religious associations from the moment of creation until its dissolution at the end of 1929; only in especially important cases the right of decisionmaking belonged to the Political Bureau, which in return took preliminary decisions of the Commission into account. In 1922-1929 a hundred and twenty meetings of the Commission took place in total (Steindorff, 1999; Steindorff, 2007).

In February, 1921, the resolution of the Council of People's Commissars was adopted, which forbade religious attendants to work in village councils, volost executive committees, public institutions and enterprises, in rural cooperatives and state farms. They were allowed to work only in district and provincial towns under special control. But in the towns believers had no right to take up responsible positions. They could only take extra, secondary and the lowest positions. Also religious attendants were forbidden to work in the sphere of national education, in justice departments, in Workers' and Peasants' inspection. So, the Soviet government tried not to allow religious attendants in the places providing influence on common people 1990:41-42).The (Preodolevaia. secularization process in the twenties mainly took place intensively in cities, and in the thirties rural areas were also involved (Steindorff, 2001:336).

Carrying out the decree did not always happen according to the scenario provided by the authorities. In pursuance of this decree the National Commissariat of Education ordered all local departments of national education to take measures to prevent the performance of religious rites and teaching of religious dogmas in school. However, Semipalatinsk regional council noted that "teaching of subjects of religion in civil educational institutions of all departments and names stops" in the resolution of April 4, 1918, but along with that it did a concession: "... 4. Parents of pupils can invite special people for teaching dogma optional and by mutual consent" (Istoriia, 1979). But the mitigation of policy in relation to teaching of Muslim dogma at schools was considered as a violation, and it was strictly stopped.

While in the twenties the Soviet government mainly fought against church, tried to undermine its material resources and there was closing of churches and monasteries everywhere, in the 30s the government tried to eradicate religion at all, to introduce a materialistic view instead of religion, started "bringing up" a generation of atheists. The policy of the Soviet government in the sphere of religion was based on the ideas of scientific socialism, i.e. the idea of socialism was considered a scientific theory, and religion was thought antiscientific. The members of the Communist Party were forbidden to perform religious rites, otherwise they were subject to the exception from the party on the basis of the resolution of the Central Committee of the RCP (of Bolsheviks) of July 21, 1921 "About Examination of Party Members, about their Revision and Purge". Following the results of the purge 4855 people were expelled from party bodies or translated in candidates, which made 22 percent of the number

of one party organization (Kommunisticheskaia, 1987:391).

During I. V. Stalin's conversation with the American working delegation on September 9, 1927 one of the members of the delegation asked such a question: "We know that some good communists do not absolutely agree with the Communist Party requirement that all new members have to be atheists because now the reactionary clergy is suppressed. Could the Communist Party be neutral in relation to religion in the future, if religion supported all science as a whole and did not resist to communism?" I.V. Stalin answered: "We conduct propaganda and we will conduct propaganda against religious prejudices. The legislation of our country is so that every citizen has the right to profess any religion. It is a matter of everyone's consciousness. For this reason we carried out separation of church from state. But having carried out separation of church from state and having proclaimed a freedom of worship we at the same time have kept the right to fight by persuading, by propaganda and campaigning against this or that religion, against any religion for every citizen. The party can't be neutral concerning religion, and it conducts antireligious propaganda against all and any religious prejudices because it stands up for science. and religious prejudices go against science because any religion is something opposite to science" (Stalin, 1933: 287). Bolshevist leaders connected antireligious activity directly with the idea of the aggravation of class fight in process of advance to socialism. I. V. Stalin said: "The party can't be neutral concerning religious prejudices, and it will conduct propaganda against these prejudices because it is one of infallible remedies to undermine influence of the reactionary clergy supporting exploiter classes and preaching obedience to these classes" (Stalin, 1933: 289).

The Soviet government began an active fight against religions; churches, mosques, synagogues were closed, a lot of religious figures were repressed. The nationalization of church and monastic lands, withdrawal of cult property and other material values, creation and implementation of the antireligious legislation, deprivation of priests of political and civil rights, to Bolsheviks' mind, would assist in the education of people in an atheistic spirit. In the late 20s - the beginning of the 30th the antireligious propaganda strengthened. The whole complex of antireligious propaganda was developed: creation of public atheistic organizations, training of professional antireligious activists, carrying out atheistic conferences and seminars, use of mass media in propaganda activities, holding antireligious holidays. In the withdrawn cult buildings antireligious museums were organized.

Arisen in 1925 "The Union of Atheists " played a big role in the antireligious propaganda. Its activity was under control of party bodies. The II All-Union Congress of atheists took place in July, 1929 and it renamed the organization into "The Union of Militant Atheists". There were cells of this organization in all enterprises, collective farms, schools and the number of their members grew quickly. A huge number of people: workers, peasants, school students, students and others - were hired in the Union of Atheists in a compulsory but made to appear as voluntary form. For example, as of January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1940in Semipalatinsk area 204 cells of the Union of Militant Atheists worked with the number of members of 11 772 people. In September the number was 304, and the ranks of members grew to 13935 people (O sostoianii: 25). Republican councils of the Union of Atheists held conferences, issued methodical guidebooks, translated antireligious literature from Russian in the languages of local population, concluded socialist competition contracts with each other in the implementation of the plans of antireligious work (Kalendarnii plan, 1941: 7-8).

However, antireligious work with Muslims showed the weakness of the organizers of this work. Making a report against religion speakers often showed weak knowledge in comparison with their opposing sides, and the situations when they could not answer questions often took place. The Secretariat of the Central Council of the Union of Militant Atheists of the USSR constantly heard reports of republican councils, made remarks, pointed out the defects. For example, in the Secretariat resolution of January 18, 1941 the following shortcomings of the work of

the republican council of the Union of Militant Atheists of the Kazakh SSR were noted: "A considerable part of antireligious lectures have been made at a low ideological and theoretical level so far. Forces of wide Soviet intelligentsia have been involved in carrying out antireligious and natural-science lectures insufficiently" (Postanovlenie, 1941: 5-6).

The management of the Union of Militant Atheists reported on progress of antireligious work: "... thanks to the fact that believing workers have been systematically engaged in antireligious work, there have been facts of withdrawal of former believers from religion, for example, a collective farmer... convinced his wife to clean the apartment from icons and to replace them with pictures", "15 schoolchildren stopped praying at Lubenskiy school of Chingirlauskiy area as a result of well-organized antireligious work" (Dokladnaiia:12).

Obviously usual means of campaigning and propaganda were not sufficient to replace the old ideas, norms and values with new ones. The facts of mass "manifestations of religious prejudices" among communists taking place in everyday life testify to it. They were expressed in performance of ceremonies and rituals accompanying the major stages of human life: birth, marriage, death. A number of examples of religious ritual preservation were given in the report of the Central Council of the Union of Militant Atheists of the USSR about measures for strengthening of work of the republican council of the Union of Militant Atheists of the Kazakh SSR. It said: "150 collective farmers did not come to work in the collective farm "Lenin's Testament" of the Cisural area in 1939 at Easter, and 48 workers did not in 1940. A group of schoolchildren went to exchange a triple kiss in the collective farm named after Volodarskiy of Cisural area at Easter" (Dokladnaiia:11).

Despite the active antireligious propaganda and repressions the Soviet government could not get rid of religiousness of the population completely. The involvement in religion profession declared openly about a third of citizens and two thirds of villagers, which was discovered by the results of the All-Union population census of 1937 in the USSR.

### 4. Discussions

The Nazi authorities paid a lot of attention to ideological preparation of the German army for the future war with the Soviet Union. On October 7, 1940 the guidelines of the Land Forces High Command were prepared with a signature stamp "top secret". They were specially created for winter half-year, 1940/1941 to prepare the army for the attack to the Soviet Union. In the section "Outlook Education" the purpose of ideological education of the German military personnel was specified: "During a war under arms there are much more people fit for active service than in peacetime. A war leads to considerable lengthening of service of large contingents of military personnel. In this regard armed forces are charged with special responsibility not only for training of military personnel in use of the weapons but also for the education of their correct outlook, correct national and political beliefs. There cannot be a doubt that it is impossible to separate military preparation of a resolute, always ready to active actions fighter from live national and socialist education of personnel. Chiefs of all levels are obliged to pay special attention to this education. The task does not consist of capturing as many questions as possible. The crucial significance is attached to the development in land forces of uniform understanding of national and socialist principles which have to

become ingrained in all military personnel" (Dashichev, 1973:191). Commanders or special propagandists had to address regularly to the ordinary military personnel with reports on subjects: "The German people", "The German empire", "The German vital space", "National socialism as life basis". In the list of recommended literature A. Hitler's book "My fight" was on the first place. The head department of the imperial safety prepared the collection of materials for political and educational work called "Training Documentation for World Outlook Education". Section 10 of this collection was called "Adolf Hitler's book "My fight" as a basis of national and socialist outlook". Studying the book was focused exactly on the questions "Eastern direction Or Eastern Policy", "Self-Defense as a Right" arranged in the way to prove need of the future war in the east (Der Reichsfürer). However, the management of the Third Reich showed extra care in propaganda work not to reveal their intentions about the attack to the USSR prematurely. On May 8, 1941 the Department of Defense of the country of the High Command of the Wehrmacht instructed: "Our plans have to remain in secret as long as it is possible ... Our blow has to be sudden for Russia. At the same time it is necessary to postpone ideological training of the German soldiers and the German people although it would be desirable" (Dashichev. 1973:192).

The Ministry of National Education and Propaganda and the Political Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs were the main centers of preparation of propaganda materials in the Third Reich. In April, 1939 the propaganda department was created at the High Command of the Wehrmacht. In the spring of 1941 the Propaganda Service in the eastern territories was created in Berlin. It was the place where the translators knowing the East European languages worked. This service had a radio station broadcasting in 16 languages of the peoples of the USSR. 932 employees were occupied in this service in 1944, broadcasting proceeded until April, 1945. On the eve of the war the Wehrmacht and the Ministry on occupied eastern areas (the East Ministry) headed by A.Rozenberg also joined propaganda work.

The inclusion of information groups of the armies of propaganda in the first echelon, which would begin attack to the Soviet Union, was provided. The places of collecting reports of propaganda service, radio stations which would have to transfer the information on the course of operations and propaganda material were defined. A wide use of all means of active propaganda for the Soviet divisions was planned. The High Command of the Wehrmacht had to organize dropping of the leaflets

by aircraft aimed at consolidation and combat propaganda. The preparation of posters for local population and supply with them all attacking German armies were planned. The main directions of propaganda activities which skillfully hid the real purpose of the Nazi authorities in this war had to be reflected in posters. The text in posters was to be printed in German and in the language of local population. The development by the High Command of the Wehrmacht of "The Instructions on the Soviet Union" and "The Instructions on Behavior of the German Armies" was planned. Shortly before the beginning of the military operations by the High Command of the Wehrmacht specialists in propaganda and in information preparation for the press and broadcasting had to be affiliated. Special propaganda divisions were created as a part of land forces, navy and aircraft. 501 and 621propaganda companies were engaged in propaganda work in the occupied northern territories of the USSR, 612, 689, 693 and 697 companies worked in the western areas, near Rzhev and Kaluga, the territory of the Southern Russia and Ukraine was "served" by 637, 649, 666, 670, 691, 694 and 695 companies. These divisions were directly subject to the Departments of propaganda of the High Team of the Wehrmacht.

The main contents of propaganda work were criticism of the weakest links of the Soviet system: collective farms, the Bolshevist solution to agrarian, national and religious problems, repressions, working conditions and standards of living of common people as well as exposure of the false information distributed by the Soviet propaganda. A huge attention was paid to the contents of propaganda materials, the experts studying economy of the Soviet Union, history, culture and spiritual life of the people of the USSR were attracted to their preparation. For example, one of the campaign materials which is kept in the Political archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Germany contains the characteristics of the state of religions and the state of affairs of priests in the USSR. The document begins with quotes from the Constitution of the USSR of 1936, and also from Lenin and Stalin's works about religion, and further the data on closing of mosques, churches, monasteries and synagogues by Bolsheviks, on the scales of repressions against ministers of worship are provided. The document includes the following statistics on repressions against religious institutions and clergy: the Soviet government closed 8000 churches in the first years after the revolution, 3000 churches in 1925-1928, 1200 churches in 1929, 2000 churches in 1930, 1400 churches in 1931-1935, 1100 churches in 1936-1937. The document also contains the data on closing of churches in large cities of Russia: in Moscow there were 420 churches on the

eve of revolution, in 1934 only 37 remained (Die religiose, 1941).

On June 6, 1941 the department of propaganda of the High Command of the Wehrmacht defined the main ideas subject to use in the propaganda against the USSR: the opposing side of Germany was not the people of the Soviet Union but the Jewish and Bolshevist Soviet government with all employees subordinate to it and the communist party, which undertook efforts to achieve world revolution; the German armies had not come to the country as the enemy, they sought to free the people from the Soviet tyranny, etc. Propaganda was to promote the split of the Soviet Union in separate states: but the local population of the occupied areas were not to learn about the intentions of Nazis to split the USSR. Therefore it was necessary to avoid expressions "Russia", "Russians", "the Russian armed forces" replacing them with the expressions "the Soviet Union", "the people of the Soviet Union", "the Red Army". The inclusion of information groups of the propaganda armies in the first echelon, which would begin the attack to the Soviet Union, was provided. The places of collecting reports of propaganda service, radio stations which would have to transfer the information on the course of operations and propaganda material were defined. A wide use of all means of active propaganda for the Soviet divisions was planned. The High Command of the Wehrmacht had to organize dropping of the leaflets by aircraft aimed at consolidation and combat propaganda. The preparation of posters for local population and supply with them all attacking German armies were planned. The main directions of propaganda activities which skillfully hid the real purpose of the Nazi authorities in this war had to be reflected in posters. The text in posters was to be printed in German and in the language of local population. The development by the High Command of the Wehrmacht of "The Instructions on the Soviet Union" and "The Instructions on Behavior of the German Armies" was planned. Shortly before the beginning of the military operations by the High Command of the Wehrmacht specialists in propaganda and in information preparation for the press and broadcasting had to be affiliated. In 1941-1944 in the occupied Soviet territories there were more than 600 newspapers and magazines which were published in the languages of the peoples of the USSR (Die nationalsozialistische). In the occupied cities processions were arranged to show "goodwill" of the German administration to the population. German scientist B. Kvinkert describes how the Germans celebrated "the day of the liberation of Belarus from the Soviet yoke" in Minsk on June 22, 1944. In the procession, passing through the center of Minsk, the group of people had to carry

images of destroyed churches as a symbol of antireligious policy of the Soviet government (Kvinkert, 2008: 363). The program of propaganda activities with the population of the occupied east areas was developed by the East Ministry. In "The Draft of the Offers for East Propaganda" the main ideas which could be used for the layout of insurgency forces in the territory of the USSR were specified: "The situation in the east demands wide propaganda actions directed to the opposing side insistently in order to undermine insurgency forces of the enemy by all means whenever it will be possible before new operations and to take away any propaganda material of the enemy propaganda. The weak links of the Soviets lie in the following spheres: 1) restoration of private property (the aspirations of national mass, peasants, handicraftsmen, small traders to property); 2) a freedom of religion profession (deep religiousness of the population); 3) separatism of the non-Russian peoples (Deutsche, 1941). In the document "The State of Affairs of Agrarian, Religious and National Problems in the Occupied Eastern Oblasts" it was specified that the principles of "development separately" stated in imperial minister A. Rozenberg's speech in the press reception on November 18, 1941 were valid relating to non-Russian peoples living in the Soviet Union. The principle of "development separately" provided different forms and ways of development for Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Ukraine, Belarus, peoples of the Caucasus and Turkic peoples beyond Russia. On December 5, 1941 the staff of the Political Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs drew up the documents entitled "The Guidelines on Propaganda in the Caucasus" and "The Guidelines on Propaganda among Turkic Peoples". The latter document consisted of four points:

- 1) The time of liberation from the centuriesold oppression of Moscow has come. Moscow and the Bolshevism, which have taken your best lands, grounds and have interfered by all means with cultural and economic development, are collapsing. Help to free your Homeland!
- 2) The German army is bringing to the Turkic peoples free development of their own culture and language, their religion and schools.
- 3) Such forms of land use, property and trade will be introduced that correspond to desires of various peoples.
- 4) The German empire treats all Muslims friendly and kindly. Don't trust the Bolshevist propaganda claiming that Muslims are tortured and shot (Aufbaumeldungen, 1941).

The propaganda materials were issued in the form of leaflets, brochures and posters in Russian and other languages of the peoples of the USSR, were

scattered by aircraft and special guns over the advanced front line. The leaflets were aimed at the manipulation with consciousness, feelings and experiences of the military personnel, civilians of the immediate battle area and the occupied areas. Having studied the contents of the leaflets spread in the summer of 1942 around Stalingrad German researcher O. Buchbender detected that 24% of leaflets contained the information about the progress of the Wehrmacht at the front; 17% of them were devoted to the criticism of Bolsheviks' ideas; 11% of them promoted good prison conditions for prisoners of war in German, and the others were aimed at the exposure of false information of Soviet propaganda and criticism of the policy of the Soviet government of the solution to land, national and religious questions (Buchbender, 1978: 182). Nazi propaganda tried to show all shady sides of the Soviet life to prevent insurgency in the occupied areas. In the leaflets horrors of the Stalin terror and an idealized picture of "a new order" established by Nazis in the areas occupied by them were represented: "... Let's look what is being done in the areas occupied by the German armies ... At the beginning of March of this vear the new land use order is declared, which abolishes collective farms there. ... In all cities joined forces of the German and local authorities are restoring life. ... The freedom of worship has been restored everywhere in the liberated districts. The Pskov and Smolensk cathedrals are cleared of the Bolshevist antireligious museums with the assistance of the German authorities, and church service is being made there as well as in the Andreyevskiy cathedral in Kiev and in the monastic cathedral in Kharkov now (Propagandarichtlinien, 1941:2,3). According to M.V.Shkarovsky in the temporarily occupied territory of the USSR aggressors allowed to open over 10 thousand Orthodox temples, but at the same time Nazis destroyed 44 temples in Lenigradskiy oblast and about 50 temples in the Moscow region (Shkarovskii, 1995; Shkarovskii, 2007).

A special church department worked at the Head Department of Imperial Safety. It exercised control and supervision over the activity of religious institutions, was engaged in studying of mood of clergy and believers, recruitment of agents from the circle of priests. In remained A. Rosenberg's testimony to the negotiations on May 8 with A. Hitler and M. Borman it was noted that big religious associations already appeared "by themselves" in the occupied territories of Russia and it was necessary to use and control them. It was decided not to issue the law on religious freedom in the eastern areas because of the possibility of its undesirable influence on church in the Germany, however, to charge Reich commissars of "Ostlanda" and "Ukraine" to hold on

their own behalf events aimed at toleration establishment. "Apart from it Fuehrer emphasized that after the war he would take appropriate measures against church..." (Shkarovskii).

During this period some representatives of the Muslim peoples of the USSR. had an idea of the creation of the Islamic High Council of the Russian Turkic peoples. In March, 1945 the employee of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Germany A. Idris prepared the document "The Problem of the Islamic High Council of the Russian Turkic Peoples". The brief history of created in 1878 "the Orenburg Spiritual Meeting" was given in the first section of this document. Having noted with regret that the transformation of this establishment into the central management of all Muslims of Russia was interrupted with World War I the author in the subsequent sections sought to prove the need of creation of the Islamic High Council for the Russian Turkic peoples. "The majority of Muslim prisoners of war from Russia who I have met here during this war," the author writes, "are indifferent to this question; however, the purpose of their most conscious part is not only the restoration of the Islamic High Council, but also both independence and unity of all Turkic peoples. These real representatives of their people are against the appointment of one or several muftis for the Crimea. Idel-Urals, Turkestan, etc. ... The chief mufti of Jerusalem shows big sympathies for all Turkic prisoners of war of Russia as he does not wish a uniform Islamic state, but he wishes a union of all Muslim peoples. These Turkic peoples have had to remain as separate republics, which is not favorable either to them or to Germany. But if they have not been able to achieve any national consent or independence at the end of the war yet, they have to create, in my opinion, at least a uniform religious organization. If it happens, the head of this organization will have to be elected from their own Islam scientists" (Entwurf, 1944: 2-3, 14; Arbeitsgemeinschaft, 1945: 13). These plans of the employee of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Nazi Germany A. Idris show a real essence of false "care" of the authorities of the Third Reich about the revival of religious feelings of prisoners of war: not having an opportunity to appeal to patriotic feelings they grasped religion.

The beginning of the Great Patriotic War revealed an urgent need of internal consolidation of society. Considering the protection of homeland a common cause, Sergiy, the metropolitan of Moscow and Kolomna, addressed to pastors of the Orthodox Church on June 22, 1941 with such words: "By self-rejection there have been incalculable thousands of our Orthodox soldiers sacrificing their life and belief

for the Homeland at all times of enemies invasion of our Homeland. They died, without thinking of glory, they thought only that the Homeland needed them to sacrifice, and submissively sacrificed everything and their life. The Christ's Church blesses all Orthodox to protect sacred borders of our Homeland. The Lord will grant us the victory" (Rossiia, 1995). The Soviet government urged clergy to support the fight against the common enemy, which they made with enthusiasm, up to financing of purchase of the weapons for the armies at the front. The community of believers and clergy of Vsesvyatskaya Cemeterial Orthodox church of the city of Petropavlovsk of the Kazakh SSR contributed for purchase of the weapons 260 thousand rubles by cash and 50 thousand rubles by loan securities (Verkhovnomu: 8). This patriotic act of the community was favored with I.V. Stalin's gratitude expressed by him in the governmental telegram in person (Telegramma: 7).

### 5. Conclusions

From the point of view of the theory of modernization the policy of the Soviet government in the sphere of religion had to be limited to the implementation of "The Decree About Separation of Church from State and School from Church". However, the Soviet government did not pursue secularization policy in a certain framework as it was in the West; they started fighting against religious clergy, carried out repressions among clergy. The punishment of clergy and believers were carried out at a time when "socialism was approaching in all front lines", therefore the accusations of attendants of a cult of counterrevolutionary, anti-Soviet activity were common forms of fight against clergy.

During World War II the opposing sides used the arms as well as the word power. The armed fight was accompanied by the information war. The opposing sides tried to use all possible means for manipulation with consciousness of people. The criticism of the antireligious policy of the Soviet government became one of the powerful tools of the German propaganda in the occupied territory of the USSR.

The reality forced the authorities of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) to move on to the dialogue for the unity of believers and atheists fighting against the common enemy, the fascist Germany. The appeal to the national patriotic traditions and the aspiration to neutralize the impact of the Hitlerite propaganda, which sometimes represented Germany as a defender of Christianity in Russia, also played a role during the war.

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