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RUSSIA, RELIGION, AND THE ROSARY:  
CAN RELIGION BE A U.S. WEAPON  
AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION?

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A thesis presented to the Faculty of the U.S. Army  
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fulfillment of the requirements for the  
degree

MASTER OF MILITARY ART AND SCIENCE

by

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Christian theology can be a practical strategic weapon against the U.S.S.R. First, the essence of religious practice can denote Communism as a religion. Second, religions historically and currently are strategically important. Third, religion causes Soviet Union leadership to respond in a reactionary manner. Fourth, religion historically is of high value in the United States of America. Fifth, the United States can use religion as a strategic weapon against the U.S.S.R. The use of religion as a weapon can take three strategies: (1) Increase the interreligious tensions between Islam, Orthodox Christianity, Buddhism, and Communism in the Soviet Union, (2) cultivate the growth of the Christian virtues throughout the society in the U.S., and (3) to foster United States reliance upon the use of the supernatural act of prayer.

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ABSTRACT

RUSSIA, RELIGION, AND THE ROSARY:

CAN RELIGION BE A U.S. WEAPON

AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION?

Christian theology can be a practical strategic weapon against the U.S.S.R. First, the essence of religious practice can denote Communism as a religion. Second, religions historically and currently are strategically important. Third, religion causes Soviet Union leadership to respond in a reactionary manner. Fourth, religion historically is of high value in the United States of America. Fifth, the United States can use religion as a strategic weapon against the U.S.S.R. The use of religion as a weapon can take three strategies: (1) Increase the interreligious tensions between Islam, Orthodox Christianity, Buddhism, and Communism in the Soviet Union, (2) cultivate the growth of the Christian virtues throughout the society in the U.S., and (3) to foster United States reliance upon the use of the supernatural act of prayer.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

### DEDICATION

To the Blessed Virgin  
Mary Immaculate  
Seat of Wisdom

To St. Thomas Aquinas  
Doctor and Scholar

To my wife Frances  
and my children Wayne, Nathaniel, and Matthew  
who paid the price of a father's desire  
to write a thesis.

To my father  
who encouraged me in this work  
and who died before its completion.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Can the Christian theology be a practical strategic weapon against the U.S.S.R.? This fundamental question is the genesis of the present report. The thesis of this report is as follows: Religion and Christian practice are weapons that can be strategically employed against the U.S.S.R. Several subquestions derive from the main question. Are religions of strategic importance? Is religion important to the United States population? Is religion important to the Soviet Socialist Republics? Is the U.S. now using religion as a strategic weapon against the U.S.S.R.?

The answers to the preceding questions are obtained from a review of religious literature in the Combined Arms Research Library at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. The author focused upon the religious book contained in the library and focused upon a computer literature search of the New York Times data bank. The author selected books written within the past thirty years, and he selected newspaper articles less than five years old.

Recently religion dominated world political events. The world witnessed an amazing event--the Iranian revolution. This violent act of rebellion against the powerful Shah of Iran was based on a fundamental change in religious practice. Many explanations may be posed for the revolution, but the public explanation focused upon the Islamic religious faith. An economically sound and militarily powerful country is now destroyed. Millions of lives are drastically changed because of the peoples' religious demands and feelings. Iran underwent a cataclysm in order to alter religious practice.

Religion in Iran is a significant element of national power. The intensity of religious feeling motivates the political leadership to threaten "holy war" upon political enemies. (One dictionary defines "holy war" as "a war waged by religious partisans to propagate or defend their faith."<sup>1</sup>

Enormous numbers of people share a religious fervor, witnessed recently through televised Iranian public demonstrations. The religious fervor of the Iranians propagates fear of war in Iranian neighbors. Within the militarily weakened Iranian revolutionaries, religious fervor instills courage to fight battles with militarily

powerful Iraq. Religion powerfully affects Iran nationally.

Consider now the circumstances of the Islamic community in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Religion strongly affects the political nature of the Soviet Union. Non-European people exist in Central Asia, now a part of the U.S.S.R., and these people are a large ethnic group with a common Islamic religion. The population is estimated to be doubling every twenty years, and by the turn of the twenty-first century, the Islamic population is expected to be the dominant population.<sup>2</sup> These central Asian people are culturally related to the Persian and to the Chinese. They are also ostracized from the mainstream of European Russian culture. They are strongly motivated to practice their Islamic faith, an act that places them at odds with Marxist-Leninist society.<sup>3</sup> Through religion the nature of the Soviet Union is diversified by a people dramatically different from the Russian European.

Israeli history gives us appreciation of religion as a mysterious element of national power. The strength of that power is best described by the following Hebrew quotations:

If you live according to my laws, if you keep my commandments and put them into practice, . . . .

I will give peace to the land, and you shall sleep with none to frighten you . . . . The sword shall not pass through your land. You shall pursue your enemies and they shall fall before your sword; five of you pursuing a hundred of them, one hundred pursuing ten thousand; and your enemies shall fall before your sword.

But if you do not listen to me, and do not observe each one of these commandments, if you refuse my laws and disregard my customs, and break my Covenant by not observing each one of my commandments, then I will deal in like manner with you.

. . . I will turn against you and you shall be defeated by your enemies. Your foes shall have the mastery over you, and you shall take flight when there is no one pursuing you.

The Hebrews recorded another powerful promise:

You may say in your heart, "These nations outnumber me; how shall I be able to dispossess them?" Do not be afraid of them! remember how Yahweh, your God, dealt with Pharaoh and all Egypt, the great ordeals your own eyes have seen, the signs and wonders, the mighty hand and outstretched arm with which Yahweh your God has brought you. So will Yahweh your God deal with all the peoples whom you fear to face. . . .

Do not be afraid of them, for Yahweh your God is among you, a God who is great and terrible. Little by little Yahweh your God will destroy these nations before you; you will not be able to make an end of them at once, or the wild beasts would grow too many for you. But Yahweh your God will deliver them over to you and will harass them until they are destroyed. He will deliver their kings into your hands and you will blot out their names from under heaven; none shall withstand you, until you have destroyed them all.

A mystery surrounds these promises. For these promises were rendered to a small insignificant nation. However, that nation in one generation became one of the

more successful military powers of the time. A debate continues whether the power is natural or supernatural. Religion remains a key element of national power.

Subsequent chapters will discuss general topics elaborating on the thesis. The essence of religion can emphasize the strategic importance of religion. The importance of religion to the U.S.S.R. compared to the importance of religion to the U.S. reveals possible U.S. employment of religion as an additional means of contending with the U.S.S.R.

In summary, the author presents his question, his thesis, and several observations generating the question and the thesis. The author notices the force of religion in contemporary political issues in Southwest Asia, and he contemplates the number of religious people in the Soviet society. Subsequent chapters will display more religious information about the Soviet Union and the United States of America.

CHAPTER I END NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary, (Springfield, Mass., G & C Merriam Co., 1980).

<sup>2</sup>Sig Mickelson, "U.S.S.R.--Muslim Population Explosion Poses a Possible Threat to Soviet Military," Military Review, November 1978, pp. 36-45.

<sup>3</sup>Mickelson, pp. 36-45.

<sup>4</sup>Leviticus 26: 3-17.

<sup>5</sup>Deuteronomy 7: 17-24.

## CHAPTER II

### ESSENCE OF RELIGIOUS PRACTICE

This chapter demonstrates that the Soviet society espouses a religion called Communism. First, the reader evaluates a definition of religion; and second, he contemplates the religious ideas of several authors. Third, the reader views nationalism as a religious process; and fourth, he evaluates Communism both as a religious and as a nationalistic process.

The Webster unabridged dictionary defines "religion" as "the service and adoration of God or a god as expressed in forms of worship, in obedience to divine commands, especially as found in accepted sacred writings or as declared by recognized teachers and in the pursuit of a way of life regarded as incumbent on true believers." Webster further defines god as "being of more than human attributes and powers, especially a superhuman person conceived as dominating nature or some province of nature and to whom worship is due and acceptable."<sup>1</sup>

The author chooses to point out denotations in the definition of religion: (1) service and adoration of some person or thing, (2) some formality of behavior, (3) an

obedience to instructions offered from superior authority, (4) a teaching, usually codified and written, that is impressed upon, (5) a following. These denotations broaden the definition of religion to include some nationalistic movements, as shall be discussed in another place.

Religion and Christian practice are weapons that can be strategically employed against the U.S.S.R. The purpose of this chapter is to point out that the essence of religion denotes factors linking to fear, to behavior, to civilization, to nationalism, and to communism.

Author Lewis Browne relates the origin of religion to man's fear of the environment. Richard Weaver believes civilization results from the religious behavior of men. Charles Davis describes an important function of religion. And the author of the present work attempts to demonstrate characteristics excluding philosophy from characteristics of religion.

Lewis Browne points out that common to all men throughout all time is the fear of the environment.<sup>2</sup> Browne projects that this fear is the dominant characteristic of primeval man. Browne argues that early man trusted in magic to reduce the unpleasant feeling of fear and the unpleasant feeling of helplessness. Browne argues further that with time, man substituted religion for the

trust in magic. Modern man uses religion to dispel the unpleasant feelings of fear and helplessness.

Browne prefers to believe religion gives birth to civilization.<sup>3</sup> Through the aid of complex tools, institutions, and procedures, civilization further reduces environmental fear. Accordingly, a probable nucleus of civilization is religion; civilization may be the child of religion.

Like Browne, Richard Weaver also argues that civilization arises from religion.<sup>4</sup> Weaver also introduces a contrast to show that only man is capable of forming religion and is capable of forming civilization. First, Weaver argues life in society implies life under a high guiding good, developed by reason.<sup>5</sup> Second, Weaver contrasts reasonable man with the unreasoning beast. Like men, beasts experience anxiety; and in the special circumstance of pets, the anxiety of the beast can be assuaged by a master. Beasts are not known to reason in complex ways. Beasts don't usually appear to exhibit religious behavior. Beasts don't build complex societies or civilizations. Complex reasoning ability is a property of man. This property of reason allows for the development of religion which, in turn, provides for civilization.

Charles Davis describes one function of religion, namely, ". . . support of society through providing a comprehensive system of meaning within which the social order can be built."<sup>6</sup> Davis feels that the purpose of religion is to provide a socially useful meaning to unexplained socially disturbing phenomena, thus supporting the building of a complex social order.<sup>7</sup> Davis is deeply concerned with the meaning of life; and it is for that explanation, he feels religious behavior fundamentally is expressed in all behavior.<sup>8</sup>

Civilization is a variant of religion. As previously mentioned, religion appears basic to human existence and religion appears to be a unique product of human reason. Reason is based upon ideas--one of the most powerful of all man's activities. Ideas control the lives of millions of people. Recent history demonstrates the ideas of certain single men, e.g., Adolph Hitler, Vladimir Lenin, Mao Tse-Tung, Joseph Stalin, influencing the lives of millions of people.<sup>9</sup> The near causal relationship of religion and civilization is reinforced by the tendency of singularly powerful men to become deified by the societies in which they live.

The author pauses momentarily to touch upon discriminating between philosophy and religion--a

discrimination helpful in later reading. Philosophy is question oriented; religion is command or declaration oriented. Philosophy inspires speculation; religion demands action. Philosophy directs to a general concept; religion instructs in the adoration of a person.

The next major topic of explanation is nationalism. Nationalism is to be differentiated from statehood. Statehood is a larger entity and may incorporate several nations in a political organization.

Nationalism is intimately associated with religion.<sup>10</sup> Nationalism can be viewed as a form of extended religion. First, nationalism is a type of socialization--a special kind of civilization. Second, nationalism is a highly developed social instrument used to reduce the fear of the environment. Third, intense nationalism usually creates a deified personage--one who is regarded as the father of the movement.

Another view linking religion to nationalism is the viewpoint of a nation as a group of people born with common factors--namely, philosophy or religion. A nation is a collection of tribes which, in turn, are collections of families. Families are the collection of individuals who witness to the philosophies and religion of the parents. Nations then are the groupings of peoples sharing common

values of philosophy and religion, the sharing empowered by the process of birth. Nations vary by differences in religious practices. Baron points out that religious schizms develop new nations and that cultures vary because of religious differences.<sup>11</sup>

Nationalism is defined as a sense of national consciousness exalting one nation above all others and placing primary emphasis on promotion of its culture and interests as opposed to those of other nations or supra-national groups.<sup>12</sup> Notice a sense of missionary activity within the definition. The property of missionary activity allows nationalism to share a common property with the religions of Christianity and Islam.

Nationalism as a religious process is well illustrated by the "German Faith" movement during the time of the Third Reich under Adolph Hitler and the National Socialist Party. Wilhelm Hauer, with strong missionary zeal, proposed a religious movement in Germany in 1933.<sup>13</sup> He argued against the Christian religion to be supporting the German people. He offered his own unique religion as a substitute. This "German Faith" was a deliberate attempt to develop a German cultural "Faith" based upon Christian confessions in 1933. This effort was sanctioned and supported by the Nazi Party and controlled for state benefit

by article #24 of the program of the Nationalist Socialist Party. Aspects of Christianity, undesirable to the Nazi Party, were effectively neutralized by substituting a civil-religion. An entire unique cultural civilization was born under the auspices of that new civil-religion. The German nationalism was, in fact, a new religious system purposefully contrived for specific ends.

Contemporary Soviet Russian society parallels German nationalism guided by the Nazi Party. The Soviet system more perfectly satisfied the requirements of a religion. Using the Judeo-Christian religion as a model, the Soviet society is analogous to the traditional Christian society with unique "prophets, a christ, a church, a message or gospel, a priesthood, a ritual, and a pope."<sup>14</sup> Interestingly, these analogues are officially opposed by the Marxian concept which states that religion is only a superstructure of society.<sup>15</sup> By analogy, Lenin serves as the christ; Marx and Engels, the prophets; the Communist Party, the church; the Communist Manifesto and Lenin's writings are the gospel; the Communist Party hierarchy, the priesthood; the party rules, the ritual; and the Premier, the pope. Further, the Soviet state has analogously reproduced the old religious celebrations of the rites of marriage, birth, funerals, harvest, and planting. This parallel is reinforced by the opinion of Peter Howard, who

writes that Russian materialism is a reaction to progressive Christianity.<sup>16</sup>

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, who first popularized Communism as a philosophy in the mid-nineteenth century, published with messianic zeal worthy of true missionaries. Their lives and work become, in some respect, a humorous illustration of foolish delusion.

Marx and Engels had prodigious minds. Their work impresses their great mental capacity upon the reader. Outstanding in their writing is their utter contempt of religion, in general, and Christianity, in particular. Their research of religion was a gargantuan effort. These two gentlemen devotedly expounded upon religion in a large portion of their work. Karl Marx said, "religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature . . . . It is the opium of the people."<sup>17</sup>

Opium removes anxiety and pain. Marx's obsessive anti-Christian writing must have also been anxiety reducing for him--must have helped reduce the pain of hatred for his contemporary society.

Opium's effect of removing pain and anxiety does not, in fact, deny the truthful presence of a noxious stimulus. The effect only covers over the stimulating

evil. Similarly, the effect of writing on Marx's personal well-being did not, in fact, deny the truthful presence of a noxious social order within his scheme of society. Marx drugged himself with his own writing.

Marx believed "man makes religion; religion does not make man . . . . This state, this society, produce religion, a reversed world-consciousness . . . ."18 Marx believed the effect of religion was to focus attention on non-material existence. Marx rejected a supernatural force to explain the Christian religion in particular. Marx could only accept a limited human force to explain religion in general, and Christianity in particular.

Marx and Engels wrote in their Communist Manifesto ". . . But Communism abolishes all religion, and all morality, instead of constituting them on a new basis . . . ."19 The productive writing of these two great geniuses humorously witnesses the irony and falsehood of their thesis. Their thesis itself becomes a religion--most uniquely a religion imitating the Christian religion they both personally despised.

Marx and Engels wrote prolifically of religious history, religious principles, and of analysis regarding past great religious movements. They correlated economics and societies with religions. They both labored profusely

in writing of religion. They proceeded to exhaustively attack all prior religions. They produced their own comprehensive system--Communism. Their writings are permeated with a distinct bitterness and contempt towards Christianity. They both illustrate the process described by Lewis Browne: i.e., that man faced with fear of the environment will produce a system designed to reduce the fear and control the environment. Communism is a religious system unconsciously designed by its authors to alleviate their own fear of evil in the world, and a religious system designed to substitute for all prior religions to which the authors were exposed. Marx and Engels created their own religion--Communism--to reduce their fear of the world.

Note Engels' quotation, "The history of early Christianity has notable points of resemblance with the modern working-class movement. Like the latter, Christianity was originally a movement of oppressed people . . . ." <sup>20</sup> Consider the quotation in converse form: "The history of the modern working-class movement has notable points of resemblance with early Christianity. Like the latter, the working-class movement was a movement of oppressed people." Engels may have unconsciously derived Communism to replace Christianity. As Engels' mind substituted Communism for Christianity--a system unconsciously templated on Christianity--Engels'

theoretically could not admit that his system was the same as that he publicly repudiated. Engels wrote the above first-quoted idea so as to establish continuity with his anti-Christian position.

Communism satisfies the specialized definition of a religion. Communism demands of its adherents an adoration of Lenin as a god; demands an adoration publicly displayed through a proper ritual; demands obedience to Lenin's directives which are codified in the sacred writings of the supreme Soviet and Politburo--and which are declared by successive teachers (Stalin, Khrushchev, Brezhnev) of the way of life. Communism is a complex social structure designed in response to a hostile world by the efforts of two men, Marx and Engels, and applied by Lenin to the needs of Russian people to protect Russians from a hostile world. Communism provides a meaning of life and supports a comprehensive social order, alien in value to much of the world, and supports a social order possessing a missionary consciousness. Communism allows the profuse expression of Russian nationalism. Communism has a directed end similar to that end the German Faith movement subscribed for the Third Reich. As a religion, Communism is a mockery of the anti-religious positions of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin.

CHAPTER II END NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language, Second ed., unabridged, Springfield, Mass.: G & C Merriam Co., 1952.

<sup>2</sup>Lewis Browne, This Believing World, New York: The MacMillan Co., 1942, p. 19.

<sup>3</sup>Browne, p. 55.

<sup>4</sup>Richard M. Weaver, Ideas Have Consequences, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948, pp. 35-52.

<sup>5</sup>Weaver, pp. 35-52.

<sup>6</sup>Charles Davis, Temptations of Religion, New York: Harper and Row, 1974, p. 20.

<sup>7</sup>Davis, p. 76.

<sup>8</sup>Davis, p. 22.

<sup>9</sup>Peter Howard, Ideas Have Legs, London: F. Muller, Ltd., 1945, pp. 1-9.

<sup>10</sup>Solo W. Baron, Modern Nationalism and Religion, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947, pp. 1-15.

<sup>11</sup>Baron, pp. 1-15.

<sup>12</sup>Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary, Springfield, Mass.: G & C Merriam Co., 1980.

<sup>13</sup>Wilhelm Haver, et al, Germany's New Religion, New York: Abingdon Press, 1937, pp. 36-40.

<sup>14</sup>"Religion: The Neglected Dimension of Soviet Area Studies," Studies on the Soviet Union, Vol. 9, No. 2, Institute for the Study of the U.S.S.R., Munich, Germany, 1969, pp. 1-2.

<sup>15</sup>"Religion: The Neglected Dimension of Soviet Area Studies," pp. 3-6.

<sup>16</sup>Howard, pp. 77-190.

<sup>17</sup>Karl Marx and Fredrich Engels, On Religion, New York: Schocken Books, 1964, p. 42.

<sup>18</sup>Marx and Engels, p. 41.

<sup>19</sup>Marx and Engels, p. 89.

<sup>20</sup>Marx and Engels, p. 316.

## CHAPTER III

### RELIGIONS ARE OF STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE

In this chapter the author first proposes a working definition of strategy. Second, he illustrates current leadership in religion and politics and examines that leadership in the world. Third, the author illustrates certain contemporary religious and political group hostilities. Fourth, the author enumerates contemporary geopolitical regions influenced by religious positions of various people. Fifth, he then examines the Soviet Union for Islamic religious affairs.

The purpose of this chapter is to point out religions and Christian practices have varying impact on various countries' policies towards one another. Variations in the U.S.S.R.'s religions, specifically, pose potential weaknesses in the Soviet political system.

The author chooses to define strategy as the process by which a nation determines for itself a policy of action relative to another nation, considering the comparisons of five general broad elements of geography, national will, economics, politics, and military forces.

This definition will suffice to incorporate the many illustrations that follow.

World leadership is a subject frequently discussed in contemporary newspaper articles. According to Mr. Robert McNamara, the President of the World Bank, politicians are particularly noted to be incompetent as world leaders.<sup>1</sup> He finds the world becoming more difficult for people to govern. In 1900, ten nations could have provided a world leader. In 1981, more than 150 nations could have provided a world leader. With a large number of national leaders, a single leader has difficulty being recognized and accepted by a large number of nations.

Religious figures are currently giving the world a sense of leadership. Ayatollah Khomeini and Pope John Paul II are two imposing dynamic leaders who have world attention today. A quotation taken from the Christian Science Monitor well summarizes an observation: "Perhaps it is a sign of the times that, worldwide today, the simple phrases 'the Pope' or 'the Ayatollah' are more likely to conjure up an immediate physical image of two specific individuals than are the phrases 'the President' or 'the Prime Minister.'"<sup>2</sup>

Pope Pius XII and Joseph Stalin provided strong leadership for their respective organizations. Several

decades ago Pope Pius XII decreed excommunication to atheistic Communists. Subsequently, Joseph Stalin established ruthless antichurch policies in eastern Europe. Stalin was quoted as contemptuously saying, "How many divisions does the Pope have?" Open Communist diplomatic visits with the Pope began during the decade of the 1960's. Visitation of the Pope to Communist Poland occurred during the 1970's with noticeable governmental cooperation during that visit.<sup>3</sup>

Papal leadership and policies have altered the relationship between the Vatican and the Italian Communist Party. For years after World War II, the Vatican tried to contain the Italian Communist Party by demonstrating no official recognition of the party. In the late 1970's, the Vatican officially received the Communist President of the Italian government's Chamber of Deputies. Also, the Vatican under Pope Paul VI received the Communist Mayor of Rome.<sup>4</sup>

Not all religiously strategic influential leadership is necessarily personal. The Southern Baptist Church in the United States of America avows increased political activity. June 1978, the Southern Baptist Church publicly announced its policy of supporting highly political issues. The Southern Baptists were against funding of nuclear

weaponry. The Southern Baptists were for multilateral arms control and were for committed political action on behalf of human rights (aging, abused children, the poor, etc.). The Southern Baptists declared political activism in concert with other religious groupings to include the Roman Catholic and liberal Protestant churches.<sup>5</sup>

The United States of America demonstrates the religious and strategic ramifications of incompetent political leadership. The Christian Science Monitor reports that being unfamiliar with the strategic importance of religion led the United States government to perform unforgiveably in diplomatic state affairs with Iran. U.S. governmental officials could not discriminate political elements from religious elements in the recent Iranian revolution.<sup>6</sup> The subsequent difficulties of the takeover of the American embassy in Teheran, Iran is further evidence of the political incompetence.

The next few paragraphs indicate distinct groups of people who demonstrate and who value the strategic importance of religion. Contemporary national contenders--described in following paragraphs--frequently illustrate great underlying religious differences.

The present war between Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants is a fine example of a religious war.

Hostilities ever present between Moslem Arabs and Jewish Israelis is another example. The present strife between Russian and Polish societies is suspect as an issue between Russian Orthodoxy and Polish Catholicism. The Wall Street Journal reports that ". . . faith and theology are beginning to have some very practical consequences." Iran, Libya, and Egypt are three nations fighting among themselves. All three nations have zealous Islamic populations. The Islam of Iran is of a significant difference from the Islam of the other two nations. The Soviet Union is a single country experiencing at least three distinct religious forces: Russian Orthodoxy, Judaism, and the Baptist church.<sup>7</sup>

One group of Soviet citizens potentially opposes another large group of Soviet citizens. Official Soviet Moslem literature recently alluded to eastern Christian Soviet communities aiding the development of the Central Asian Moslem communities. The tone of the article, the context in which the statements were placed, and the statements all pointed to a realization of the disquieting relationships between the western republics and the Moslem Central Asian republics.<sup>8</sup>

Based upon religious antagonisms, group forces are beginning to pit Moslem believers against European

Christians. Time reports, "Islam is being used as a vehicle for striking back at the West."<sup>9</sup> The presence of Islamic peoples in western Europe brings to public view concerns never before considered in western European society. The Moslem faithful number 25 million--11.5 million in Soviet Europe, 7.5 million in eastern Europe, and 6 million in western Europe. Christians drove the Moslems from western Europe centuries ago. Moslems have returned and are now beginning to raise their political voices asking that their cultural needs be met by the host nations. Religious hostilities are developing within the borders of host nations. The needs of Moslem communities cry throughout the economies of the host nations. The need exists to build mosques and to compete for jobs in a contracting economy. Jobless and poorly paid Moslems live in ghettos. Rich Mediterranean Moslems attempt to finance the poor European Moslem, the rich assisting the building of schools and religious centers. Religion is revealing surprising political forces at work in western Europe.<sup>10</sup>

The author chooses to enumerate geopolitical factors illustrating the strategic significance of religion. The order of presentation will be to consider Moslem nations and then to consider Christian nations.

Strife among certain Moslem nations directly affects the strategic policies of the United States. First, all the oil-bearing nations of the Mediterranean, the Near East, and the Southwest Asia are Moslem. Their populations are 95 percent Moslem.<sup>11</sup> Second, some Moslem populations publicly express hostility toward European and United States culture. Third, these Moslem countries fight among themselves, thereby threatening oil production on which the U.S. ultimately depends.

The Soviet Union expediently alters part of its foreign policy to accommodate various Islamic nations in the Near East and the Asian Southwest. The Soviet Union is the fifth largest Moslem country in the world, and it is concerned about Moslem neighbors.<sup>12</sup> Soviet foreign policy appears to be genocide in weak Afghanistan. Soviet foreign policy appears to be precautionary and timid towards revolutionary Iran. Soviet foreign policy is supportive and amiable towards the U.S. supported Near East Arabian states.

Crown Prince Fahd of Saudi Arabia called for a holy war against Israel, so reported the Christian Science Monitor.<sup>13</sup> Moslem effort mobilized against Israel would result from the call. Forces united would be another Saudi result from the call. Religious fervor would result from

the call. A holy war declaration would be an important, religious, strategic event.

In Pakistan, Islam is "more than a religion," it is a "way of life."<sup>14</sup> Pakistani President General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq explained Pakistan provides a haven for Indian Moslems. He further explained Pakistan was formed from Indian territory for Indian Moslems to practice their religion, unhindered by Indian Hindu.

China displays an interesting geopolitical, religious, and strategic factor. China's western province Xinjiang has eleven million people, fifty percent of whom are Moslem. These Chinese Moslems live adjacent to Soviet Moslems across the border. Both Afghanistan and China are hostile to the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics.<sup>15</sup>

The author now presents the order of Christian nations. Poland's geopolitical forces are agitated by religion. First, the Pope is Polish, a fact in which the Poles take great pride. Second, extreme polarity exists between the 95 percent Catholic population and the Communist government. Native unrest is partially created by economic faults of the nation. Successful religious and political confrontations promote a feeling of success in the Catholic population. Poland is a country of vocal and highly nationalistic dissidents, possessing a high feeling

of personal independence. Last, Moscow is fearful of Polish agitation.<sup>16</sup>

Another view of Poland likewise implies the strategic significance of religion in Poland. Not only is the Polish population 95 percent Catholic, but popular civil power appears greater when focused through the church than when focused through the government. The Communist government seeks advice of the Catholic hierarchy.<sup>17</sup> As demonstrated from December 1980 to February 1981, at times the Polish government is unable to effectively govern. Accordingly, as Polish political circumstances change, U.S. and U.S.S.R. foreign policy changes towards Poland and towards each other. The U.S.S.R. mobilized and placed fifteen divisions around Poland.

Czechoslovakia is another eastern European nation with strong religious resistance to governmental policy. One-half of the state population is Catholic. The Communist government deliberately is hostile to the church there. One-half of the church is underground. The government fosters abandonment of some of the key administrative positions in the priesthood. The government controls the finances of the church, and the government selects the candidates for seminary.<sup>18</sup>

Hungary, likewise, demonstrates religiously strategic factors. Hungary's population is two-thirds Catholic. One-half of the Christian community is underground. A new governmental policy strives to gain the confidence of the priests and people in the church hierarchy.<sup>19</sup>

Another interesting example implicating the strategic importance of religion occurred in North Vietnam. A North Vietnam refugee named Tran Van Han revealed several small Roman Catholic villages in Communist North Vietnam. Mr. Han indicated that the North Vietnamese Communist government totally excommunicated the villages from the North Vietnamese society. The government ceased taxing the 200 villagers, stopped providing governmental services, did not draft citizens in the villages, and the Communist Party did not develop village organizations. A black market free economy provided goods with fish being the medium of exchange. The Communist authorities in North Vietnam exiled the villagers--all social intercourse stopped except for occasional voluntary mail deliveries by the Catholic Archdiocesan personnel in Hanoi.<sup>20</sup>

This paper now examines the Soviet Union, viewing in a more detailed manner the strategical significance of religion. The sensitivity of the Soviet Union's leadership

to religious influences is dramatically illustrated by the subsequent true story: In 1977, the Libyan President, Muammar Gaddafi, visited the Soviet Union. Communist Party Chairman Leonid Brezhnev proposed opening a Soviet consulate in Libya. The Libyan President counter-offered with a proposal to open a consulate in Tashkent, the capital of the Central Asian republic, Uzbekistan. The Russian offer was soon dropped when President Gaddafi explained he wanted to take care of the Moslems in that portion of the Soviet Union.<sup>21</sup>

Islam can create considerable political difficulty for the Soviet Union. This point is recognized and reported in the public press. Publicly reported opinion warns indirectly of undesirable consequences and recalls Moslem hardships should Islam be forbidden. A paradox exists created by an atheistic Soviet Union nurturing the strong religion--Islam.<sup>22</sup>

The Central Asian republics appear to harbinger political difficulties to come. First, the Soviet republics of Kirghizia, Tadzhikistan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenia will become the single largest source of manpower for the Soviet Army and Soviet industry. Second, less than one-third of the population speaks Russian. Third, by the year 2000, one-third of the Russian Army will be people

from Central Asian republics and people who will have difficulty reading the Soviet Army manuals written in Russian. Fourth, the Russian-speaking Moslem minority appears decreasing. Fifth, Central Asian Moslems perceive Moscow as a foreign place far away. Sixth, Soviet citizens in Central Asia feel a deep bond with Iranians and the Arabs of the Middle East.<sup>23</sup>

Moscow must use arbitrary authority to bind the interests of the Moslem people in Central Asia to the interests of the Christian people in the Slavic eastern European republics. The history of Central Asia differs dramatically from the history of Eastern Europe. The mother culture of Central Asia was the old Assyrian empire. Later, the Macedonian empire of Alexander the Great and the Persian empire of Cyrus the Great both modified the Assyrian culture. In contrast, the mother culture of eastern Europe was the Byzantine empire--derived from the Roman empire.<sup>24</sup>

The Soviets appear to slowly and deliberately allow a controlled expansion of Islam. This observation is reported in the public press. The reporter Klose counted an impressive number of mosques built since 1946--140 cathedral mosques and 1000 smaller parish mosques. Unlike the

earlier period of Stalin, severe repression of Islam is noticeably absent.<sup>25</sup>

The Soviet reaction to the Iranian government was unexpected and bewildering. The strategic significance of religion helped to partially understand the Soviet reaction. The Soviet government was slow to react, exhibiting a distinct lack of decisiveness.<sup>26</sup> The final Soviet position was to befriend an Islamic nation-state pledged hostile to the Communist ideals. Since 1917, the Soviet public position was hostile toward all religions. Paradoxically, the U.S.S.R. did not opportunistically invade Iran. Russia had a historical agreement claiming unilateral intervention in Iran under vague conditions. Certain unique advantages for invasion belonged to the U.S.S.R.: geographic location, lack of Iranian effective support, and Iranian ideological isolation.

Klose sees the Soviets attempting to influence the oil rich Arabs of the Middle East. First, the Soviet tolerance of Islam is deliberate and contrary to public statements. Second, the tolerance appears to be directed to influence the thinking of Moslem Arab states. Third, the Soviets are advertising Soviet society as the "freest society in human history."<sup>26</sup>

In summary, this chapter has presented currently published ideas inferring religion to be strategically significant. World leadership is dominated by religious figures. Many groups in the world are presently fighting or can potentially fight over religious issues. The geopolitics of Europe, Africa, and Asia allude to religion as a factor to consider. Islam is a major paradox in the Soviet Union.

CHAPTER III END NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Geoffrey Godsell, Christian Science Monitor, 24 July 1979, p. 18.

<sup>2</sup>Codsell, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup>Victor L. Simpson, The New York Times, 18 October 1978, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup>Simpson, p. 1.

<sup>5</sup>Kenneth A. Briggs, "Southern Baptists Call for Arms Limit," The New York Times, p. 4.

<sup>6</sup>"Stop Erring on Islam," The Christian Science Monitor, 9 February 1979, p. 27.

<sup>7</sup>Editorial, "The Religious Element," The Wall Street Journal, 8 December 1978, p. 18.

<sup>8</sup>Kevin Klose, "Soviet Moslems Used to Woo Asians," The Washington Post, 1 January 1979, p. 2.

<sup>9</sup>"The World of Islam," Time, 16 April 1979, pp. 40-46.

<sup>10</sup>John Lawton, "Moslems in Europe Test Social Systems, Local Customs," The Washington Post, 2 April 1979, p. 14.

<sup>11</sup>"Islam in Ferment," U.S. News and World Report, 10 December 1979, pp. 27-30.

<sup>12</sup>"Islam in Ferment," pp. 27-30.

<sup>13</sup>"'Holy War' in Perspective," The Christian Science Monitor, 15 August 1980, p. 24.

<sup>14</sup>General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq, "Pakistan's President: 'We Cannot Afford to Annoy Either Superpower,'" U.S. News and World Report, 19 March 1979, p. 34.

<sup>15</sup>"The World of Islam," pp. 40-46.

<sup>16</sup>Michael Getler, "A Polish Pope's Impact on the Politics of Europe," The Washington Post, 22 October 1978, p. A22.

<sup>17</sup>David A. Andelman, "East Block Catholics Gain in New Power Shift," The New York Times, 31 December 1978, p. 2.

<sup>18</sup>Andelman, p. 2.

<sup>19</sup>Andelman, p. 2.

<sup>20</sup>Henry Kamm, The New York Times, 16 August 1978,  
p. 36.

<sup>21</sup>"The World of Islam," pp. 40-46.

<sup>22</sup>Klose, p. 2.

<sup>23</sup>Kevin Klose, The Washington Post, 31 December  
1978, p. 14.

<sup>24</sup>William L. Langer, An Encyclopedia of World  
History, Fourth Edition; 1940; Boston: Houghton Mifflin  
Company, 1968, pp. 51, 93-96, 137-141.

<sup>25</sup>Craig R. Witney, "Moscow Gambles in Iran," The  
New York Times, 27 January 1979, p. 4.

<sup>26</sup>Klose, "Soviet Moslems . . .", p. 2.

<sup>27</sup>Klose, The Washington Post, p. 14.

## CHAPTER IV

### IMPORTANCE OF RELIGION TO U.S.S.R.

This chapter addresses the importance of religion in the Soviet Union and how the Soviet government and people deal with the subject of religion. The paper describes the official Soviet governmental relationship to three major religious practices. Thereafter, the paper develops the Christian relationships in Soviet history as well as present a contemporary witness to Christian feelings among certain Soviet citizens. Finally, the paper exposes religion as a medium through which dissension is expressed and as a medium causing fear in the Soviet people.

The purpose of this chapter is to understand Soviet political intolerance of religion as a potential weakness. Christian and Islamic ideas strategically assault the Soviet Union and threaten potential political disruption.

The subject of religion appears to be radically important to the U.S.S.R. On April 8, 1929, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and Soviet of the People's Commissaries of the Russian Socialist Federated Socialist Republic published a 68-point restrictive decree.

The decree was a list of legal restrictions on religious practices in the Soviet Union and of legal punishments for infractions of the religious laws. The essence of the law was hostile towards the practice of any religion whatever.<sup>1</sup>

The Soviet's Executive Committee's behavior stimulated an undesired response from the British Parliament and from the Papal Office. The declaration of the Soviet Union concerning the subject of religion created a debate in the English House of Lords--a debate whether to militarily intervene in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union.<sup>2</sup> In 1930, Pope Pius XI protested against the Soviet religious declaration. The Pope was moved by evidence of zealous religious persecution in the Soviet Union. In his letter, Pope Pius XI denounced official Russian sacrilege, thereby disquieting the world community of Christians. Centuries earlier, a similar event occurred in Jewish history. Judeus Maccabeus stirred his fellow Jews to revolt against sacrilege of the hated and cruel ruling Seleucid king Antiochus IV Epiphanes.<sup>3</sup>

The Soviet Union and its relationship with Islam deserve examination. From a point of view either as ruler or a point of view as those ruled, Soviet citizens find religion important.

The Soviet Union suppresses the practice of Islam. In his jurisdiction, Communist Party Chief M. G. Gapurov, located in the town Turkmenia, Ashkhabad, U.S.S.R., expresses stern convictions contrary to the Moslem religious practices. Soviet regional legislation describing certain bland Moslem religious practices as criminal is enacted. To Western newspaper reporters, some Communist Party officials reveal their scorn for Islam. Another example of official anti-religious sentiment is the failure of the Soviet central government to repair damaged buildings historic to Islam.<sup>4</sup>

In Ashkhabad, U.S.S.R., the religious practice of Islam is important to those ruled by the Communist Party. Many of the common folk frequent the site of an old Islamic mosque, long destroyed by an earthquake. During wedding feasts in the area, citizens practice ancient Moslem customs. Faithful Moslems venerating their dead wear footpaths to neighboring cemeteries. Even though possessing no knowledge of Arabic, some Soviet citizens use the Koran in their Islamic practice.<sup>5</sup>

In the Soviet Union, the practice of Buddhism fairs no better or worse than other religious practices. Official Soviet policy strongly influences contemporary Buddhist life. From 1929 until 1946, Stalin enforced an

anti-religious policy that outlawed the operation of all Buddhist temples. Communist-led agitators interfered with Buddhist religious celebrations. Another strong Soviet policy influence is the failure to make statistics available to Buddhist religious personnel. Prior to the Bolshevik revolution, 16,000 Monks and 36 Buddhist monasteries existed in Soviet Burzatia. Interview with Lama Gombozev indicated the Soviet governmental policy destroyed nearly all the monks. A third strong Soviet policy influence is the current liberal governmental Buddhist support, promulgated in 1946. In 1978 the provincial government of Burzatia allows twenty-eight monks and two monasteries to function.<sup>6</sup>

Several interviews provide further light showing the official governmental relationship to Buddhism. The following three paragraphs reveal the present uneasy struggle between Soviet Communism and Soviet Buddhism in the U.S.S.R.

Eighty-year-old Lama Gombozev states his compromising attitude toward Buddhist practice during the Second World War. As the official policy towards religion became more liberal in 1946, he chooses to practice his religion. Lama Gombozev indicates a small nucleus of Buddhist practitioners continually generated.<sup>7</sup>

A Russian lawyer described Buddhism as having a strong foothold in the daily life of people living in his area. This observation contradicts some of the energetic youthful adults in the area. The origins of religious Buddhist feeling are sufficiently strong to resist official discouragement of the religious practice.<sup>8</sup>

Another sign of the uneasy struggle between Soviet Communism and Soviet Buddhism is the life of a famous Soviet Buddhist scholar--B. D. Danderson. At the age of 60, Dr. Danderson was imprisoned for illegally starting a Buddhist group. Unfortunately, Dr. Danderson died in prison. His own people who practiced Buddhism did not honor the memory of Dr. Danderson.<sup>9</sup>

The Soviet policy towards the Christian church follows the same historical path as Buddhism and Islam. After 1946, a liberal policy follows the prior oppression of Christian practice. Currently, Russian politicians dominate and fuse their political interests with the theological interests of the Russian Orthodox Church. In fact, the church is an instrument in the hands of politicians instead of the political administration serving the theologians. This Russian church-state relationship is fundamental today. Two illustrations follow:

The crown took over the management of the church's revenues which came from something like one third of the lands of Russia, with serfs attached. The clergy

were organized as a sort of auxillary policy force and were made to use the confessional to search out political disaffection. The parish church was the official place of publication of laws and decrees, and all enemies of the Muscovite state fell under the anathema of the church.<sup>12</sup>

In answer to a question from Basil about whether the Soviets had not violated their own stated aim of separating church and state, Ilychev ironically replied, "Yes, the church should be separated from the state-- but not from politics."<sup>22</sup>

Upon introducing the historical evolution of the Christian church in Russia, this paper focuses on 860 A.D. when a Russian group established commercial trade with the inhabitants of Constantinople. During the following years, trade developed between the Russian peoples and the Byzantine empire. Russian leaders were officially baptized into the Byzantine version of the Christian faith circa 950 A.D. Thereafter, Byzantine Christian understanding became progressively useful to Russian leaders and the understanding became progressively adopted by Russian peoples. The Russian Orthodox Church eventually evolved.<sup>10</sup>

During the Middle Ages, Western European politics fused with the interests of the Roman Catholic Church, and this church-state fusion persisted until the Twentieth Century.<sup>11</sup> Similarly, the Russian Orthodox Church-state fusion developed. The Russian, in contrast, made politicians dominant to theologians.

A question of theological adulteration of the Russian Orthodox Church arises. Historically in the Roman Empire, the Roman state did not adulterate the Apostolic doctrine. Popular interest in the spiritual value of the Apostolic doctrine caused the circulation of the doctrine. Eventually, the doctrine appealed to the Roman Emperor Constantine (Flavius Valerius Constantinus I) who established the Apostolic doctrine as the Roman state religion. After the first ecumenical council of the Church at Nicea in 325 A.D., the eastern Roman Empire fell away from the theological understandings established at that council.<sup>13</sup> The eastern Roman Empire persisted in a church-state relationship with the politicians dominating church policy. Several reasons appear to have threatened the theological understanding of the new Byzantine Empire. The rise of bellicose Islamic people influenced the Byzantine theology. Reflected in the great hierarchical schism with the Christian church in the western Roman Empire, the iconoclast issue illustrated a fundamental difference in theological thinking. A sea of paganism surrounded the islands of Byzantine Christianity thus threatening theology with undesirable change.<sup>14</sup>

A question of Russians searching for Apostolic doctrine arises. Is the Russian Orthodox practice more pagan than Christian? A Russian group called the "Old Believers"

rejected the Russian Orthodox faith. This present group of people were identified in Russian law in 1684. The "Old Believers" are characterized as being of "hysterical apocalyptic fervor" and number one-sixth of the Russian population. They are situated in the Ukraine and the southwest. This group pursued a messianic hope in 1917 and they served as the mainspring of power for the Bolshevik revolution.<sup>15</sup> Russian Orthodox clerics are interested in form of worship, but they have little concern for the theological substance of worship.<sup>16</sup>

Russian testimony of individuals indicates a search for the doctrine Christ taught through the apostles. The hope of western Christians is to see a sign of solid theological understanding in Russian society today. A Russian citizen, Georgi Vins, pursues knowledge of Christianity and became exiled from the Soviet Union. Mr. Vins describes his personal desires to obtain Biblical knowledge, voluntarily suffering to obtain that knowledge. Mr. Vins is a member of the Council of Churches of Evangelical Christian Baptists, a quasi-underground Christian church in the Soviet Union. Mr. Vins informs of underground effort to print in excess of 350,000 books, pamphlets, and complete Bibles--acts highly punished by Soviet law. Twice, the Soviet Union imprisoned Mr. Vins for expressing his religious belief.<sup>17</sup> Other Soviet citizens frequently

describe courageous acts demonstrating deep conviction in Christian values.<sup>18</sup>

The author now directs the reader to consider how religion may cause fear and dissension in the Soviet Union. A major psychological fault is present in the thinking of Soviet peoples. The national psyche is divided into several large geopsychological plates, each colliding into one another, each threatening disruption of the separate nations like a gigantic geological cataclysm.

One major geopsychological plate is the psychology of the Communist Party enforcing a system of values codified as atheistic materialism. Another geopsychological plate is the membership of those bound by Moslem religious practice. A third geopsychological plate is the group of Siberian peoples related by blood and Buddhism to the Chinese. The greatest potentially disruptive plate is that group of Soviets known as the Great Russian--approximately fifty percent of the society. This group currently struggles to remember its Russian past and its Russian values, some of which are opposed to Soviet values.

Moscow Russian intellectuals are starting to express nationalistic concerns. First, Russian interest is preserving old Russian history, not Soviet history. Many ideals of these new Russian nationalists reflect the ideals

of prerevolutionary Czarist society, e.g., a less rigid central authority, a rural, family-oriented society, a strong Russian Orthodox Church. Second, the intelligentsia expresses a hostility toward western social intercourse. Third, the intelligentsia attempts to preserve Russian cultural heritage as expressed in architecture, literature, music, and language.<sup>19</sup>

The Russian Orthodox Church is the vehicle expressing deep-seated nationalistic feelings.<sup>20</sup> The Communist Party tolerates the institution of the church. As the Russian Orthodox Church is uniquely Russian, the Church is potentially useful to Soviet leaders to control thinking of the Russian people. The Church does provide some expression of Russian spiritual values.

The study of the importance of religion to the U.S.S.R. shows religion to be radically important. The relationship of the government to toleration of religious practices is tense and the relationship provokes fear. Religion serves as a medium for political dissent.

The strategic use of religion and Christian practice as a weapon against the U.S.S.R. can capitalize upon Soviet fear. Furthermore, Soviet fear of religiously motivated people theoretically can explain current Soviet international behavior. Of all world nations, the Soviet Union

exhibits the greatest fear of the Iranian revolution. The Soviets exhibit the least support for the Iranian revolution.<sup>21</sup> The Soviets appear to fear the spread of the Iranian revolution into the Soviet Union. Fear of Iranian Islamic rhetoric appears to have prompted the unjust Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, fearing the unsettlement in that country.

In summary, religion is highly important to the Soviet Union. The Russians reveal that importance by word and by deed.

CHAPTER IV END NOTES

<sup>1</sup>International Conciliation, The Soviet and Religion, Massachusetts: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1930, pp. 27-41.

<sup>2</sup>International Conciliation, pp. 9-26.

<sup>3</sup>International Conciliation, pp. 42-44.

<sup>4</sup>Kevin Klose, "Despite Soviet Teachings Moslems Cling to Beliefs," The Washington Post, January 2, 1979, p. 14.

<sup>5</sup>Kevin Klose, p. 14.

<sup>6</sup>Barton Reppert, The New York Times, September 11, 1978, p. 61.

<sup>7</sup>Reppert, p. 61.

<sup>8</sup>David Shieler, "In Remote Siberia, a Buddhist Center," The New York Times, March 10, 1978, p. 1.

<sup>9</sup>Shieler, p. 1.

<sup>10</sup>James Hastings Nichols, History of Christianity 1650-1950, New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1956, pp. 15-28.

<sup>11</sup>Nichols, p. 367.

<sup>12</sup>Nichols, p. 26.

<sup>13</sup>William L. Langer, ed., An Encyclopedia of World History Ancient, Medieval, and Modern Chronologically Arranged, 4th Edition, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1968), p. 133.

<sup>14</sup>Langer, pp. 186-196, 199-206.

<sup>15</sup>Nichols, pp. 22-24.

<sup>16</sup>Nichols, p. 27.

<sup>17</sup>Roger B. May, "A Soviet Exile Encounters the New World," The Wall Street Journal, June 7, 1979, p. 28.

<sup>18</sup>May, p. 28.

<sup>19</sup>David K. Shipler, "A Russian Nationalism Is on Rise," The New York Times, November 12, 1978, pp. 1 and 14.

<sup>20</sup>Shipler, November 12, 1978, pp. 1 and 14.

<sup>21</sup>P. J. Vatikiotis, "What Iran Would Be Like as an Islamic Republic," U.S. News and World Report, February 5, 1979, p. 53.

<sup>22</sup>Robert T. Eldridge, "Orthodox Bishop Eyes Soviets," National Catholic Register, March 15, 1981, p. 1.

## CHAPTER V

### THE SIGNIFICANCE OF RELIGION IN THE UNITED STATES

This chapter describes three major items illustrating the significance of religion in the United States. First, the chapter describes statistical and semi-quantitative measures of the importance of religion. Second, the chapter shows the permeation of religion in the development of the United States. Third, the paper demonstrates the U.S. government encouragement of religion. A recapitulation and summarization of the significance of religion in the USA concludes the chapter. The purpose of the chapter is to examine the USA in light of Christian and other religious forces, as any potential use of religion and Christian practice as a weapon against the Soviet Union will require intense religious practice of the citizenry.

The statistical measures presently indicate fifty religious groupings identified in the USA. Of these fifty groupings, four groups compose the majority membership. Judaism, Roman Catholicism, Protestantism, and Eastern Orthodoxy are the four major beliefs. A survey conducted in 1964 indicated the following proportionate memberships: Jewish members, 5.6 million; Protestant members, 68

million; Eastern Churches, 3 million; and Roman Catholic, 45 million.<sup>1</sup> In 1957, the estimated U.S. population over the age of 14 was reported to be 139 million.<sup>2</sup> The percentage of adults attending church in the previous week averaged 44 percent, with a range of 36 percent to 49 percent from years 1939 to 1964.<sup>3</sup>

Some measurements do serve to focus on importance of religion among Americans. A recent Gallup poll determined sixty percent of people had "a great deal" or "quite a lot" of confidence in churches or organized religion. The sample size was 1500 adults. Sixty percent was the highest value of all institutions. As a contrast, only eighteen percent of people had "quite a lot" of confidence in Congress as an institution.<sup>4</sup> These measurements reflect only the popularity of a subjective feeling toward the institutions.

Other semi-quantitative indices of current importance of religion follow. First, the political power of religious sentiments voiced during the 1980 presidential election year is a measurement. The voice of the sentiments is called the Moral Majority Movement. This specific religious movement links Christian fundamental moral values to political candidates. The movement believes it influences 30 to 30 million Americans. As of September 1980,

the Moral Majority Movement receives an estimated \$400,000 weekly. The Moral Majority Movement develops education drives, and it develops appeal to voter-registration. The appeal focuses upon politically silent portions of the Christian community. Another American sign of importance of religion is the frequent use of television media to communicate religious values. Noted in these values is a concern for God, country, and family as well as a concern about the secular philosophy of humanism. Another sign is a Gallup poll revealing four Biblical fundamental concepts supported by greater than 50 percent of people sampled. The poll represents a cross-section of America.<sup>5</sup>

Religion permeates the entire historical United States development. The next few paragraphs illustrate the place of religion before, during, and after the American Revolution, as well as illustrating the place of religion on the American frontier.

One of the major reasons for emigrating to the New American lands was religious freedom for Continental European citizens. Nearly 200 years following the Puritan landing at Plymouth Colony in Massachusetts, the Congregationalist Church was the largest and most influential church in the American colonies.<sup>6</sup> Religious convictions and religious manners of living were dominant in the

colonies. The events leading to the American Revolution had heavy ministerial representation in the politics of the rebelling nation.<sup>7</sup> Church and state were certainly not separate. Ministers actively preached the virtues of constitutional government to their congregations. Sweet quotes General Lincoln writing to General Washington, "It is fortunate for us that the clergy are pretty generally with us. They have in this state a very great influence over the people."<sup>8</sup> The significance of religion in the American colonies was more than moderate.

The American Revolution cost many ministers of the Christian faith, cost many members of the congregation, and cost many dollars of growth and development. Sweet reports that churches were delapidated and impoverished.<sup>9</sup> Moral behavior was valued less after the revolution probably because of the irreligious influence of the Deistic Movement and because of the French philosophical thought at the time of the French Revolution.<sup>10</sup> Sweet reports several paragraphs of evidence of American post-revolutionary writing critical of the decline in moral values, moral behavior, and Christian worship practices in general. As there is no absolute scale, assessment of the decline is difficult. The residual Christian influence was yet considerable as

Judged by the writings of the churches and of the general public.<sup>11</sup>

On the early American frontier, the Congregationalists possessed a missionary zeal. They desired to convert to Christianity the Indians found in the midwestern states, i.e., Wisconsin, Illinois, Michigan, New York. The newly formed states were systematically organized for missionary work. Zealous too were the Pilgrims who landed at Plymouth, Massachusetts. They stated their primary mission was to bring Christianity to the savage inhabitants of America.<sup>12</sup>

Religion is a subject encouraged by the government of the United States. Several of the following paragraphs serve to illustrate.

The Federal documents establishing the government state explicitly or implicitly several references to religion. The Federal Constitution guarantees religious liberty in the Bill of Rights. The Constitution is dated by a Christian calendar.

Other official perspectives refer to the importance of religion. The newly emerging states made religious references in their individual constitutions and in their establishing documents. Religious references permeated the

writings of the Founding Fathers and the writings of the early administrative officials of the United States.<sup>13</sup>

The Supreme Court demonstrably favored religion in the United States in decisions reached in 1815, 1871, and 1889. State Supreme Courts similarly decided in favor of religion: New Hampshire Supreme Court in 1803, Pennsylvania Supreme Court in 1861, Ohio Supreme Court in 1876, and the Nebraska Supreme Court in 1902 and 1903.<sup>15</sup>

The U.S. protected religious practice and influence from secular domination. In 1873, the atheistic Liberal League attempted removal of governmental protection of religion. In 1876, the American Secular Union and Free Thought Federation legally assaulted governmental protection of religion. A third group, the American Association for the Advancement of Atheism, has been arguing against governmental protection of religion--for the past century.<sup>17</sup>

The state and national governmental bodies nurtured the presence of religious practices in the society. First, the United States coins its money with a religious statement, "In God We Trust." Second, the U.S. Mint produced stamps with distinct religious overtones. Third, the U.S. adopted a national anthem the last stanza of which has distinct religious overtones. Fourth, the U.S.

commissioned religious inscriptions on public buildings, e.g., the Library of Congress. The U.S. placed religious works of art in the Capitol, the Supreme Court Building, and Washington, D.C. Union Station. The U.S. made religious bodies the subject of interest for census and for directory formation. Last, during the Great Depression of 1933, the U.S. established financial grants to relieve churches of financial hardships.<sup>16</sup>

Several signs forcefully indicate religion as being valuably important to the people of the United States. The general value of religion is indicated by the legal protection of religious institutions and by the wording of state documents. State constitutional guarantees highly value religious freedoms. Ministers are exempt from jury duty and from military service. State legislatures appoint ministers as chaplains. Society makes legal holidays of religious holidays.<sup>14</sup>

Religion functions importantly in the United States. Stokes quotes several opinions. First, in 1831, Alexis de Tocqueville wrote the following:

" . . . There is no country in the whole world in which the Christian religion retains a greater influence over the souls of men than in America and there can be no greater proof of its utility, and of its conformity to human nature, than that its influence is most powerfully felt over the most enlightened and free nation of the earth."<sup>18</sup>

In 1888, James Bryce wrote this:

. . . History, if she cannot give a complete answer . . . tells us that hitherto civilized society has rested on religion, and that free government has prospered best among religious peoples.

American is . . . the country in which intellectual movements work most swiftly upon the masses, and the country in which the loss of faith in the invisible might produce the completest revolution . . .

It was religious zeal and the religious conscience which led to the founding of the New England colonies . . . Religion and conscience have been a constantly active force in the American commonwealth ever since. . .

In 1837, Francis Grund wrote exposition that can summarize the main thrust of this chapter:

Religion has been the basis of the most important American settlements; religion kept their little community together--religion assisted them in their revolutionary struggle; it was religion to which they appealed in defending their rights, and it was religion, in fine, which taught them to prize their liberties. It is with the solemnities of religion that the Declaration of Independence is yet annually read to the people from the pulpit, or that Americans celebrate the anniversaries of the most important events in their history. It is to religion they have recourse whenever they wish to impress the popular feeling with anything relative to their own country's and it is religion which assists them in all their national undertakings. The Americans look upon religion as a promoter of civil and political liberty; and have, therefore, transferred to it a large portion of the affection which they cherish for the institutions of their country . . . Religion presides over their councils, aids in the execution of the laws, and adds to the dignity of the judges. Whatever is calculated to diminish its influence and practice, has a tendency to weaken the government, and is, consequently, opposed to the peace and the welfare of the United States.<sup>20</sup>

In summary, religion is important to the United States. Historically and statistically, religion is well earmarked in the U.S. Religion is nurtured by the U.S. government as the religious value system reinforces the democratic politics. Maintaining an intense Christian practice potentially may serve to strategically serve as a means of contending with the Soviet Union.

CHAPTER V END NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Benson Young Landis, Religion in the United States, (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1965), p. 103.

<sup>2</sup>Landis, p. 109.

<sup>3</sup>Landis, p. 108.

<sup>4</sup>"Poll Shows Confidence in Religion and Banking," New York Times, June 12, 1978, p. 11.

<sup>5</sup>"A Tide of Born-Again Politics," Newsweek, September 15, 1980, pp. 28-36.

<sup>6</sup>William Warren Sweet, Religion on the American Frontier 1793-1850 Vol. III, The Congregationalists (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939), p. 3.

<sup>7</sup>Sweet, p. 4.

<sup>8</sup>Sweet, p. 4.

<sup>9</sup>Sweet, p. 5.

<sup>10</sup>Sweet, p. 5.

<sup>11</sup>Sweet, pp. 7-8, 285-367.

<sup>12</sup>Sweet, p. 43.

<sup>13</sup>Anson Phelps Stokes, Church and State in the United States, III, (New York: Harper Brothers, 1950), pp. 560-561.

<sup>14</sup>Stokes, p. 562.

<sup>15</sup>Stokes, pp. 562-564.

<sup>16</sup>Stokes, pp. 601-615.

<sup>17</sup>Stokes, pp. 592-595.

<sup>18</sup>Stokes, p. 596.

<sup>19</sup>Stokes, p. 597.

<sup>20</sup>Stokes, p. 600.

## CHAPTER VI

### U.S. USE OF RELIGION AS A STRATEGIC WEAPON AGAINST THE U.S.S.R.

This chapter first addresses the question, Why consider using religion against the U.S.S.R.? Next, the chapter addresses the two requirements associated with a new aggressive spirit. Then the paper illustrates the power of the past societies which were motivated by religion. The final portion of the chapter considers various strategies directed against the Soviet Union.

Why consider exploiting the subject of religion as a strategic weapon against the U.S.S.R.?

First, Sto s provides a significant viewpoint. He says, "Religion and government, the church and the state-- these, with the family to serve both, are the primary fundamental institutions of society."<sup>17</sup> Recalling Browne, Weaver and Davis's comments on fear, religion and civilization, the construction of government is a result of fear of the environment--a fundamental feeling. Therefore, increasing Soviet fear by limiting the religious operation

of Communist philosophy or increasing religious tensions among Russian Orthodox, Catholics, Islamic and Buddhists will strain the weaknesses of the Soviet government.

Second, the Christian messianic idea appeals to a sense of justice, equality, and mysticism. A certain messianic idea is present in Communism, and the idea falsely represents the power of Christ. Chapter V illustrated the messianic ideas of the settlers greatly influencing the politics of a developing nation.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, appeal to the messianic spirit of USA Christians to help convert the pagan Soviet Society is a source of national power. Soviet citizenry must learn from the USA that only Christ is empowered to be their Messiah, not the Communist Party.

Third, the Soviet Union inspires dread and fear in many Americans. Not only has the Soviet government of 1917 pledged to conquer the world in general and the United States in particular, but the Soviets have rapidly and efficiently built a powerful world order to contest the existence of the United States of America. Eyr Markham points out the same parallel position of dread that Americans felt when Hitler led the Nazi regime to war in 1938.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, this fear can be harrassed through both the Christian practice and the republican government of the USA

to provide an additional source of national power to defend the interests of the USA.

Fourth, the United States of America has no strategy to use religion as a weapon against the Soviet Union. The author is unable to detect any references to the subject, to include a computer literature search of the New York Times. Stokes describes several essential facts about the church-state relationship as it exists today:

- 1 Church and State are recognized as separate and independent, and yet to have certain mutual responsibilities . . .
- 2 The general attitude of the State toward the church in the United States is friendly . . .
- 3 The attitude of the Church toward the State is one of desire to cooperate with it in the development of good citizenship and of laws for the welfare of the masses of the people . . .
- 4 The greatest success in Church-State relations in the United States has been in the winning of complete religious freedom.

Stokes provides ample sources describing an impossible situation--the present United States using the church as a political instrument. However, Stokes also reports a number of thinkers who argue for greater overlap in church and state duties and who argue against great separation of church and state spheres, e.g., William A. Sumner, Archbishop Temple, Professor Fredrich Heinrich Geffcken.<sup>7</sup> Therefore, the U.S. President may find it necessary to appoint Supreme Court justices who have a strong Christian

religious background and who personally favor a greater fusion of state and church duties.

For the U.S. to use religion as a strategic weapon against the U.S.S.R. requires a new aggressive spirit. The spirit desired has two requirements. First, hope must be promulgated and maintained. Second, the U.S. must resist defeatism.

It is strategically important to maintain hope against overwhelming odds. Markham states that tyranny has been present throughout 3,000 years of history. He illustrates the hope of a Jewish psalmist who wrote 3,000 years ago. That psalmist hoped in God to preserve him and his country from the threat of tyrannically menacing neighbors.<sup>3</sup> History has vindicated his trust, for Israel is yet very much in existence today as a nation-state. Israel, though deprived of a sovereign state for centuries, nevertheless survived with the same basic values of 3,000 years ago.

In contrast to hope, one must consider the strategy of resisting defeatism in the face of overwhelming odds. Victory is a psychological phenomenon. It is as Theodore Ropp reports of the French philosopher Joseph de Maistre, "A battle lost is a battle one thinks one has lost; for . . . a battle cannot be lost physically."<sup>4</sup> If one never ceases resistance, if one never admits being vanquished,

then the war is not yet ended. Resistance is a matter of degree. The spirit of struggle is an important factor in strategy.

History provides several illustrations of powerful nations resulting from some religious orientation.

First, the society of ancient Israel was an insignificant grouping of people. Four hundred years the nation was in bondage, and in forty short years, Israel developed into a militant nation defeating all foes. Israel has become a theocracy. When challenged to battle, Israel defeated his enemies. King David led Israel to destroy the Philistine Nation as well as all other military competitors. Fusion of church and state with a dominant theocracy and a rigid religious practice made Israel great. The destruction of the theocracy and the corresponding abandonment of religious practice for secular practices led, after the rule of Solomen, to a powerlessness from which Israel never recovered.

Second, other nations in more modern history have emulated fusing a dominant religion with the affairs of state, e. g., Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union. Like ancient Israel, they too rose to imminent positions rapidly. And like ancient Israel, Nazi Germany fell from a

dominant international position because of great injustice in human and international relations.

The United States' use of religion as a strategic weapon against the U.S.S.R. requires some specific strategies. The subsequent paragraphs enumerate a variety of strategies against the U.S.S.R.

First, one author, W. Earl Waldrop, wrote a book explaining his stratagem for combating Communism. Waldrop lists twelve individual acts; one act is particularly adaptable to national action. That specific act is to change those conditions which have been the soil in which Communism has grown.<sup>5</sup>

Second, the object of offensive strategy is to aggravate national religious divisions. These national divisions tend to fracture the Soviet Union into three distinct regions: the Orthodox Christian West, the Moslem Center, and the Buddhist East. The United States government should illustrate the differences between Russian Orthodoxy, Soviet Islam, and Soviet Buddhism. These religious differences should be communicated to religiously interested parties in the Soviet Union. By capitalizing on various regional fears and on the national concern of the Central Asian power and on the national fear of China, the population could be agitated into high levels of tension.

This tension should result from the Soviet Union trying to integrate three large antagonistic religious groups of people.

Considering another offensive strategy, the United States government could challenge the theology of the Russian Orthodox Church. By means of the modern ways of mass communication, the United States should direct fundamental theological questions toward both the Russian peoples and the official Russian Orthodox Church. The purpose of this challenge would be to increase tension between the people and the state-controlled Russian Orthodox Church. The fundamental questions should illustrate any Russian Orthodox failure to address theologically meaningful questions of the Russian people. The questions should be directed to demonstrate the Russian Orthodox Church as one ignorant of certain theological truths and as a church without its own independent will.

Yet another offensive strategy is indirect in approach. The government should encourage the Christian churches in the United States to promote increasing cooperation and understanding with the Islamic nations of the world. The United States should direct friendly efforts to the Soviet Central Asian republics as well.

Perhaps the U.S. government could place a consulate in Tashkent, Uzbekistan, U.S.S.R.

Third, the object of defensive strategy is to increase the moral strength of the nation to accomplish the will to compete and survive Soviet aggression.

Considering the defensive strategy, the United States government should adopt measures to enhance the operation of Christian values and to diminish anti-Christian activities. Although difficult, a return to the protective positions of the 1930's and the 1940's would assist in increasing Christian teaching of state patriotism. Stokes describes the U.S. as having the duty "to guarantee to the church the liberty which it requires to discharge its God-given function as a witness to the Gospel."<sup>8</sup> Most explicitly, the United States must assist the "church on her part (to help enforce) the civil laws by moral and religious sanctions."<sup>9</sup> The U.S. needs to enhance its duty to ". . . adopt laws and practices which show a sympathetic attitude toward the churches in . . . the carrying out of their purpose to develop character and high social ideals for the individual, the nation, and its constituent groups . . ."<sup>10</sup> The United States government must reverse the legal operations that have permitted the national development of pornography, unreasonable divorces,

and abortion-on-demand. The U.S. government must no longer excuse militant atheism to grow like a cancer in the original body of the Christian United States.

Another defensive strategy, albeit unconstitutional, would be to imitate the Soviet societal operations, i.e., combine U.S. state and church operations. The U.S. could utilize the Masonic organizations in much the same way as the Russians use the Communist Party. As a secret society, the Masonic organizations could become the meeting place where church and state concepts could be exchanged and fused. Many of the Founding Fathers of the American government were Masons.<sup>11</sup> Who is to say that the American Revolution was not formed within the lodges of that secret religious organization?

The author now arrives at the final stratagem-- perhaps the most important. All previously mentioned strategies were of natural means. This author would seem nearly blasphemous to write a thesis on religion without alluding to the supernatural.

The Islamic people rely heavily upon prayer which is one of the major duties of the religion.<sup>12</sup> The Koran attributed divine response to the prayers of the

faithful.<sup>13</sup> History records few supernatural acts associated with Islam.<sup>14</sup>

The Jews have a rich heritage demonstrating supernatural intervention in their political affairs. They record a major miraculous event in response to prayer and mortification. During the reign of Hezekiah (716-687 B.C.) Israel was threatened with utter destruction by the Assyrian king Sennacherib. The Jews record, "That same night the angel of Yahweh went out and struck down a hundred and eighty-five thousand men in the Assyrian camp. In the early morning when it was time to get up, there they lay, so many corpses."<sup>15</sup>

The Jewish heritage is also the Christian heritage. The Christian Church records and preserves for the Christian community those events judged to be uniquely supernatural. The following stratagem is taken from this Christian heritage.

The final stratagem is the United States' use of the practice of prayer and penance to convert the people of Russia to a Christian, peace-seeking nation. The universal Christian Church has preserved a revelation of God given publically to 70,000 persons at Fatima, Portugal on October 13, 1917 A.D. Additional private revelations were given from 1915 to 1917.

God, appearing in the image of Mary, His mother, spoke to three Portugese children named Francisco and Jacinta Marto and Lucia dos Santos. God said to these children:

I am the lady of the Rosary . . . People must amend their lives and ask pardon for their sins. They must not offend Our Lord any more, for He is already so much offended.

Certain fashions will be introduced that will offend Our Lord very much . . . Sins of the flesh are the ones that take most souls to hell.

Priests must be pure, very pure. They should not busy themselves with anything except what concerns the Church and souls.

If people do what I shall tell you, many souls will be saved and there will be peace.

Sacrifice yourselves for sinners and repeat often, especially when making a sacrifice for them: "O Jesus, it is for love of you, for the conversion of sinners, and in reparation for the sins committed against the Immaculate Heart of Mary."

It is necessary to do penance. If people amend their lives, Our Lord will yet save the world; but if not, punishment will come . . . . Our Lord will chastise the world as never before . . . .

Russia will spread her errors throughout the world, fomenting wars, persecution of the church.

In the end, my Immaculate Heart will triumph, the Holy Father will consecrate Russia to me, Russia will be converted, and there will be a certain period of peace.<sup>16</sup>

President Carter utilized a strategy of national prayer when he was confronted with the Iranian Hostage Crises. Finding himself in a powerless state, President Carter called upon the Nation for regular prayers, for a

regular pealing of church bells, that a solution develop. Mysteriously, by means of the sacrificial loss of his Presidential Office and at the very moment of the loss of that office, Iran released the American hostages from captivity. The ceremonial reunion of the hostages, particularly at West Point, New York, was similar to an act of thanksgiving both individually and nationally.<sup>18 19</sup>

What stratagem will the United States adopt to defend itself against the greatest external threat to its existence since its foundation in 1776?

CHAPTER VI END NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Camille M. Cianfarra, The Vatican and the Kremlin (New York: E. P. Dalton and Co., Inc., 1950), p. 14.

<sup>2</sup>Byr H. Markham, The Wave of the East (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1941), p. 1.

<sup>3</sup>Markham, p. 2.

<sup>4</sup>Theodore Ropp, War in the Modern World (New York: Collier Books, 1959), p. 218.

<sup>5</sup>W. Earl Waldrop, How to Combat Communism (St. Louis, Mo.: The Bethany Press, 1962), pp. 31-51.

<sup>6</sup>Anson Phelps Stokes, Church and State in the United States, III, (New York: Harper Brothers, 1950), pp. 645-646.

<sup>7</sup>Stokes, pp. 657-661.

<sup>8</sup>Stokes, p. 662.

<sup>9</sup>Stokes, p. 661.

<sup>10</sup>Stokes, p. 665.

<sup>11</sup>Stokes, I, pp. 244-253.

<sup>12</sup> Arthur Jeffery, ed, Islam Muhammad and His Religion (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1958), pp. 162-183, nn. This particular source describes only two supernatural events--the ascension of Muhammed and his meeting with his Lord. Reading the passages (pp. 35-42) provides a contemplative point of view. The point of view is from the author. There is no corroborative supernatural evidence. There appears to be insufficient evidence to make a serious case that the passages are divine revelation, as opposed to the Jews who can provide corroborative supernatural evidence both from history and from prophetic internal evidence of Bible passages. The old Jewish process of judging reports of divine revelation was called cannonization--judging by a set of standards humanly impossible to meet.

<sup>13</sup> N. J. Dawood, translator, The Koran (4th ed., 1956, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1974), pp. 220, 401.

<sup>14</sup> A. S. Tritton, Islam Belief and Practices (New York: Arno Press, 1980), pp. 20-21.

<sup>15</sup> 2 Kings: 35; Isarah 37: 36 nn. Other examples of miraculous intervention are recorded in the books of

Genesis, Joshua, Judges, Judith, Esther, Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, and Romans.

<sup>16</sup>"The Message of Fatima," Soldiers of Christ<sup>R</sup>, Kenosha, Wisconsin, 1973.

<sup>17</sup>Stokes, III, p. 655.

<sup>18</sup>Private conversations with Colonel (Chaplain) L. Ness, Thesis Committee Chairman, U.S. Army Command and General Staff College Faculty Member, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, 28 April 1981, and with Colonel D. Martin, Consulting Faculty Member, Thesis Committee, U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, 28 April 1981. In a similar vein, the public celebration at the White House can be likened to a national prayer of thanksgiving.

<sup>19</sup>Private conversations with Colonel Ness and Colonel Martin. President Roosevelt was reported to have called for national prayer after the Pearl Harbor attack by Japan.

## CHAPTER VII

### SUMMARY

To recapitulate, this paper first discusses the essence of religious practice. Religion may define the political movement of Communism as a religious practice. Second, religious movements are strategically important. Civilization and nationalism are in part a variant of religious processes. Viewed as a religion, Communism is strategically important. Third, religion is important to the U.S.S.R. The U.S.S.R. essentially banned religious practice in 1928, and the U.S.S.R. reinstated religious practice during World War II. Russian Communism opposes all religions. Fourth, religion is of significance to the United States. Religion was an important part of the will of American revolutionaries. The U.S. government historically cultivates religion, particularly the Christian religion. In the U.S., the democratic governmental process requires a strong religion to continually generate the democratic values. Fifth, no definite evidence currently exists implicating the United States use of religion as a strategic weapon against the U.S.S.R.

Recommendations to use religion as an offensive weapon against the U.S.S.R. are as follows:

1. to aggravate national Soviet religious divisions and to elevate tensions among Buddhist, Moslem, Orthodox Christian, and Communist groups.

2. to create an atmosphere of increasing cooperation and understanding with Islamic nations of the world.

3. to encourage a national feeling of prayer and penance for the conversion of Russia to a Christian, peace-seeking nation.

Recommendations to use religion as a defensive strategic weapon against the U.S.S.R. are as follows:

1. to increase the moral strength of the nation in order to accomplish the will to compete and survive Soviet aggression.

2. to adopt measures to enhance the operation of Christian values and to diminish antiChristian activities.

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