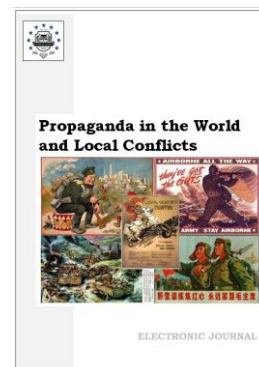


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## The Methods and Principles of Propaganda Employed by the Soviet Pro-Nazi Collaborationists during World War II (Based on Materials From the *Roul* Newspaper)

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### Abstract

This paper, which focuses on anti-Soviet propaganda during World War II, examines the methods and principles of agitation and propaganda employed by the Soviet pro-Nazi collaborationists at the time based on materials from the *Roul* newspaper. The study's chronological scope is November 1943 through June 1944, i.e. the end of the war's second stage, marked as the tipping point in it, and the start of its third stage, marked by the victory over the Nazis.

The study produced the conclusion that the *Roul* newspaper was fairly effective as an ideological weapon employed in Soviet areas occupied by Nazi Germany. The target audience for this medium was opponents of the Soviet regime.

*Roul* made use of the entire spectrum of the principles of military propaganda. The principles that were employed the most included 'our adversary's leader is inherently evil and resembles the devil', 'we suffer few losses, and the enemy's losses are considerable', and 'our cause is sacred'. The strenuousness of the Nazi propaganda efforts unleashed to influence the residents of the USSR's German-occupied areas is attested by the fact that the Russian collaborationists fought on until the end of the war.

The research reported in this paper revealed that, despite similarities in the principles, technologies, methodologies, and methods of conducting ideological warfare employed by Nazi Germany and the USSR, the bulk of German propaganda was geared toward a more or less educated audience, whereas its Soviet counterpart was mainly oriented toward the working class. This conclusion was based on an analysis of phrases used in German and Soviet media reports at the time.

**Keywords:** military propaganda, agitation, media, *Roul* newspaper, collaborationism, anti-Soviet propaganda, USSR, World War II.

### 1. Introduction

In any country and under any government, there are both supporters and opponents of the current regime. The percentage ratio of the regime's supporters to its opponents is a factor that determines the stability of the system of government in the country. During times of crisis in government (e.g., economic crises, interventional or civil wars, revolutions, or coups), regime opponents tend to press forward, trying to install their own political regime and/or form of government. Wide use in such situations is often made of agitation and propaganda – a tried-and-true weapon for waging war that does not directly result in victims, does not cost too much to

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implement, and does not require engaging much of the population. Of particular interest in this context is collaborationism in the Soviet Union during World War II, when some opponents of Soviet power collaborated with the enemy. An effective propaganda tool used at the time was the *Roul* (Russian: “helm”) newspaper, issued in Berlin, Germany. This paper will examine the methods and principles of agitation and propaganda employed by the Soviet Nazi collaborationists at the time based on materials from the *Roul* newspaper.

## 2. Materials and methods

The key source used in this study is *Roul*, an anti-Bolshevik Russian-language daily newspaper issued in Berlin, Germany. An analysis was conducted of 42 issues of the newspaper, spanning the period between November 1943 and June 1944, which are held in the electronic library of Cherkas Global University (Washington, DC, USA). Some of these sources were introduced into scholarly discourse for the first time by way of this study.

The work utilized a combination of historical and general research methods.

The following traditional historical research methods were used: historical-systems, historical-typological, and historical-genetic. The only non-traditional historical research method employed was historical semiotics.

The following general research methods were used: historiographical analysis and systems analysis.

## 3. Discussion

Issues of propaganda have been explored extensively and by representatives of different disciplines, including political scientists, historians, psychologists, philosophers, and opinion writers.

The foundational theories of propaganda were developed by scholars W. Lippmann, H.D. Lasswell, and J. Dewey.

W. Lippmann argued for the need for government regulation of propagandist and agitational activity. In his view, organized work will help filter content and ensure that as much information is presented to the broad masses of the people as necessary and as much to the government’s advantage as possible. The scholar was convinced that getting all of the information would be harmful for the populace and ought to be the privilege of the elites only (Lippmann, 1922).

H.D. Lasswell is credited with having provided a theoretical substantiation for the centuries-old phenomenon of demonizing the enemy as an effective propaganda tool (Lasswell, 1938). In his view, the essence of propaganda lies in that it can affect vulnerable elements in a person’s consciousness (e.g., fearing for the life and health of themselves and their family, worrying about their financial well-being, or being worried about becoming dependent on someone or something) (Lasswell, 1927).

In the view of J. Dewey, every educated person must be able to discern credible information from misinformation in today’s information-packed world; letting a nation’s elites control information can lead to the people becoming intellectually weaker and enable its enemies to manipulate it with ill intentions (D’yui, 2000; D’yui, 2002).

While there are other theories of propaganda, the scope of this paper limits us to the three mentioned above, more so that, in essence, all of them are based on those three.

Military propaganda is examined as a separate type of propaganda in ‘The Basic Principles of War Propaganda’ by A. Morelli (Morelli, 2001), which is based on ‘Falsehood in War-Time’ by A.A.W.H. Ponsonby (Ponsonby, 1928) and ‘Les Responsabilités de la Guerre. Le Patriotisme et la Vérité’ (Demartial, 1916), ‘La Guerre de 1914: La Mobilisation des Consciences’ (Demartial, 1922), and ‘Le Mythe des Guerres de Légitime Défense’ (Demartial, 1930) by G. Demartial. These principles were examined in practice in our paper ‘An Analysis of the Principles of Military Propaganda Employed by the Soviet Union in January 1942 (Based on Materials From the *Krasnaya Zvezda* Newspaper)’ (Stelnykovych, 2022).

To ensure accuracy in terminology employed, use was made of ‘The Great Soviet Encyclopedia’ (БСЭ, 1975) and the encyclopedic dictionary ‘Philosophy’ (Filosofiya..., 2006).

Certain aspects of the theory and practice of military propaganda were also explored in some of our own works, more specifically in the context of the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905 and the 2020 Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict (Mamadaliyev, 2020a; Mamadaliyev, 2020b; Mamadaliyev,

2021a; Mamadaliev, 2021b). Researcher K.V. Taran has explored the military propaganda conducted during World War II by the Sochi Militiya Department of the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs (Taran, 2022).

#### 4. Results

*Roul* was a daily Russian-language émigré newspaper. Its first issue came out on November 17, 1920. According to G.L. Arosev, a biographer of V.D. Nabokov, it was issued between 1920 and 1931 in Berlin, Germany, with a run of around 20,000 copies. Its editors were I.V. Hessen and V.D. Nabokov, who considered themselves the leaders of the Cadet party abroad. Initially, the newspaper consisted of four pages. Later, the number increased to six. In terms of content, it carried news items, articles, analytical reports, and advertisements. At some point, it started to carry literary works as well. Specifically, it would publish poems by V.D. Nabokov under the pen name Sirin. According to the biographer, following its move from Berlin, the main center for Russian emigration at the time, to Paris, *Roul* eventually ceased to be of interest and was discontinued in 1931 (Arosev, 2021).

However, we managed to get hold of 42 copies of *Roul*, spanning the period between November 1943 and late June 1944, which are held in the electronic library of Cherkas Global University (Washington, DC, USA). It appears that during World War II the newspaper was relaunched in Germany as an ideological weapon against the Soviet Union. It was characterized on its front page as a “Russian anti-Bolshevik newspaper” (later “Russian anti-Bolshevik sheet”). Initially, the newspaper consisted of four pages (sometimes six) and came out daily. Later, it was issued irregularly (from twice a week to once every 2 weeks). Starting with Issue 118 (of April 5, 1944), the newspaper began to come out on Wednesdays and Saturdays and be referred to as a “Russian anti-Bolshevik newspaper” again (Rul', 05.04.44); there also were some changes to the design of its front page. The price was 1 ruble. Judging by the currency listed, it was distributed in the USSR's German-occupied areas. The special 115th issue (of March 14, 1944) does not list the price. It can be assumed that it was distributed free of charge in conjunction with a worsening situation in the front line. In addition, it can be suggested that it also was distributed in the USSR's German-occupied Belarusian areas through the Belarusian Home Defense Force<sup>1</sup>.

We will now examine the use of the principles of military propaganda identified by A. Morelli (Morelli, 2001) and ourselves in the *Roul* newspaper.

The first page and a portion of the second page of the issue of November 27, 1943, are devoted to the speech delivered by A. Hitler on November 9, 1943, in Munich. The very first, and main, item in this issue, written by V. Lonov, is entitled ‘We Can Look to the Future With a Quiet Heart’. It has the following subsections: ‘Europe Has Just Been on the Brink of Demise’, ‘The Bolshevik's Pressure’, ‘Italy's Tragedy’, ‘The Struggle in the East’, ‘The Spiteful Enemy Is Helpless’, ‘The Day of Reckoning Is Near’, ‘Composure, Courage, and Faith in Victory’ (Rul', 27.11.43a: 1-2), and a few others. These correspond to the main focal points of A. Hitler's speech. We can trace the following principles of military propaganda across them:

– ‘we don't want war – we are only defending ourselves’ and ‘our adversary is solely responsible for this war’: the leader of the Third Reich is trying to convince one that it was not Nazi Germany who started the war, pointing the finger at “Bolshevik Russia” and accusing it of treacherously attacking Poland; the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact is, of course, not mentioned anywhere;

– ‘we are defending a noble cause, not our particular interests’: Germany is saving all of Europe from Bolshevism and is on the forward edge of the battle area; no mention is made of the fact that many European nations are neutral in the war, while certain nations (Great Britain, France, and others) are fighting Germany alongside the USSR;

<sup>1</sup> The Belarusian Home Defense Force (BKA) was a military collaborationist unit that fought on the side of Nazi Germany under a three-striped white-and-red flag. It was formed on February 23, 1944, by the Belarusian Central Council, a pro-Nazi Belarusian self-government within Reichskommissariat Ostland during World War II. The unit was formed after the Wehrmacht suffered two major strategic defeats at Stalingrad (in February 1943) and at Kursk (in August 1943) as a way for the Germans to gain a foothold in Belarus through the help of the Belarusian collaborationists. Prior to that, the Nazis did not consider Belarus as an ally.

– ‘the enemy is purposefully committing atrocities; if we are making mistakes this happens without intention’: “There are millions of Russians, Belarusians, Ukrainians, Georgians, Tatars, and members of other ethnic groups on the other side of the front line. They have had the opportunity to see who the real enemy is. ...The best sons of these peoples are asking for arms so that they can join the German army in the battle against the Bolsheviks, who pose a dire, murderous threat to society. ...This grueling, slaughterous strife goes on” (Rul', 27.11.43a: 2);

– ‘our leader has the unconditional support of all the people in the country (the ‘draw the nation together’ effect)’, ‘feats of courage being committed on a mass scale, with every single of our combatants being ready to commit one’, and ‘our cause is sacred’: “The hour is near when decisive battles will be fought, and we stand beside Germany, beside Adolf Hitler with faith in the triumph of a righteous cause, in the name of which we are undertaking this arduous military effort. ...This struggle is hard. It requires sacrifice. It changes the course of the lives of millions. And yet, as put by one great German poet, ‘Of freedom and of life he only is deserving who every day must conquer them anew” (Rul', 27.11.43a: 2).

Overall, it can be concluded that both A. Hitler’s speech and the article mentioned above are distorting the history of the conflict and the real situation in the front line, which is another method of conducting aggressive propaganda among domestic residents and people in other countries who have limited access to information.

The items ‘National China and the Jews’ (Rul', 27.11.43b: 2), ‘The Recognition of a Free India’ (Rul', 27.11.43c: 2), ‘The End of One Bolshevik Undertaking’ (Rul', 27.11.43d: 2), ‘A Double-Edged Sword’ (Rul', 27.11.43e: 2), ‘The Law of Deathsmen’ (Rul', 27.11.43f: 3), ‘Jewelers From the Kremlin’ (Rul', 27.11.43g: 3), ‘Stakhanovite Lavrentiy Beriya’ (Rul', 27.11.43h: 4), ‘Soviet Terror’ (Rul', 27.11.43i: 4), and ‘Within a Volunteer Detachment’ (Rul', 27.11.43g: 4) engage the following principles of conducting ideological war: ‘whoever casts doubt on our propaganda helps the enemy and is a traitor’, ‘our adversary’s leader is inherently evil and resembles the devil’, ‘our leader has the unconditional support of all the people in the country (the ‘draw the nation together’ effect)’, and ‘we have the active support of the world community’.

The use of each of the above principles of military propaganda is illustrated below through example based on materials from the rest of the issues of the *Roul* newspaper. Let us begin with the principles identified by A. Morelli:

1. The principle ‘we don’t want war – we are only defending ourselves’ (Morelli, 2001) is employed in the items ‘Yet Another “Historic” Speech’ (by L. Vladimirov) (Rul', 23.12.43b: 2), ‘A Beast in Full Dress Uniform’ (Rul', 06.02.44b: 1), ‘The Truth Will Out’ (Rul', 12.04.44a: 3), ‘For Free Labor, for Joy, and for Spring. The Struggle in the Rear: The Soviets Won’t Be Able to Douse the Fire of the Uprisings’ (Rul', 29.04.44a: 1), ‘Against the Bolsheviks’ and for Our May Day’ (Rul', 29.04.44b: 2), and ‘Bolshevism Will Die Out, and Russia Will Live On’ (Rul', 20.05.44b: 3).

2. The principle ‘our adversary is solely responsible for this war’ (Morelli, 2001) is employed in the items ‘Von Ribbentrop on the Military and Political Situation’ (Rul', 23.12.43a: 1), ‘Red Army Commanders Speak Out’ (Rul', 06.02.44a: 2), ‘The Price of the Bolshevik “Success” – Advice to Take Heed of En Route to Defeat’ (Rul', 24.02.44a: 1), and ‘Neither the Power nor the Rascality of the “Allies” Will Help. Rascality and Hypocrisy: The Anglo-Americans Are Wooing Russian Volunteers’ (Rul', 24.05.44a: 1).

3. The principle ‘our adversary’s leader is inherently evil and resembles the devil’ (Morelli, 2001) is employed in the items ‘The “Living Principles” of the Soviet Union’ (Rul', 03.12.43a: 1), ‘Caucasian Hospitality – They Like Russian Blood!’ (Rul', 15.01.44a: 1), ‘A Russian Airwoman Against Stalin’ (Rul', 17.02.44a: 1), ‘Stalin Holds Nothing Sacred’ (Rul', 02.03.44a: 1), ‘Stalin Trades in Russian Blood. Russian Blood on Sale Again: Stalin Sends Troops Into Italy’ (Rul', 20.05.44a: 1), and ‘Stalin Is the People’s Worst Enemy. Hard Forced Labor – the NKVD Suppresses the Unrest’ (Rul', 31.05.44a: 1).

4. The principle ‘we are defending a noble cause, not our particular interests’ (Morelli, 2001) is employed in the items ‘Why the Bolsheviks Are Rushing to End the War’ (Rul', 03.12.43b: 1), ‘Against Stalin’ (Rul', 20.01.44a: 1), ‘The NKVD’s Hand. A New Victim of Murderous Terror’ (Rul', 17.02.44b: 2), ‘In the Name of the People! The Idea Is the Motherland and the Goal Is Victory’ (Rul', 02.03.44a: 1), ‘For Peace and for Freedom!’ (Rul', 02.03.44b: 2), and ‘The Dirty Teheran Deal’ (Rul', 14.06.44b: 3).

5. The principle ‘the enemy is purposefully committing atrocities; if we are making mistakes this happens without intention’ (Morelli, 2001) is employed in the items ‘The Soviets’ Bridgehead in Kerch Destroyed’ (Rul’, 16.12.43a: 1), ‘Belarus Protesting: The Belarusian People Will Not Fall to Bolshevik Bondage’ (Rul’, 02.03.44a: 3), ‘People Staying Underground’ (Rul’, 25.03.44b: 2), and ‘The Chief Enemy’ (Rul’, 15.04.44b: 3).

6. The principle ‘the enemy makes use of illegal weapons’ (Morelli, 2001) is employed in the items ‘An Award for Plunder’ (Rul’, 31.12.43e: 4), ‘One Hand Washes the Other’ (Rul’, 20.01.44b: 2), ‘Captives – Fighting for The Enemy’ (Rul’, 24.02.44b: 2), ‘Bolshevik Predators’ (Rul’, 05.04.44b: 2), ‘An Act of Carnage by the Bolsheviks’ (Rul’, 08.04.44b: 1), and ‘Cut-Throat Methods of Warfare’ (Rul’, 10.05.44b: 2).

7. The principle ‘we suffer few losses, and the enemy’s losses are considerable’ (Morelli, 2001) is employed in the items ‘A Conference That Can Change Nothing’ (Rul’, 03.12.43c: 3), ‘Stiff Defensive Battles in the Southern Section of the Eastern Front. Failed Soviet Offensives West of Kiev and in the Vicinity of Korosten’ (Rul’, 03.12.43d: 3), ‘850 Soviet Tanks and 226 Guns Captured or Destroyed’ (Rul’, 31.12.43a: 2), ‘A Fissure in the Anglo-American Camp’ (Rul’, 25.03.44a: 1), ‘Air Thugs Rebuffed’ (Rul’, 03.06.44b: 2), ‘Anglo-Americans Invade Europe. Aggressor Repelled Fiercely. – German Troops Leave Rome. – German-Romanian Units Successful Northwest of Jassy’ (Rul’, 10.06.44a: 1-2), and ‘Germany Defending Europe: Enemy Suffers Heavy Losses at Sea and in Air’ (Rul’, 14.06.44a: 1).

8. The principle ‘recognized intellectuals and artists support our cause’ (Morelli, 2001) is employed in the items ‘Vyshinsky at Work’ (Rul’, 31.12.43b: 3), ‘Belarusian Metropolitan Exposes Stalin’s Deceitful Religious Policy’ (Rul’, 31.12.43c: 3), ‘The People Are Against Bolshevism. Ukraine’s Struggle for Life. – Stalin “Amnesties” the People’ (Rul’, 06.05.44b: 3), ‘In the Lead-Up to the Crisis’ (Rul’, 10.05.44a: 2), ‘England Face to Face With the Enemies and the “Allies”’ (Rul’, 24.05.44b: 2), and ‘Social Antagonisms in America’ (Rul’, 21.06.44a: 2).

9. The principle ‘our cause is sacred’ (Morelli, 2001) is employed in the items ‘German Defensive Positions Succeed Brilliantly. Germany Responds to Air Terror With Shattering Blows’ (Rul’, 20.01.44c: 1), ‘In the Name of the People! The Idea Is the Motherland and the Goal Is Victory’ (Rul’, 02.03.44a: 1), ‘An Appeal for Struggle Against Bolshevism’ (Rul’, 19.04.44b: 2), ‘Sacred Hatred’ (Rul’, 26.04.44b: 4), ‘It’s the Kikes Who Need The World Revolution. Ukrainian Clergy Visit Dr. Frank’ (Rul’, 27.05.44a: 1), ‘Revisiting the World Revolution’ (Rul’, 27.05.44b: 1), and ‘Germany Will Defend Europe. The Greatest Struggle in World History Begins!’ (Rul’, 10.06.44b: 1).

10. The principle ‘whoever casts doubt on our propaganda helps the enemy and is a traitor’ (Morelli, 2001) is employed in the items ‘We Share One Path’ (Rul’, 09.12.43b: 1), ‘Sobering Up’ (Rul’, 27.01.44a: 1), ‘A Deal With a Specter’ (Rul’, 27.01.44c: 3), ‘“Reforms” in the USSR – Yet Another Hoax. A New Ordinance on Russian Workers’ (Rul’, 26.04.44a: 1), ‘Fettered Words’ (by I. Veresov) (Rul’, 06.05.44a: 1-2), and ‘Ideological Foundations of the Russian Liberation Movement (ROA Major Dorov)’ (Rul’, 17.06.44a: 1).

We will now examine the use in the *Roul* newspaper of the principles identified by ourselves:

1. The principle ‘infallibility of our leader (what may seem an unwise decision on his part at first glance is actually part of a clever long-term strategy)’ is employed in the items ‘Von Ribbentrop on the Military and Political Situation’ (Rul’, 23.12.43a: 1), ‘Germany Ready to Confront the Enemy’ (Rul’, 27.01.44b: 2), ‘We Fanatically Believe in Our Victory’ (Rul’, 12.04.44b: 1), ‘Adolf Hitler Leading Us to Victory’ (Rul’, 19.04.44a: 1), ‘On the Threshold of National Revival’ (by I. Mironov) (Rul’, 13.05.44b: 1), and ‘The Hour of a Compelling and Formidable Challenge’ (Rul’, 21.06.44b: 3).

2. The principle ‘whatever military, economic, or social setbacks we have had, it is all just temporary, as we are superior to the enemy strategically’ is employed in the items ‘A Conference That Can Change Nothing’ (Rul’, 03.12.43c: 3), ‘War’ (Rul’, 15.01.44b: 1), ‘A Spider at Work’ (Rul’, 10.02.44b: 1-2), ‘A War Prisoner Speaks Out’ (Rul’, 17.03.44b: 4), ‘Illusive Happiness’ (Rul’, 15.04.44a: 2), ‘We Will Overthrow the Accursed Bolsheviks. The Hour of Liberation Drawing Near’ (Rul’, 13.05.44a: 1), ‘An Answer to Unarticulated Questions’ (Rul’, 31.05.44b: 1-2), and ‘Exalted Roar’ (by L. Vladimirov) (Rul’, 07.06.44b: 3).

3. The principle ‘our leader has the unconditional support of all the people in the country (the ‘draw the nation together’ effect)’ is employed in the items ‘Stalin Among Capitalists – Hitler

Among Workers' (Rul', 23.12.43c: 3), 'For a Happy Motherland – Into Battle Against the Bolsheviks!' (Rul', 10.02.44a: 2), 'Dictate? The Soviets Are Helpless – the Initiative Is With Germany' (Rul', 09.03.44a: 1-2), 'A Self-Sacrificing Deed' (Rul', 05.04.44a: 1), 'Self-Help Is the Best Help!' (Rul', 08.04.44a: 1), 'The Demise of Bolshevism Will Save Russia. The Firm Nerves of the German People' (Rul', 17.05.44a), and 'Youth in the Struggle' (by N. Veresov) (Rul', 03.06.44a: 1).

4. The principle 'we have the active support of the world community' is employed in the items 'Turkish Policy Remains Unchanged' (Rul', 16.12.43c: 2), 'History Teaches...' (Rul', 16.12.43d: 2), 'Horse Left the Barn' (Rul', 16.12.43e: 2), 'The European Fortress Is Impregnable' (Rul', 24.02.44c: 3), 'Bolshevism Will Die Out, and Belarus Will Live On' (Rul', 02.03.44b: 1), 'A Fissure in the Anglo-American Camp' (Rul', 25.03.44a: 1), 'An Ignominious End: King Victor Emmanuel Abdicates the Throne' (Rul', 23.04.44b: 3), 'A Day That Shook the World' (Rul', 24.06.44b: 1), and 'The Will for Peace and the Will for War' (Rul', 28.06.44b: 1).

One more principle of military propaganda that is worthy of particular note is 'the enemy keenly spreads fake news, while we only tell the truth', which was employed during World War II nearly as widely as it is today. It is employed in the following items in the *Roul* newspaper: 'Stalin's Fables for Foreign Dupes' (Rul', 09.12.43a: 1), 'A Rogue Union' (Rul', 16.12.43b: 1-2), 'A Trial of Traitors' (Rul', 15.01.44c: 3), 'Ehrenburg Calling' (by I. Frolov, S. Tikhonov, and S. Mikulovich) (Rul', 02.03.44c: 4), 'On the Other Side' (Rul', 17.03.44a: 3), 'A Fissure in the Anglo-American Camp' (Rul', 25.03.44a: 1), 'All-Conquering Truth' (Rul', 23.04.44a: 1), 'When All Hope Has Been Lost' (Rul', 17.05.44b: 3), 'The Allies on the Brink of Defeat. Lost Illusions' (Rul', 07.06.44a: 1), 'Round One Lost' (Rul', 17.06.44b: 2), 'London Under Continuous Gunfire. Fierce Fighting in Normandy. – Fruitless Offensives by the Soviets. – Horrendous Explosions, Fires, Wreckage. – War to the Victorious End' (Rul', 24.06.44a: 1), and 'The Bolsheviks Advancing. Fierce Fighting in the Middle Section of the Eastern Front. – London Remains Under Gunfire. – Stalin Is a Jew. – German Aviation Attacks Enemy Positions' (Rul', 28.06.44a: 1).

Overall, it can be concluded that the "ideological machine" that was up against the Soviet propaganda system employed pretty much the same roster of principles, technologies, methodologies, and methods of conducting propagandist activity. Taking into account that Nazi Germany (unlike Fascist Italy) fought hard all the way to its capitulation (and even beyond), it must be acknowledged that the Third Reich's propaganda system was efficient.

## 5. Conclusion

The study produced the following conclusions:

1. The *Roul* newspaper was issued as an ideological weapon against the USSR and was distributed in its Nazi-occupied areas. The target audience was opponents of the Soviet regime.
2. The newspaper utilized the entire spectrum of the principles of military propaganda. Some items employed as many as several of these principles. The principles that were employed the most included 'our adversary's leader is inherently evil and resembles the devil', 'we suffer few losses, and the enemy's losses are considerable', and 'our cause is sacred'.
3. The Third Reich's military propaganda efforts were, overall, efficient, as was its military propaganda work through the *Roul* newspaper, in particular. This is attested by the fact that the Russian collaborationists fought on until the end of the war.
4. Despite similarities in the principles, technologies, methodologies, and methods of conducting ideological warfare employed by Nazi Germany and the USSR, the bulk of German propaganda was geared toward a more or less educated audience, whereas its Soviet counterpart was mainly oriented toward the working class. This conclusion was based on an analysis of phrases used in German and Soviet media reports at the time.

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