Impact of Alleged Russian Cyber Attacks

By William C. Ashmore[*]

During a two week period in April and May of 2007 Estonia was the victim of a sustained massive cyber attack on its information infrastructure. While the cyber attack was not the first nor was it the largest, it was the first cyber attack that was directed at the national security of a country. (Davis, 2009)

The significance of a cyber attack on a small country can be difficult to measure for a casual observer. Estonia is a small country that can be seen as a model for the future. Estonians have developed and used internet technology for voting, education, security and banking (ninety-five percent of banking operations are done electronically) (Collier, 2007). It is not uncommon to see a sign for free Wi-Fi internet access at a pub, restaurant or on public transportation.[1]

Imagine going to an Automated Teller Machine (ATM), while on a business trip, to get money for meals and lodging and the system is down. Restaurants and hotels are unable to process your credit card. You try to send a message to your bank, your work, and your family but the computer servers are all down. The government is unable to communicate with the public and its different departments. News agencies are having difficulties publishing information. The aftermath of a cyber attack can impact anyone that uses the internet, whether it is an individual, business, or government that has been affected. By investigating the attack, how it happened, and Estonia's reaction, states can decide whether their internet defences and strategies are adequate.[2]

The cyber attacks on Estonia have implications for both its allies and adversaries. This article is not meant to establish a complete strategy for cyber defence but to create a better understanding of how a cyber attack can have far reaching consequences beyond the immediate aftermath of a targeted infrastructure. What are the implications for Estonia? Is the framework of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) appropriate for cyber defence? Is an attack against one really an attack

---

[*] William C. Ashmore is a Major in U.S. Army.

against all? Does the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) have the ability to react to cyber attacks? Lastly, does the Russian Federation have a coherent cyber strategy that it is willing to use and what have been the consequences for Russia?

Any country that uses the internet as part of its infrastructure needs to be aware of the vulnerabilities and consequences of a cyber attack on their system. A coherent strategy must include internet defences that are set-up in conjunction with technical defences. Currently, legal definitions for cyber crimes do not exist in all countries. The international community must examine treaties and update them to better define assistance and common defence in the event of a cyber attack. Russians have shown the ability and the desire to use cyber warfare. Cyber strategy by, in defence of, or against Russia affects more than computer networks. Although, attacks that originate in China, Japan or the United States may have similar implications they are outside of the scope of this article.

Internet attacks occur on a daily basis throughout the world. How nations prepare themselves for an internet attack will determine the impact of a cyber attack on their infrastructure. The aim of this article is to achieve a greater understanding of the possible Russian cyber strategy and to understand the counter measures that can be used to prevent or mitigate cyber attacks. This awareness could possibly prevent a tactical defeat during conflict when a cyber attack targeting command and control and communications infrastructure is blocked.

1. The media accounts

Internet trade magazines and mass media reports were used to gather evidence on the events surrounding the cyber attack on Estonia. Internet sources were a major source of information on the subject of cyber security because of the amount of information that is new and has not yet been published in books. Several Estonian government officials have spoken on the issue of cyber attacks at great lengths. Estonian government documents were also used to analyze the Estonian response to the cyber attack. Media accounts along with documents from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) were used to analyze the aftermath of the Estonian cyber attack on organizations and other states. Analysis of Russian involvement was conducted using western documents.

In order to understand the reasons behind the Estonian cyber attack this article will explore the social tensions and the cyber attack itself. The impact that the attack had on the different actors will also be noted. The reality of the attacks indicates some important implications for Estonia and other former Soviet satellites to work with NATO to develop a coherent cyber strategy. Russia's cyber strategy also has considerable significance for the United States. This article will conclude with a summary of possible countermeasures to a cyber attack.

2. Cyber attack on Estonia

The social tensions between Estonians and Estonia's Russian minority are key to understanding why there was a cyber attack. Estonia is made up of 1.3 million people where 25.6 percent of the population is Russian (Central Intelligence Agency, 2008). In 1918, the Estonians gained their independence from Russia, and in 1940 they were forced into the Soviet Union. From 1940 until they regained their independence in 1991 Estonia viewed Russia's presence as an illegal occupation. Mass deportations were made, people were summarily executed, and the population was resettled by ethnic Russians. Russians on the other hand view the Estonians as ungrateful because they were saved by Russians from the Nazi German fascists. Today there exists significant animosity between the Russians and the Estonians that permeate personal relationships and political interactions within the country and between the two nations. (Vesilind, 2008)[3]

The actual events that occurred in Estonia centred on the Soviet Bronze Soldier monument. The Bronze Soldier monument is a World War II Soviet War memorial which memorialized the graves of Soviet Soldiers who died during World War II. However, over time ethnic Russians had used the memorial as a rallying site for demonstrations and other forms of protest against the Estonian government. This led to a decision by the Estonian government to move the monument to an area that was less public. (Davis, 2009)

The decision to move the statue led to actual riots in the capital city of Tallinn on April 27th, 2007. The demonstrations degraded into criminal activities involving looting and the destruction of private and public property. Hundreds of demonstrators were arrested, most of whom were

ethnic Russians. The civil unrest was contained, order was restored to the streets by the Estonian government, and most of the physical damage was repaired by the next morning. (Davis, 2009)

During this period of civil unrest computers in the Estonian government and the Estonian national media were hacked into with significant affect. Some of the attacks on the system were vandalism of sites and some were distributed denial of service attacks (a cyber attack that disrupts internet service so that a user cannot access a given computer service). The attacks started small with a major attack culminating on the Estonian internet system on May 9th, 2007. This date coincidentally corresponded to the day the Russians celebrate their victory over the Germans in World War II. During this time a Russian youth-group conducted protests against the Estonian ambassador to Russia and against the Estonian Embassy in Moscow. The protests against the ambassador and the embassy did not end until the ambassador left the country as part of a deal that was negotiated by Germany. The Russian government even suspended passenger rail services between Tallinn and St. Petersburg. The riots, the protests, the stopping of rail service, and the cyber attacks led to an increasingly tense relationship between Estonia and Russia. (Davis, 2009; Kampmark, 2003: 288-293)

The Estonians were able to respond to the cyber attacks in a very proficient manner, as they were able to coordinate responses that only caused relatively short term outages instead of any permanent damage to their IT infrastructure. The Estonian government was able to employ its Computer Emergency Response Team (CERT) which coordinated IT responses among government and civilian specialists. However, due to the ambiguous nature of the internet and the use of fake internet protocol (IP) addresses the Estonian's were unable to conclusively prove who initiated the cyber attacks. (Collier, 2007)

The cyber attacks themselves were not very sophisticated as the attackers used techniques that had been in existence for several years. The focus of the cyber attack was to completely shut down the IT structure of Estonia. The cyber attackers used botnet attacks to perform a distributed denial of service rendering systems that use the internet useless. Botnets are hijacked computers that send out mass amounts of information which overwhelm an internet server. The increase in internet traffic will cause a server to exceed its bandwidth capabilities and cause it to shut down. The botnets

can be installed well in advance of a planned cyber attack, and they can be placed in any computer anywhere in the world. If the computer user has not installed appropriate protective software on their computer they will not even know that they have been hijacked and that they are participating in a cyber attack. The botnet attacks on the Estonian IT structure ended as abruptly as they began leading Estonian officials to conclude that the attack was a planned and coordinated. (Davis, 2009)

The cyber attacks on Estonia illustrates the vulnerability of IT structures that rely on the internet. The use of technology can improve personal, business, and government interactions but it is still vulnerable to attacks and interruptions. The next section of this article will concentrate on the implications for Estonia in the aftermath of the cyber attacks.

3. Implications for Estonia

After the cyber attacks in 2007, there were several implications for Estonia as the country recovered from the cyber wake-up call. Some implications had an immediate impact on the people and the government of Estonia, while others were more long term and required a deliberate strategy. The immediate implication for Estonia was the loss of services for government, communication, and banking. What emerged from the attack was Estonia's ability to counter and minimize the effects of the attack. There was no permanent damage to the information technology (IT) structure and financial losses were minimal, but the significance was frightening. (Collier, 2007)

One of the long term implications is the continued strain on Estonia's relationship with Russia. Members of the Estonian government and outside observers believe that the attacks originated in Russia, but that fact remains unproven. The finger pointing between Estonia and Russia began immediately after the attacks and continues today. Dmitry Peskov, Deputy Press Secretary for the Russian President said, "Russia can no way be involved in cyber terrorism and all claims to the contrary are an absolute lie" (The Baltic Times, 2007a). Andrus Ansip, the Estonian Prime Minister, and others have accused the Russian government because of the identification of Russian internet protocol (IP) addresses used in the attack. To date, Russian involvement has never been proven, but the implications and belief that they were involved continues to influence and affect the relationship between Russia and Estonia. (The Baltic Times, 2007b)

After the attacks and recovery, Estonia has been heralded as a leader in technological security. According to Alexander Ntok, head of Corporate Strategy at the International Telecommunication Union, "it was imaginative responses that allowed Estonia to emerge from the spring cyber attack relatively unscathed" (Collier, 2007). As a result Estonia has capitalized on the internet security market. They are called upon to assist during attacks and to speak to different business and IT groups on internet security issues. Estonian government leaders have spoken to allies, regional organizations and international organizations to improve IT security and cooperation. (Ibid.)

When Georgia's IT infrastructure was attacked in August 2008 specialists from Estonia's Computer Emergency Response Team (CERT) travelled to Georgia and assisted response efforts to counter the attacks (DPA, 2008). This example demonstrates how Estonia has established itself as a major player in an emerging field, as they are too small to make a large impact on the international scene through the use of economic or military power. Estonia has been able to establish itself as a major player in Europe and among NATO members as an expert in cyber security and cyber war. Their expertise has allowed them to lobby for increased IT awareness and for increased cooperation to defeat or deter future cyber attacks. (Nikiforov, 2008)

In 2003 Estonia proposed a cyber excellence centre in Tallinn even before it became a member of NATO. In light of Estonia's expertise in IT the NATO Cyber Defence Centre was approved. In May 2008 the centre opened in Tallinn with Estonia providing the leadership and personnel to man the centre. Estonia emerged as a leader within NATO and leads the effort to protect the IT structure of NATO. (Socor, 2008)

The continuous threat of cyber attacks against its IT structure, and the dedication of public officials to improve IT security resulted in a comprehensive national cyber security strategy. This strategy, developed by the Ministry of Defence, was adopted by the Estonian government in May of 2008, just over a year after the attack on its IT systems. The main measures of its strategy included IT security measures that strengthened their defensive posture, as well as developed their expertise and awareness in the IT field. Estonia now looks to strengthen the international legal framework to ensure that the IT system is protected by laws, and that

violators of the law will be prosecuted. Estonia has also taken the charge of increasing international co-operation not just to protect their systems but to protect the global cyber system. (Estonian Ministry of Defence, 2008)

4. Cyber concerns for former Soviet satellites

What do the countries of Estonia, Georgia, Lithuania and Kyrgyzstan have in common? They are all former Soviet satellites and have all been allegedly cyber attacked by Russia.

4.1. Georgian cyber attack

On July 20th, 2008 the website of the Georgian president came under a denial of service cyber attack. The attack shut the website down for 24 hours and was a precursor to a larger cyber attack that would come less than a month later (Melikishvili, 2008/2009). On August 8th, 2008 a coordinated distributed denial of service attack was made against the Georgian government websites at the same time that Russian forces were engaged in combat with Georgian forces. As the ground attacks increased so did the cyber attacks. This was the first time that a cyber attack was done in conjunction with armed conflict. (Ibid)

The cyber war between Georgia and Russia focused on shaping public opinion on the internet. Georgian and Russian supporters used a variety of cyber techniques including distributed denial of service attacks and the creation of fake web sites to control how their version of the "truth" was delivered to the public. (Thomas, 2009:55-59)

Georgia's IT infrastructure was not very advanced so the disruption of service was not as complicated as it was in Estonia. Banking, media and government websites were blocked disrupting the flow of information throughout Georgia and to the outside world. The websites of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the National Bank were vandalized by adding pictures of the Georgian President and Adolf Hitler (Melikishvili, 2008/2009). The cyber attacks against Georgia were different from the cyber attacks on Estonia, as these attacks included distributed denial of services using botnets, but they also included SQL injection attacks that are harder to identify than a botnet attack because they require less computers than a botnet attack. The SQL injection attack shows a greater expertise in

the ability to conduct a cyber attack than the cyber attacks on Estonia's IT infrastructure. (Secure Works Press Release, 2008)

Georgia received considerable assistance in countering the cyber attacks and in communicating internally and internationally. *Google* provided domain space to protect the websites of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and *Civil.ge*, a Georgian Daily online news service. A private American internet service provider (the head of the company is an ethnic Georgian) assisted the Georgian government by hosting the Georgian President's website. The President of Poland also assisted the Georgian government by placing official press releases on his website. Estonia even sent two information security specialists from its Computer Emergency Response Team to assist Georgia in countering the cyber attacks. According to outside investigators there is no direct proof of any Russian government involvement in the cyber attacks. But what is undeniable is that even without proven Russian government involvement it remains clear that the Russian government benefited from the cyber attacks. (Melikishvili, 2008/2009)

4.2. Lithuanian cyber attack

Lithuania faced its own attacks in June 2008 three days after it passed a law outlawing the use of Soviet and communist symbols; over 300 websites were attacked. Some were denial of service attacks while other sites were vandalized with the Soviet hammer and sickle. Prior to the attacks and the passage of the law, Russian and Lithuanian ties had deteriorated because of Russia's refusal to compensate Lithuanian victims of Soviet labour camps, and Russia's leveraging of energy resources for political gain. Lithuania also blocked talks on an EU-Russia partnership. The animosities between the two countries have provided observers with a clear motive that the attacks were by the Russians. The reason for the cyber attacks against Lithuania was similar to the cyber attacks against Estonia, both attacks were in response to a government action that was unpopular to the Russian people. (McLaughlin, 2008)

4.3. Kyrgyzstan cyber attack

The latest country that has come under a cyber attack from computers in Russia is Kyrgyzstan. On January 18th, 2009 Kyrgyzstan's two main internet servers came under a denial of service attacks shutting down

websites and email within the country. The originators of the attacks were traced back to Russia (Rhoads, 2009). The attacks occurred on the same day that the Russian government was pressuring Kyrgyzstan to stop U.S. access to the airbase at Bishkek at Manas. The airbase is a key logistics centre that supports the U.S. war efforts in Afghanistan. According to Don Jackson, a senior security researcher at *SecureWorks*[4], the distributed denial of service attacks are believed to be directed towards any opposition that is not in favour of the closure of the airbase. While it is unproven whether the government was behind the attacks the implication is that cyber attacks will be used against any opposition to the Russian government (Bradbury, 2009).

The cyber attacks on Georgia, Lithuania and Kyrgyzstan have two characteristics in common. The first characteristic is that the cyber attacks were initiated because of opposition to the Russian government and secondly that there is no proof that the Russian government was involved in the cyber attacks. Regardless of who is initiating the attack it is clear that opposition to the Russian government could result in a cyber attack which could disrupt critical government infrastructure.

5. Compelling realities for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization

Cyber defence is a critical issue for NATO. U.S. General James Mattis, NATO's Supreme Allied Commander for Transformation, articulates the importance of cyber defence for NATO by stating, "We cannot say that we are not going to defend the Web that everybody needs" (Tanner & Peach, 2008). Nations that are party to the North Atlantic Treaty agree on Article 5 "that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all…" (The North Atlantic Treaty, 1949). Does a cyber attack fit the requirement of an armed attack? A senior NATO official asked, "If a member state's communications centre is attacked with a missile, you call it an act of war. So what do you call it if the same installation is disabled with a cyber-attack?" (The Economist, 2007). However, the current political reality is that they are not the same. Prior to the cyber attacks on Estonia, NATO's cyber strategy was focused on NATO's ability to protect its own IT infrastructure. Now, the current reality is, is that the NATO's strategy must focus on assisting allies as they protect their own IT infrastructure during an attack (North Atlantic Treaty Organization, undated a).

Members of NATO have taken several steps in defining a cyber strategy and implementing a cyber defence. As early as 2002, at the Prague Summit, cyber defence appeared on NATO's agenda. At the Prague Summit NATO leaders agreed to the implementation of a NATO Cyber Defence Program. The program consisted of a NATO Computer Incident Response Capability and for NATO to use the latest cyber defence measures (North Atlantic Treaty Organization, undated a). In the spring of 2006 cyber defence was made a priority for NATO during the Riga Summit. The issue of cyber security gained even more attention when Estonia, a NATO member, was cyber attacked in 2007 (EU News, Policy Positions & EU Actors online, 2008).

NATO conducted a thorough assessment of its IT structure and how it would defend itself against a cyber attack. This assessment led to an October 2007 report on cyber defence that was issued to the Allied Defence Ministers. The report recommended measures to improve protection against cyber attacks (North Atlantic Treaty Organization, undated a). What followed was a cyber defence policy in early 2008 and the creation of a NATO Centre of Excellence for cyber defence in May 2008 (North Atlantic Treaty Organization, 2008a). In April 2008, during the Bucharest Summit, cyber defence was part of the summit declaration. The declaration emphasizes the need to protect key information systems, the sharing of best practices, and for Allied nations to provide assistance to counter a cyber attack (North Atlantic Treaty Organization, 2008b).

Even though not all NATO nations are part of the Cyber Defence Centre the centre works to enhance the cyber defence capabilities of all NATO members. The centre itself is not even funded by NATO but by the nations that participate in the running of the centre of excellence. The centre has been charged with doctrine and concept development, awareness and training, research, development, analysis, and lessons learned. The experts at the centre also serve as cyber defence consultants for NATO members North Atlantic Treaty Organization, undated b).

The compelling reality for NATO is that cyber warfare has affected member nations and continuous to be a realistic threat for the organization and for its members. NATO members are continuing to develop ways to counter future threats by sharing best practice information, information on technical cyber defences, and by agreeing to assist member nations in countering a cyber attack.

6. Multilateral initiatives

Only a few international treaties on cyber security exist making international cooperation to prevent cyber attacks extremely difficult. Even finding and then holding accountable a person that commits a cyber crime is almost impossible without some international cooperation (Organization for Security and Co-Operation in Europe, 2008). In the aftermath of the cyber attacks on Estonia the European Union commissioned a study to examine the issues concerning cyber security facing members of the European Union. This section will examine the European Union study and other multinational initiatives that have an impact on the cyber security of former Soviet satellites and Russia. (Cornish, 2009)

6.1. Convention on Cybercrime

The Council of Europe has established a treaty on cyber crime that entered into force[5] in 2004. Twenty-two Council of Europe member nations, along with the United States, have ratified the treaty agreeing to international cooperation concerning cybercrime issues. The Russian Federation has not agreed to the treaty making it difficult for states to resolve issues with Russia concerning cyber crimes in an international forum (Council of Europe, undated a). This treaty is still significant because it is the first international treaty on crimes committed on the internet (Council of Europe, undated b).

The main goal of the convention, as stated in the preamble, is to protect nations against cybercrime, by adopting laws and regulations, and fostering co-operation internationally. The states that become a party to the Convention on Cybercrime agree to adopt laws that create criminal penalties for committing crimes on the internet. The convention outlines several areas that states have agreed to make criminal statutes on issues such as illegal access of computer systems, system and data interference, and other computer related fraud. Nations that are party to the convention also agree to cooperate with investigations, to provide mutual assistance concerning cyber crimes, and to pursue the collection of evidence. The extradition of alleged cybercriminals is also agreed to by parties to the treaty. Disagreements between states that have ratified the treaty include direct negotiations, settlement in front of the European Committee on Crime Problems (CDPC), a tribunal for arbitration or adjudication in front

of the International Court of Justice. The Convention on Cybercrime gave a framework for cooperation among member states for the prosecution of cyber criminals by removing safe havens for the cyber criminals. (Council of Europe, 2001)

However, Russia does agree to the convention and it protects citizens who engage in cyber misconduct by preventing their extradition out of Russia. Failing to sign the convention agreement also prevents Russia from having any legal standing to prosecute trans-national cyber criminals who attack Russia's IT infrastructure.

6.2. Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe

The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) has a tradition of promoting the security and stability of Europe. This tradition of promoting security and stability since 2004 has included cyber security. The OSCE's initial focus on cyber security concerned the use of the internet for recruiting, fundraising, and communication by terrorist organizations. In 2006 the OSCE's efforts began to focus on protecting vital information infrastructures against cyber attacks. Debate in the OSCE has not led to great change but has been a forum for further cooperation in cyber security in Europe. In June 2008, the Estonian Defence Minister, Jaak Aaviksoo, in an address to members of the OSCE, said there is "an immense amount of work to be done [concerning cyber security]." Minister Aaviksoo used the forum of the OSCE to use his nation's experience in defending against cyber crime to increase international cooperation in Europe. This statement by the Estonian Defence Minister sums up OSCE's efforts concerning cyber defence, they are still in the talking phase and have at least recognized the importance of cyber defence (Cornish, 2009:20-21). The OSCE will continue to be a forum to publicize grievances for European nations that have had their IT infrastructures attacked by Russian hackers. European nations will judge Russia on its cooperation with the OSCE in finding and prosecuting individuals who engage in cyber attacks.

6.3. The European Union

Estonia continues to lobby for improved international cooperation in cyber security as it calls on the European Union (EU) to pass legislation concerning crimes committed on the internet. While addressing the

European Parliament, Toomas Hendrik, the Estonian President, called upon the EU to pass legislation that make cyber attacks against public and private web sites a criminal act (Jones, 2008). The EU has several initiatives involving different agencies but lacks an overall cyber security strategy. The European Commission has the Information Society and Media Directorate General, the European Network and Information Security Agency (ENISA), and the Contact Network of Spam Authorities that deal with different aspects of cyber security. The Information Society and Media Directorate has a program to improve the content of the internet by protecting people from child pornography, racism, and other harmful online content. The ENISA is an agency that was created in 2004 to raise awareness of cyber security issues and to promote best practices by member nations with the EU. The Contact Network of SPAM authorities is an initiative to counter SPAM and share information on best practices between EU member nations. (Cornish, 2009:24-27)

The European Parliament has established several standing committees concerned with cyber security issues. The Committee on Industry, Research, and Technology (ITRE) is concerned with establishing information technology networks within the EU. The Committee on Civil Liberties, Justice, and Home Affairs (LIBE) is responsible of the protection of personal information on the internet for members of the EU. The Committee on Foreign Affairs is responsible for the Security and Security policies of the EU which includes internet security policies. (Cornish, 2009:26)

The European Police Office (EUROPOL) is an agency of the Police and Judicial Co-operation (PJC) that has more of a direct role in EU cyber security in the context of combating terrorism, organized crime, and financial crime (Cornish, 2009:25). Although cyber security is addressed by the EU there is no organization within the EU to ensure that there are no contradictions in cyber security policy among all of the various EU agencies, commissions, and co-operations. The European Parliament commissioned a study on cyber security published February 2009 that examined security challenges concerning the internet for the EU. The study recommended that clear roles should be defined for cyber security responses with the many EU organizations, including the establishment of the post of cyber security coordinator and the establishment of a common operating vision for cyber security in order to achieve operational consistency across the EU (Cornish, 2009:31). The EU and Russia work

together on different challenges including drug and human trafficking, organized crime, and counter-terrorism. Russia is also the EU's third largest trading partner (European Commission, 2009). The EU's cyber security organizations can offer a framework for increased cooperation to defeat cyber attacks that originate from or are directed at Russia.

6.4. The United Nations

The main purpose of the United Nations (UN) is to maintain international peace and security among the different nations of the world (United Nations, 1945). The focus for cyber security for the UN, through the UN Security Council, has been on countering terrorism. Debates among the UN General Assembly started in 2002 highlighted the growing dependence on IT use. Out of discussions came a warning that law enforcement activities would not be sufficient but that more efforts in cyber security need to be made on prevention. (Cornish, 2009:17)

The International Telecommunication Union (ITU) is the main organization that is responsible for cyber security within the UN framework. The ITU's goal is to enhance cyber security in order for individuals, businesses and nations to have confidence in the use of cyberspace. The ITU uses its Global Cyber Security Agenda, which began in 2007, to promote its goals of increased cyber security. The ITU has not been an agency for the enforcement of legislation and international agreements concerning cyber security but has focused on assisting in building nation's capabilities for cyber security (Cornish, 2009:17-18). Former Soviet satellites can cooperate with the ITU to improve their cyber defences against cyber criminals from Russia or any other nation. The UN will continue to be a forum for Russia to voice grievances or defend themselves against world opinion in matters involving international peace and security including cyber security.

6.5. Relevance of multilateral initiatives

Although the Russian government cooperates with Europe and other nations on a variety of economic and security issues, individuals, organizations, and governments are able to exploit the weaknesses of the international system in order to use the internet for criminal activities without fear of any major reprisals. Significant effort has been made towards cyber security since the cyber attack on Estonia in 2007, but much

more needs to be done among national and international organizations to ensure genuine cyber security. The framework for increasing cyber security exists, but it will take the cooperation of many nations, including Russia, to make a difference in cyber security.

7. Implications for the United States

The cyber attack on Estonia should be considered a significant wake-up call for the United States. Even though the attacks had no direct impact on the U.S., Estonia is a NATO ally and the attack clearly showed aggressive intent seeking advantage. When the attacks occurred the U.S. sent experts to assist and help Estonia with its cyber defences. Jaak Aaviksoo, the Estonian Defence Minister, was told by U.S. officials that Estonia coped better than the U.S. is likely could in responding to a cyber attack. The Estonian Computer Emergency Response Team (CERT) was able to concentrate on protecting vital sites by coordinating government and public efforts. They were also able to create diversions which caused hackers to attack sites which were already disabled or not very important. (Collier, 2007)

The cyber attack on Estonia demonstrated the importance of legal obligations for the U.S. in rendering support to its allies during a cyber attack (Gee, 2008). The cyber attack also showed the vulnerability of an IT system, raising the question, if it could happen to Estonia could another trans-national cyber attack of this magnitude happen in the U.S. (Griggs, 2008)? The convention on cybercrime, which the U.S. is a party to, outlines principles for providing mutual assistance regarding cybercrime (Council of Europe, 2001). The convention does not mention cyber attacks or cyber war but treats such activities as crimes (Korns & Kastenberg, 2008/2009). Because only 23 countries have agreed to this treaty, its force in the international community is limited (Gee, 2008).

Several members of NATO are participating in the Cyber Defence Centre of Excellence that was established in Estonia, but the U.S. only agreed to the creation of the cyber defence centre as an observer. The cyber defence centre is working on issues of cyber security that affect NATO along with the U.S (The Associated Press, 2008). What will the U.S.'s response be if a cyber attack destroys infrastructure and kills citizens in an allied country, and then that ally declares war because of the attack? The plausibility of such an attack was demonstrated in 2007 when scientists from the Idaho

National Laboratory demonstrated how a cyber attack could cause a power plant to overload its system, begin to smoke, and then break down which caused physical damage to equipment. Currently, both international law and NATO's framework lack coherent responses that are legal in the event of such an attack. The cyber attackers could limit options for the U.S. under such a scenario by routing their cyber attack through countries which do not have laws or agreements to cooperate with the U.S. The cyber attacker could remain completely anonymous if the country where the attack was routed through refused to hand over information identifying the cyber attackers. (Gee, 2008)

Cyber attacks on the U.S. government IT infrastructure are not new. In March 1998 a cyber attack was launched against computer systems of the U.S. government, private universities and research labs computer systems that lasted for over three years. Government investigators named the attacks "Moonlight Maze." The cyber attacks targeted gaining access to sensitive but unclassified information (Abreu, 2001). John Adams, a National Security Agency (NSA) consultant says that government investigators have identified seven internet addresses involved in the cyber attacks that originated in Russia. Dion Stempfley, a former Pentagon computer analyst, believes that the U.S. prove that the Russian Federation government is sponsoring the attacks but there is evidence that they are allowing or otherwise permitting the cyber attacks. The cyber attacks which resulted in the theft of technical defence information were serious enough that the U.S. State Department issued a formal complaint to the Russian Federation. (Loeb, 2001)

In *Global Trends 2025*, a study conducted by the National Intelligence Council, states over the next two decades non-military aspects of warfare, including cyber, will be prominent (National Intelligence Council, 2008). According to Secure Works, a cyber security company, in 2008 over 20 million attacks originated from computers within the United States (Secure Works Press Release, 2008). In 2008 the U.S. Department of Homeland Security created the National Cybersecurity Centre to counter these threats (Griggs, 2008). The threats to the U.S. infrastructure and technology are moving at a much faster pace than the creation of government structures to counter the threat.

Even a casual observer can see that there is a cyber threat to the U.S., but how is that connected to any Russian involvement in cyber attacks? There

are three recent examples of how cyber attacks, that may have allegedly originated in Russia, that demonstrate danger for U.S. and Russian relations. These examples show how attacks against an IT structure were used as cyber pressure to influence nations or organizations.

The first example is when Radio Free Europe's internet sites in April 2008 in Eastern Europe were shut down because of a denial of service attack. The attack lasted two days and coincided with the planned coverage of the anniversary of the 1986 Chernobyl disaster. The attacks effectively shut down the websites which stopped the flow of information from Radio Free Europe, a U.S. sponsored program (America.gov, 2008).

Another example is the malware (malware is a term used to identify illegal computer access including computer viruses) attack on U.S. Department of Defence computer systems in November 2008. According to *WMD Insights*[6] the computer attacks are thought to have originated from Russia. The attacks seemed to target military computer systems and affected the U.S. central command along with computers in Iraq and Afghanistan. The attacks led to a ban on the use of external computer flash drives on military computers throughout the world. (Melikishvili, 2008/2009)

The latest example of an attack that may have originated in Russia is the January 2009 denial of service attack that was directed at the government websites of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan. One theory on why the attack was started was because of Kyrgyzstan's support of the U.S. in its war on terror in Afghanistan. This shows the significance of a cyber attack not directed against the U.S. but against one of its allies. (Rhoads, 2009)

One senior fellow at the Centre for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, D.C. believes there is no adversary that can defeat the U.S. in cyber space. A spokesman for the U.S. Department of Homeland Security commented that the U.S. government is able to protect itself from cyber attacks, but the U.S. IT system is not completely impenetrable. The director of a non-profit research institute, the United States Cyber Consequences Unit, stated that because the U.S. controls so much internet bandwidth that most of the people that want to harm the U.S. lack the capabilities to shut down U.S. servers. (Griggs, 2008)

The U.S. faces a wide variety of challenges in protecting its own IT structure along with facing the reality of the challenges of its allies' cyber

defences. In the future the U.S. may face cyber attacks that could cause the deaths of its or its allies' citizens due to the effects of a cyber attack on an electrical system. The U.S.'s bilateral agreements with countries that hold a strategic U.S. interest could be affected by the use of a cyber attack to influence leaders. The cyber threats to the U.S. are real and continued attention by the leaders must focus on this threat.

8. The weakest link – the computer user

As you read this article you could be an accomplice to a cyber criminal without even knowing that your computer is conducting a worldwide distributed denial of service attack. The actions or lack of action of computer users have contributed to the ability of hackers in Russia and elsewhere to conduct their attacks in relative anonymity.[7] The internet has vulnerabilities and the individual computer user contributes to the vulnerabilities of private and government IT systems.

In 1997 the National Security Agency (NSA) conducted an exercise to find out how vulnerable government IT systems were to external cyber attacks. They named the exercise "Eligible Receiver." Thirty-five IT specialists were given the mission to hack into government systems. They could use any software programs that were available on the internet and they were only given a few limitations. The IT specialists couldn't use any classified hacking software that belonged to the NSA and they could not violate U.S. law. The IT specialists were also confined to U.S. government computer systems. (Verton, 2003:32-33)

What they discovered was how easy it was to hack into government systems, into both classified and unclassified networks. With the free software that they downloaded from the internet, the NSA specialists were able to conduct distributed denial of service attacks, delete or modify sensitive information and shut down or reformat systems. Along with the software they used, personal contact methods were also used to gain access into the systems. The NSA computer specialists would use telephone calls or emails to gain passwords or entry into a system by posing as a supervisor or technician. The IT specialists were surprised at how easily government and military members delivered their passwords without question. Even though the exercise was conducted in 1997, and may seem dated, it gives us a great example of how a dedicated effort can disrupt any IT system. (Verton, 2003:32-33)

As noted earlier, external flash drives were banned from use with military computer systems. Authorized users unknowingly passed intrusive malware files from computer to computer infecting IT systems throughout the U.S. Central Command. The ban on flash drives complicated the sharing of information throughout the theatre. The malware file was even found on a classified network. This is one more example of how an individual can spread malicious software infecting multiple computer systems because of a lack of computer security protocols. (Melikishvili, 2008/2009)

One vulnerability that is associated with computer users is that some people who become hackers are former employees with a grievance against their former employer. Such people may be motivated by a personal grudge against the U.S. government because they were fired or lost their job due to a reorganization or downsizing. Their actions as hackers are usually malicious in nature as such people steal or corrupt data, deface websites, or shut down systems. (Conway, 2007:82)

Even more dangerous than an angry former employee is a case of cyber espionage. This is where an individual who is motivated by money or ideology sells highly sensitive IT security information. One such case involves Herman Simm and his wife, Heete Simm, from Estonia (Melikishvili, 2008/2009). Mr. Simm was arrested in September 2008 for allegedly passing highly classified information on cyber security and missile defence to members of the Russian foreign Intelligence Service (SVR). Mr. Simm was the head of the State Secret Protection Office where he was responsible for protecting Estonia's classified information. Mrs. Simm was a lawyer who was previously employed at the Estonian national police headquarters. Mr. Simm had access to classified information concerning NATO and allies of Estonia including the operational information of the NATO Cooperative Cyber Defence Centre based in Tallinn. If the Estonian government had access to a secret so did Mr. Simm. The amount of classified information that was compromised is unknown, but may be quite large. Mr. Simms allegedly became a Russian spy in the mid-1990's and was paid millions of dollars from the Russian Government. Regardless of how secure a country's IT structure is, it is still vulnerable because some people will compromise sensitive cyber security information for personal gain. (Melikishvili, 2008/2009)

Along with the vulnerabilities already mentioned there are always problems with software products. Some software is easy for hackers to take advantage of because of security deficiencies. Computers may be infected before the user or software company has identified the problem. Then it will take time for the software company to produce a security patch. It will take even more time to get the patch to the computer program user and for the security patch to be installed. During this time the infected computer program may have already infected other computers in a system or throughout the internet. (Wilson, 2006:15-16)

A major vulnerability for any IT system is the computer user. Whether the computer user is a military member, a government employee, or just a computer user sitting in front of his computer at home, their practices can cause serious damage to a computer system. Normal computer users receive little or no training in the best security practices. (Wilson, 2006:14)

The cost of poor security practices can be high. Along with the loss of data or the disruption of service there is also the physical cost associated with malware and viruses. For example, in 2007 the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) uncovered a botnet campaign that caused losses of over 20 million dollars (Cornish, 2009:9). One of the botnet hackers that was caught by the FBI and sentenced to prison used botnets to steal peoples' identities and bank account information. After gaining access to personal information and passwords he made on-line purchases and transferred money from the bank accounts. Another cyber attacker used a phishing scheme where he collected information through infected emails (Wired Staff, 2009). This section highlighted how the computer user has made IT structures even more vulnerable and the Simm affair demonstrates how cyber espionage adds to that vulnerability. If countries like the U.S. and Estonia that have highly developed IT infrastructure can be attacked, it is not hard to imagine the vulnerabilities less developed former Soviet satellites have in their IT development phase.

9. The Russian Federation

In this article study several cyber attacks have been attributed to Russia. Regardless of whether the government of Russia is responsible for the attacks, or merely sanctioned them, for many the perception remains that Russia was behind the cyber attacks. I will examine Russia's use of cyber warfare against former Soviet satellite states. (Davis, 2009)

The Russian government views itself as the victim in the case of the cyber attacks on Estonia in 2007. According to sources in the Kremlin the website of the President of Russia came under a cyber attack. This was supposedly the largest attack the Russians have faced and it appeared that the servers used to originate the attack were located in the Baltic States. The Deputy Press Secretary of the Russian President, Dmitry Peskov, countered accusations from Estonia with the fact that Russian government websites are under attack every day from all over the world. (The Baltic Times, 2007a)

Even as cyber attacks occurred against Georgia, Russians said that they were also the victims of cyber attacks. *Russia Today*[8], a major media source in Russia, was shut down because of a denial of service attacks directed towards its websites. IT security specialists that work for *Russia Today* believe that the denial of service attacks originated from Tbilisi, the capital of Georgia. (Watson, 2008)

In the aftermath of the cyber attacks on Estonia, Georgia, and other attacks mentioned in this article, the Russian response was to deny any involvement in any cyber attack. When confronted with evidence that some of the attacks originated from Russian government computers members of the Russian government countered with the fact that computers from all over the world were hijacked and used to attack different computer systems. (The Baltic Times, 2007a)

Another fact that Russian officials are quick to point out is that the only person arrested for the 2007 cyber attacks on Estonia was an Estonian. Dmitri Galushkevich, a 20 year old ethnic Russian, who was convicted for the cyber attacks. Some members of the Estonian government have issued statements doubting the involvement of the Russian government in the cyber attacks. (Greenberg, 2008)

With the finger pointing that ensues after a cyber attack it is still unclear who was behind the attacks. The actions of cyber activist groups, or hactivists, will be examined in the case of the cyber attacks on Estonia and Georgia. Hactivists are individuals that use cyber attacks to take a patriotic or political stand on a political or international issue. (Melikishvili, 2008/2009)

During the protests in Estonia, increased chatter and postings on how to conduct and participate in denial of service attacks were found on Russian internet chat sites (Melikishvili, 2008/2009). Along with the denial of service attacks, some of the Estonian government websites were hacked in order to deface the site. The sayings on the websites were very pro Russian and very anti Estonian. Joshua Davis in *Wired Magazine* supports the view that the reason behind the attacks was nothing more than Russian pride. (Davis, 2009)

In March of 2009 a member of a Russian pro-Kremlin youth group, Konstantin Goloskokov, publicly took responsibility for creating the 2007 cyber attacks on Estonia. Goloskokov is a leader of the youth movement *Nashi* that has routinely conducted cyber attacks and intimidation campaigns on behalf of the Russian government. The government of the Russian Federation is able to maintain separation from the youth group because it does not directly fund their activities. The youth groups are funded by pro-government business owners who are trying to gain favour from the Russian government (Shachtman, 2009). Goloskokov believes that his actions were not illegal but were, "an act of civil disobedience organized within the confines of virtual space" (Buranov, Vodo & Yegikyan, 2009). The cultural aspects or belief that actions in the cyber world are beyond the law is a consequence for the Russian government and how cyber attacks affect their international relationships.

An assistant to Sergei Markov, a member of Russia's State Duma lower house, has also admitted to using his own initiative to conduct cyber attacks against Estonia (Baltic News Service, 2009). Rein Lang, the Estonian Justice Minister, is contemplating issuing a European arrest warrant for individuals who have admitted to taking part in the attack. The idea for the warrant is not to send law enforcement officials into Russia, but to have the alleged perpetrators arrested whenever they leave the country (Baltic News Service, 2009). Aleksandr Gostev, director of the Kaspersky Lab's Global Research and Analysis Team, explains that hackers who participate in a distributed denial of service attack violate the Russian Criminal Code (Article 274, *Violation of the Rules Governing the Use of Computers, Computer Systems, or Networks Thereof*) and can be imprisoned for four years for violating the code. But he also states that the article is rarely used (Buranov, Vodo & Yegikyan, 2009). The examples of Russian citizens admitting to participating in the Estonian cyber attacks are grounds for

Russian citizens to be arrested in other parts of Europe if Russia fails to uphold its own laws.

Similar actions occurred in the Georgian cyber attacks. Messages were posted on Russian hacker forums on how to participate in shutting down Georgian websites. The website StopGeorgia.ru was also established as a private forum to coordinate the denial of service attacks. Jeff Carr, a network security expert and cyber analyst, established an all volunteer group to investigate the cyber attacks. Throughout the course of the investigation, which they named *Project Grey Goose*, no evidence was found to implicate the Russian government. This was just another example of a hactivist movement which had the collective power to conduct a cyber attack against a government. (Melikishvili, 2008/2009)

The *Project Grey Goose* investigation has looked at hactivists and how they can independently conduct cyber attacks. It also focused on a criminal gang known as the *Russian Business Network* (R.B.N.). The R.B.N. is based in St. Petersburg and engages in criminal cyber activities. According to Don Jackson, the director of threat intelligence at Secure Works, some of the cyber attacks used against Georgian websites originated from computers under the control of the R.B.N. As is the case with any cyber attacks it is very difficult to establish who is completely responsible or if there is any Russian government sanctioned involvement. (Markoff, 2008a)

This article has already noted that there are other groups involved with cyber attacks against former Soviet satellites. The evidence of Russian government involvement will now be investigated (Davis, 2009). Indeed, some statements made by Russian government officials suggest Russian government involvement in cyber attacks. Prior to the cyber attacks in Estonia the Russian government protested the movement of the Russian memorial, the Bronze Soldier, to the Estonian government. The Russian government warned how disastrous the move would be to Estonia. What followed were the protests and the cyber attacks. (Davis, 2009)

The head of the Russian Army Centre for Military Forecast, Colonel Anatoly Tsyganok, made comments to the Russian news outlet, *Gazeta*, about the cyber attacks on Estonia. He believes that there was nothing wrong with the attacks because there are no international agreements established. Colonel Tsyganok also believes that NATO couldn't do

anything to stop the attacks, and that they were highly successful. (prygi.blogspot.com[9], 2008)

The most telling example of Russian government involvement in cyber warfare was with Herman Simm selling IT secrets to the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service that was discussed earlier in this article. This examples shows that the government of the Russian Federation is actively seeking information on cyber defences and is willing to pay large sums of money (Mr. Simm is accused of selling cyber security secrets for millions of dollars) to receive information on cyber security. (Melikishvili, 2008/2009)

There are also cases where cyber attacks were used against people who are in opposition to the Russian government. One such example is with Gary Kasparov, Russian opposition party leader, had his website shut down for two weeks due to denial of service attacks during the Russian presidential campaign. John Palfrey, a researcher at Harvard Law School, believes that several organizations in Russia who plan to protest, or act in opposition to the Russian government, are subjected to cyber attacks in an attempt to control the information that is getting to the public. (Greenberg, 2008)

Another example of Russian government complicity is the lack of assistance or interest in tracking down those responsible for the cyber attacks against governments of former Soviet satellites (Davis, 2009). The evidence of government involvement remains circumstantial, but certain facts are clear concerning cyber security and former Soviet satellites. If there is opposition to Russian Federation policy than that country that is in opposition is likely to be subject to a cyber attack and it has been shown that the Russian Federation actively collects information on other countries cyber defences.

10. The future of Russian cyber warfare

The perception exists among different nations (some of those nations have been discussed earlier in this study) that the government of the Russian Federation has been involved in cyber attacks. This section will examine future trends concerning the use of cyber attacks by, or sanctioned by, the Russian Federation government. The cyber attacks against Estonia and Georgia have forced Russia to evaluate its future cyber strategy. In examining the Russian focus on improving its cyber strategy some

conclusions can be drawn about the future of Russian cyber warfare. (Panarin, 2008)

As with many countries that have an advanced IT system, a sub-culture of hacking has developed. Even though the state sponsored university in St. Petersburg produces computer programmers that are highly regarded it is believed that most of the hackers are young and not educated at the university level. The reason behind the growth of Russian computer hackers is the prestige and monetary reward that hacking garners in a growing IT infrastructure. (Varoli, 2000)

The criminal organization, R.B.N., has been able to conduct its cyber activities with little interference from the Russian Federation government. The R.B.N. is very difficult to track on the internet as they are able to locate their activities from several different locations. The group has been involved in several different types of criminal cyber activities such as the use of malware, identity theft, and child pornography. Without any concerted effort to stop the R.B.N., and their ability to operate anywhere, R.B.N. is an organization that is positioned in Russian cyber activities now and in the future. (Markoff, 2008a)

One example of latitude and scope created by Russian indifference, a group identified by a computer security firm as a Russian gang conducted a botnet based computer operation operating in Wisconsin. The Russian gang was controlling as many as 100000 computers in an effort to steal passwords and information. As soon as the system was shut down the Russian gang moved its host computer system to a site in the Ukraine. This shows how resilient these gangs are when they can relocate their operating systems to countries that are out of reach of law enforcement of the country that they are targeting. (Markoff, 2008b)

The Russian responses to the recent cyber attacks are a guide to how they will react in the future. Valery Yashenko, vice director of the Institute of Information Security Issues at Lomonosov Moscow State University, advises the Russian government on the issues of cyber terrorism. Yashenko believes that there should be greater international cooperation concerning cyber security but does not think that the cyber attack on Estonia was of any real consequence. Yashenko indicates that the Russian Federation government is only concerned with cyber security matters that affect his own government. (Davis, 2009)

Not surprisingly, the Russian Federal Security Service (F.S.B.) is believed to employ its own hackers (Varoli, 2000). The manner of recruiting is a little different than normal ways of looking for employees. When an IT specialist or hacker is caught committing a cyber crime they may receive an offer to work for the F.S.B., or face criminal charges. According to a Russian computer security specialist hackers that were working for the F.S.B. attacked pro-Chechen web sites. According to the same computer security specialist the F.S.B. hackers have hacked into opposition newspapers in order to control information about the Russian Federation government and its leaders. The recruitment of hackers for offensive cyber attacks vice cyber defences is an indication of the future Russian Federation government cyber strategy. (Varoli, 2000)

The Russian Federation government has shown the capability for law enforcement in cyber space. Laws exist in Russia that make crimes committed on the internet punishable under the law. Russia has even established a computer crime unit, which it called Department "K," which operates under the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation (MVD). Department "K" is responsible for the detection, prevention, suppression, and solving crimes involving information technology. In 2008, Department "K" was able to identify 158 computer crimes and shut down seven illegal internet operations. The MVD is currently conducting Project "Clean Network" aimed a combating illegal uses of the internet (Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation, undated). It remains to be seen whether the efforts of Department "K" will have any negative impact on the R.B.N. or the cyber gangs that support the Russian government.

The Russian Federation Public Chamber[10] organized a discussion on Russian information warfare in September 2008 and *Just Russia*[11] political party hosted an international conference on information warfare in October 2008. The conclusions of the meeting were that Russia has grossly underestimated the role of information warfare and failed to 'champion' their goals and interests in the world media. (Panarin, 2008)

Dr. Igor Panarin, the Dean of the Faculty of International Relations of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Diplomatic Academy in Moscow, used the information warfare discussions to make several recommendations to the Russian government concerning information and cyber warfare. Dr.

Panarin proposes that Russia develop specialized management and analytical structures to counter information threats. Dr. Panarin proposes a system that has eight key components. (Panarin, 2008)

The first component is the creation of a Council for Public Diplomacy that will develop a single point of view for both the Russian government and Russian businesses. Government and business leaders are to be included on the council in order to ensure that all activities concerning foreign political media are coordinated. The second component is to create an advisor to the President of Russia for Information and Propaganda Activities in order to coordinate the foreign political information activities of the administration of the President, the government, different ministries, and the Russian Security Council. (Panarin, 2008)

The third and fourth components are to create state holding companies, one for foreign media affairs and one for the internet. The holding companies would be combined between business and government to see that Russian political positions were broadcast to the world. The information would not just be focused towards ethnic Russians but would be focused globally towards economic partners, future partners, adversaries, and overall world opinion. (Panarin, 2008)

The fifth component would be the creation of an information crisis action centre in order to ensure that Russia maintains the initiative when delivering the state message to the world. The information crisis action centre would be responsible for developing talking points and themes that would support the government in any crisis. (Panarin, 2008)

The sixth component would create an information countermeasures system that would counter enemy information operations. The information countermeasures system would include assets from business and the government. The seventh component focuses on a system on nongovernmental organizations that would operate throughout the world. (Panarin, 2008)

The final component would consist of a system for training information warfare specialists. This system would use existing educational institutions and academies to train specialists that would be able to operate at the diplomatic, management, or individual level. The training system would

also include the creation of an Information Special Forces that are highly trained to for conducting information operations in a crisis. (Panarin, 2008)

Along with the creation of the information warfare system Dr. Panarin believes that financing for information warfare needs to be increased by both the Russian government and by Russian businesses. The increased attention on information warfare is designed to increase Russia's image throughout the world and ensure that Russia is prepared for future conflict in the cyber and information arenas. (Panarin, 2008)

Statements by Russian government officials have been very similar to Dr. Panarin's position which makes the future of cyber warfare in Russia offensively poised. Colonel Aleksandr Drobyshevskiy, head of the Russian Federation Ministry of Defence Directorate for Press Service and Information, stated that Georgia won the information war during the conflict in South Ossetia and there is a need for the development of information and telecommunications technologies within the Ministry of Defence. Colonel Drobyshevskiy further advocates the creation of an information warfare system. (Svobodnaya Pressa, 2009)

Another clue to the future of Russian cyber warfare is the development of a new information warfare defensive strategy by the Russian Armed Forces General Staff. Colonel-General Anatoliy Nogovitsyn, Deputy Chief of the General Staff, stated that leading world powers will be able to conduct full-scale information warfare and that Russia must be prepared (Usov, 2009). General Nogovitsyn believes that Russia will be involved in a large-scale information war within two to three years that will be fought in the cyber world (Litovkin, 2009).

The existence of hackers that support the Russian government and information specialists within the Russian government have created an asset that will be used during future cyber conflicts. The Russian government's emphasis on developing cyber strategies will enable Russia to be prepared for future cyber conflict.

11. Countermeasures

We need to examine what can be done to counter cyber crimes and protect a nation's IT structure. Cyber countermeasures can be taken at the international level, followed by cyber defences at the national level, and

ending with actions that an individual computer user can make to improve cyber defence.

The International Telecommunication Union (ITU), the organization within the UN that is responsible for the international oversight of the world's telephone system, is developing a system for oversight of the internet. The ITU is working towards a convention against cybercrime that will provide international cooperation on issues concerning internet communications (Schrank, 2007). Members of the international community will need to work together in order to track and prosecute cyber criminals that operate outside of the country that is being attacked. Nations will also have to work together to share technical data to maintain cyber defences to keep up with the newest and ever changing cyber attacks. Hackers routinely share information on new techniques that can penetrate IT defence structures. Nations need to do the same to protect their own IT infrastructure, the same IT structure that affects the entire globe (Lipson, 2002:47-48).

Individual countries can improve their cyber defences within their own boundaries which would also improve the cyber security of the international IT system. Countries can make laws making cyber crimes illegal with punishments and programs that will deter potential cyber criminals. Governments can create a system that increases co-operation between the government, businesses, and academic institutions in order to improve their cyber defences. This co-operation could lead to an IT infrastructure that is resilient and able to withstand and recover from a cyber attack with little or no permanent damage to a country's IT structure. (Schrank, 2007)

In 8th section the computer user was identified as the weakest link in an IT system. Some individual countermeasures are easy to accomplish for any computer user. Actions like keeping antivirus and anti-spyware software up to date along with updating your web browser and operating system can greatly enhance your own computer security. Even following safe computer practices of not opening unknown attachments on emails that may carry viruses or malware are very instrumental in making the cyber environment more secure (Secure Works Press Release, 2008). The U.S. Department of Homeland Security (DHS) has tips for computer users posted on their website to increase internet security. The main points of the DHS website are to promote personal responsibility for increasing

cyber security and to promote best practices for safe computer usage. The best practices that DHS advertises are to make cyber security a habit by following three core practices. The three core practices are to "install anti-virus and anti-spyware programs and keep them up to date, install a firewall and keep it properly configured, and to regularly install updates on your computer's operating system" (Homeland Security, 2008). Computer users are the first line of defence in cyber security and their actions can help protect the cyber infrastructure that is used by all.

Conclusion

The international system is lacking in its ability to effectively manage issues of cyber security. The Russian Federation is perceived by the international community as a country that engages in or supports groups that are involved in cyber crime. International and regional organizations along with countries that interact with the Russian Federation have to deal with a reality that they may be the target of a cyber attack if they are in opposition to the government of the Russian Federation.

The issue of cyber security is ongoing. As more of the former Soviet satellites become more developed with an advanced IT structure they will have to face the realities of cyber attacks. Regardless of whether the government of the Russia Federation has been involved in any cyber attacks, or will be in the future, the reality remains that nations, groups, or individuals that are in opposition to Russia may face a cyber attack. The cyber attacks will be used to influence public opinion or to influence government leaders through the use of cyber pressure. Future conflicts that involve the use of force will also see cyber attacks in conjunction with combat operations. Currently international agreements and laws are inadequate which allows cyber attackers to take advantage of the lack of such laws and can conduct acts of civil disobedience on the internet.

The conflict in Georgia has been a motivator for military reform which includes reform in the cyber arena. The Russian government and the Russian military will continue to develop systems to improve both their offensive and defensive cyber capabilities. Russia will continue to capitalize on their diaspora present throughout the world to support their political positions but will have to realize that some of that diaspora will be in opposition to them and provide private support to organizations and nations that have received cyber attacks. Russia's active collection of cyber

defence secrets will also be a combat multiplier for them in future conflicts either alone in the cyber world or as part of a ground conflict.

Organizations and nations will be best served by creating a resilient defence in depth while educating users and managers of IT systems in best practices to counter the threat of a cyber attack. This defence in depth includes technical responses to counter the threats while ensuring that their IT systems are resilient and become effective after an attack. President Bush remarked in 2001 that, "It's time to work together to address the new security threats that we all face. And those threats are not simply missiles or weapons of mass destruction in the hands of untrustworthy countries. Cyber-terrorism is a threat, and we need to work on that together" (Verton, 2003:248).

References:

Aaviksoo, Jaak, 2007 (Nov. 28th). *Address by the Minister of Defence of the Republic of Estonia*, at The Centre for Strategic & International Studies, Washington, D.C.

Abdullaev, Nabi, 2006 (Oct 31st). New "Just Russia" Party Says Putin Knows Best. *St. Petersburg Times*. http://www.times.spb.ru/index.php?action_id=2&story_id=19303; (accessed April 10th, 2009).

Abreu, Elinor, 2001 (May 10th). Epic cyberattack reveals cracks in U.S. defense," (CNN.com, May 10, 2001) http://archives.cnn.com/2001/TECH/internet/05/10/3.year.cyberattack.idg/ (accessed April 10th, 2009).

Anon. 2007 (May 12th). A Cyber-Riot. *The Economist*. p. 55. http://lumen.cgsccarl.com/login?url= http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true &db=a9h&AN=25048355&site=ehost-live; (accessed December 19th, 2008).

Baltic News Service, 2009 (March 12th). Estonian Minister Lang Says European Arrest Warrant Possible for Cyber Attackers. *Baltic News Service*. https://www.opensource.gov, Document ID EUP20090312010002; (assessed April 10th, 2009).

Bradbury, Danny, 2009 (Feb. 5th). The Fog of Cyberwar. *The Guardian*. http://www.guardian.co.uk/technology/2009/feb/05/kyrgyzstan-cyberattack-internet-acess; (accessed March 22nd, 2009).

Buranov, Ivan; Vodo, Vladimir and Yegikyan, Seda. 2009 (March 12th). Pro-Kremlin Activist Admits Attack on Estonian Websites, Denies Criminal Wrongdoing, Translated by Open Source Centre. Moscow: *Konmersant Online.*

https://www.opensource.gov, Document ID CEP20090312021013; (accessed April 10th, 2009).

Central Intelligence Agency, page updated as of Dec. 4th, 2008. *The World Fact Book, Estonia.* https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ en.html; (accessed December 13th, 2008).

Collier, Mike, 2007 (Dec. 17th). Estonia: Cyber Superpower. *Business Week.* http://www.businessweek.com/globalbiz/
content/dec2007/gb20071217_535635.htm; (accessed August 27th, 2008).

Collier, Mike, 2007. Estonia: Cyber Superpower. *Business Week.* http://www.businessweek.com/
globalbiz/content/dec2007/gb20071217_535635.
htm?chan=globalbiz_europe+index+page_top+stories. (accessed August 27th, 2008).

Conway, Maura, 2007. *Information Warfare: Separating Hype from Reality,* ed. Armistead, Leigh. Washington, D.C.: Potomac Books, Inc. p. 82.

Cornish, Paul, 2009 (Feb. 2nd). *Cyber Security and Politically, Socially and Religiously Motivated Cyber Attacks.* Brussels: European Parliament. pp. 24-27. http://www.europarl.europa.eu/activities/committees/ studies.do?language=EN; (accessed February 19th, 2009).

Council of Europe, *Convention on Cybercrime* (Budapest, November 23rd, 2001) http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/en/Treaties/Html/185.htm; (accessed February 19th, 2009).

Council of Europe, *Convention on Cybercrime, Chart of signatures and ratifications,* http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/Commun/ChercheSig.asp?NT=185&CM=& DF=&CL=ENG; (accessed February 19th, 2009).

Council of Europe, *Convention on Cybercrime: Summary of the treaty,* http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/en/Summaries/Html/185.htm; (accessed February 19th, 2009).

Davis, Joshua, 2009. Hackers Take Down the Most Wired Country in Europe. *Wired Magazine*, Issue 15.

Davis, Joshua, 2009. Hackers Take Down the Most Wired Country in Europe. *Wired Magazine.* Issue 15.

DPA, 2008 (Aug. 11th). Estonia sends experts to Georgia to help combat cyber attacks. *The Earth Times.* http://www.earthtimes.org/articles/show/224942,Estonia-sends-experts-to-georgia-to-help-combat-cyber-attacks.html ; (accessed August 27th, 2008).

Estonian Ministry of Defence, 2008 (May). *Cyber Security Strategy.* Tallinn. p. 3.

EU News, Policy Positions & EU Actors online, 2008 (April 4th). NATO agrees common approach to cyber defence. *EurActiv.com.* http://www.euractiv.com/en/infosociety/nato-agrees-common-approach-cyber-defence/article-171377; (accessed February 18th, 2009).

European Commission. *External Relations: Russia.* http://ec.europa.eu/external_relations/russia/ index_en.htm (accessed April 8th, 2009).

From wire reports, 2007 (June 8th). Estonian PM, justice minister insist that cyber attacks came from Kremlin computers, *The Baltic Times.* http://www.baltictimes.com/news/articles/18038/; (accessed December 19th, 2008).

From wire reports, 2007 (May 18th). Kremlin denies involvement in cyber attacks on Estonia, *The Baltic Times.* http://www.baltictimes.com /news/articles/17908/; (accessed December 19th, 2008).

From wire reports, 2007 (May 18th). The Kremlin denies involvement in cyber attacks on Estonia. *The Baltic Times.* http://www.baltictimes.com /news/articles/17908/; (accessed December 19th, 2008).

Gee, Alastair, 2008 (Nov.). The Dark Art of Cyberwar. *Foreign Policy.* http://www.foreignpolicy.com/story/cms.php?story_id=4553; (accessed December 19th, 2008).

Greenberg, Andy, 2008 (May 14th). The State of Cyber Security: When Cyber Terrorism Becomes State Censorship. *Forbes.com.* http://www.forbes.com/2008/05/14/cyberattacks-terrorism-estonia-tech-security08-cx_ag_0514attacks.html; (accessed December 19th, 2008).

Griggs, Brandon, 2008 (Sept. 12th). U.S. at risk of cyberattacks, experts say. *CNN.com.* http://www.cnn.com/2008/TECH/08/18/cyber.warfare/index.html; (accessed Oct. 24th, 2008 and Feb. 14th, 2009).

Homeland Security. *Cybersecurity: Make it a Habit.* http://www.dhs.gov/zxprevprot/programs/ gc_1202746448575.shtm (accessed March 11th, 2009).

Jones, Huw, 2008 (March 12th). Estonia calls for EU law to combat cyber attacks. *Reuters.* http://www.reuters.com/articlePrint?articleId=USL 1164404620080312; (accessed February 19th, 2009).

Kampmark, Binoy, 2003 (Autumn). Cyber Warfare Between Estonia and Russia. *Contemporary Review.* pp. 288-293.

Korns, Stephen and Kastenberg, Joshua, 2008/2009 (Winter). Georgia's Left Hook. *Parameters.* Vol. XXXVIII, No. 4. p. 64.

Lipson, Howard, 2002. *Tracking and Tracing Cyber-Attacks: Technical Challenges and Global Policy Issues.* Pittsburgh, PA. pp. 47-48.

Litovkin, Dmitriy, 2009 (Feb. 27th). The General Staff is Preparing for a Cyber War, Translated by Open Source Centre. Moscow: *Izvestiya.* https://www.opensource.gov, Document ID CEP20090302358005; (accessed March 7th, 2009).

Loeb, Vernon, 2001 (May 7th). Pentagon Computers Under Assault. *Washington Post.* A02.

Markoff, John, 2008a (Aug. 13th). Before The Gunfire, Cyberattacks. *New York Times.* A1.

Markoff, John, 2008b (Aug. 6th). Russian Gang Hijacking PCs in Vast Scheme. *New York Times.* C6.

McLaughlin, Daniel, 2008 (July 2nd). Lithuania accuses Russian hackers of cyber assault after collapse of over 300 websites. *Irish Times.* p. 10. http://lumen.cgsccarl.com/login?url=http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?did=150 3762091&sid=2&Fmt=3&clientld=5094&RQT=309&VName=PQD; (accessed February 20th, 2009).

Melikishvili, Alexander, 2008 (Dec.)/2009 (Jan.). Recent Events Suggest Cyber Warfare Can Become New Threat. *WMD Insights.* http://www.wmdinsights.com/I29/I29_G3_RecentEvents.htm; (accessed February 19-20th, 2009).

Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation, undated. *Clean Network*, Translated by Open Source Centre. Moscow: Ministry of Internal affairs of the Russian Federation. https://www.opensource.gov, Document ID CEP20090406546003 (accessed April 9th, 2009).

National Intelligence Council, 2008 (Nov.). *Global Trends 2025: A Transformed World.* U.S. Government Printing Office. p. 71. http://www.dni.gov/nic/NIC_2025_project.html; (accessed February 20th, 2009).

Nikiforov, IIya, 2008 (Sept. 29th). Hot Fellows in Saakashvili's Service. Tallinn Exports Specialists in Intelligence and Democracy. Trans. Open Source Centre. *Moscow Nezavisimaya Gazeta.* https://www.opensource.gov, Document ID CEP20080929021009; (accessed December 18th, 2008).

North Atlantic Treaty Organization, 1949 (April). *The North Atlantic Treaty.* Washington D.C. http://www.nato.int/docu/basictxt/treaty.htm; (accessed February 17th, 2009).

North Atlantic Treaty Organization, 2008 (April 3rd). *Bucharest Summit Declaration.* Item 47. http://www.nato.int/docu/pr/2008/p08-049e.html (accessed February 18th, 2009).

North Atlantic Treaty Organization, 2008 (May 14th). NATO opens new centre of excellence on cyber defence. *NATO News.* http://www. nato.int/docu/update/2008/05-may/e0514a.html; (accessed February 18th, 2009).

North Atlantic Treaty Organization, undated. *Defending against cyber attacks.* NATO Topics. http://www.nato.int/issues/cyber_defence/ practice.html; (accessed February 18th, 2009).

North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Official website of the Cooperative Cyber Defence Centre of Excellence. http://transnet.act.nato.int/WISE/TNCC/ CentresofE/CCD; (accessed February 18th, 2009).

Organization for Security and Co-Operation in Europe, 2008 (June 4th). *OSCE can play important role in cyber security, says Estonian Defence Minister* [on-line press release] http://www.osce.org/ pc/item_1_31483.html; (accessed February 19th, 2009).

Panarin, Igor, 2008 (Oct. 15th). The Information Warfare System: The Mechanism for Foreign Propaganda Requires Renewal, Translated by Open Source Centre. Moscow: *Voyenno-Promyshlennyy Kuryer.* https://www.opensource.gov, Document ID CEP20081016548020; (accessed October 22nd, 2008).

Prygi.blogspot.com, 2008 (Feb. 8th). *Ivan vs. Jaan. Russian Army Analyst to the World: You are defenceless against a cyber attack.* http://prygi.blogspot.com/; (accessed December 20th, 2008).

Rhoads, Christopher, 2009. Kyrgyzstan Knocked Offline. *Wall Street Journal.* p. 10.

Schrank, Peter, 2007 (May 24th). Cyberwarfare: Newly nasty. *Economist.com.* http://www.economist.com/ world/international/PrinterFriendly.cfm?story_id=9228757; (accessed August 8th, 2008).

Secure Works Press Release, 2008 (Sept. 22nd). *Compromised US and Chinese Computers Launch Greatest Number of Cyber Attacks, according to SecureWorks' Data.* http://www.secureworks.com/media/ press_releases/20080922-attacks/; (accessed February 19th, 2009).

Shachtman, Noah, 2009 (March 11th). Kremlin Kids: We Launched the Estonian Cyber War. *Wired Magazine.* Blog. http://blog.wired.com/defence/2009/03/pro-kremlin-gro.html (accessed March 14th, 2009).

Socor, Vladimir, 2008 (May 15th). NATO Creates Cyber Defence Centre In Estonia. *Eurasia Daily Monitor.* http://www.jamestown.org/single/ ?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews[tt_news]=33636; (accessed December 18th, 2008).

Statement by Ambassador of the U.S. Mission to the OSCE, Julie Finley, 2008 (May 8th). *Statement on Cyber-attacks Against Radio Free Europe in Belarus: OSCE will defend information-sharing efforts from criminal attacks, says Finley [transcript on-line].* Vienna. http://www.america.gov/st/texttrans-english/2008/May /20080508115033eaifas0.3709833.html; (accessed February 20th, 2009).

Svobodnaya Pressa, 2009 (March 17th). *Ministry of Defence Planning Information Warfare*, Translated by Open Source Centre. Moscow: Svobodnaya Pressa. https://www.opensource.gov, Document ID CEP20090318358009; (accessed April 5th, 2009).

Tanner, Jari and Peach, Gary. 2008 (May 14th). NATO allies sign agreement on cyber defense centre. *International Herald Tribune.* www.iht.com/articles/ap/2008/05/14/europe/EU-GEN-NATO-Cyber-Defences.php; (accessed February 24th, 2009).

The Associated Press, 2008 (May 14th). NATO allies sign agreement on cyber defense centre. *International Herald Tribune.* http://www.iht.com

/articles/ap/2008/05/14/europe/EU-GEN-NATO-Cyber-Defences.php; (accessed February 24th, 2009).

The Russian Federation Public Chamber Website, undated. *About the House: On the Public Chamber of Russian Federation.* http://translate.google.ru/translate?hl=en&langpair=ru|en&u=http://www.oprf. ru/, (accessed April 10th, 2009).

Thomas, Timothy, 2009. The Bear Went Through the Mountain: Russia Appraises its Five-Day War in South Ossetia. *Journal of Slavic Military Studies.* pp. 55-59.

United Nations, 1945 (June 26th). *Charter of the United Nations*: Article 1. San Francisco. http://www.un.org/aboutun/charter/chapter1.shtml; (accessed February 19th, 2009).

Usov, Dmitriy, 2009 (Feb. 25th). Russia is Preparing for the Wars of the Future, Translated by Open Source Centre. Moscow: *Vzglyad.* https://www.opensource.gov, Document ID CEP2090227358005; (accessed March 7th, 2009).

Varoli, John, 2000 (June 29th). In Bleak Russia, a Young Man's thoughts turn to Hacking. *The New York Times* on the web. http://www.ssl .stu.neva.ru/psw/misc/29hack.html; (accessed December 20th, 2008).

Verton, Dan, 2003. *Black Ice: The Invisible Threat of Cyber-Terrorism.* Emeryville, CA: McGraw-Hill/Osborne. 32-33; 248.

Vesilind, Priit, 2008. *The Singing Revolution.* Tallinn: Varrak Publishers Ltd. p. 15, 78, 172.

Watson, Steve, 2008 (Aug. 12th). *Russia Today* Website Targeted In Cyber Attacks. *Infopass.net.* http://www.inforwars.net/articles/august 2008/120808Attacked.htm; (accessed December 19th, 2008).

Wilson, Clay, 2006. *Cyberterrorism and Computer Attacks*, ed. Brown, Lawrence. New York: Novinka Books. pp. 15-16.

Wired Staff, 2009 (March 5th). Botnet Hacker Gets Four Years. *Wired Magazine.* http://blog.wired.com/27bstroke6/2009/03/botnet-hacker-g.html; (accessed March 24th, 2009).

---

[1] Personal recollection of the author who lived in Estonia from July 2007 to June 2008.

[2] Multiple sources were used along with the author's personal recollections of living in Estonia. Three of the main sources that describe the attack are: Davis, Joshua, 2009. Hackers Take Down the Most Wired Country in Europe. *Wired Magazine.* Issue 15; Kampmark, Binoy, Autumn 2003. Cyber Warfare Between Estonia And Russia. *Contemporary Review.* pp. 288-293; Aaviksoo, Jaak, 2007 (Nov. 28th) Address by the Minister of Defence of the Republic of Estonia at The Centre for Strategic & International Studies, Washington, D.C.

[3] This reference offers an Estonian view of its history and underlines the reasons behind the friction between Russia and Estonia.

[4] SecureWorks is an internet security firm based out of Atlanta. The company tracks suspicious activities throughout the internet.

[5] Entered into force refers to the date that the treaty becomes enforceable according to the provisions of the treaty by the members that have agreed to the treaty.

[6] *WMD Insights* is a journal sponsored by the U.S. Defence Threat Reduction Agency.

[7] Idea based on comments used by Jaak Aaviksoo in 2007. Minister Aaviksoo used this technique to show that some members of the audience may unknowingly be helping cyber-terrorists. Jaak Aaviksoo, Address by the Minister of Defence of the Republic of Estonia delivered to the Centre for Strategic & International Studies, Washington, D.C., November 28, 2007.

[8] *Russia Today* is a globally broadcast news channel broadcast in the English language and owned by the Russian government news agency RIA-Novosti. Similar in programming to CNN and BBC but with a Russian perspective on events in the world news.

[9] Information from a Russian and English language blog that discusses issues concerning Russia.

[10] The Russian Federation Public Chamber is an organization created in 2005 to oversee all aspects of government and to act as a consultant to the heads of the Russian government. The Russian Federation Public Chamber Website, About the House: On the Public Chamber of Russian Federation, http://translate.google.ru/translate?hl=en&langpair=ru|en&u=http://www.oprf.ru/. (accessed April 10th, 2009).

[11] A Just Russia is a Russian political party created as an opposition party but still supports the power of the Russian executive branch (Abdullaev, 2006).

Soviet Intelligence in Afghanistan: The Only Efficient Tool of the Politburo

By Egor Evsikov*

The final years of the Cold War, the late 1970s and early 1980s, were marked by a period of increased tension between the Soviet Union and the United States. Under the presidency of Jimmy Carter, the policy of *Détente* between the Western and Communist blocks began to unravel following the 1979 Iranian Islamist revolution and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. These developments left the United States without its most vital ally in the Middle East and brought Soviets within 300 miles of the Persian Gulf. Elsewhere in the region, the United States position looked increasingly vulnerable when American embassy was burnt in Islamabad by Islamic extremists the after the stability of Saudi regime was threatened by the violent seizure of Mecca. The 1979 events were seen as blows to American international prestige and power and many in Washington thought that it was time to strike back at Moscow by outspending the Soviets in the arms race, and turning Afghanistan into a "Soviet Vietnam" by aiding the anti-Communist insurgency there. (Gaddis, 2005:349)

The Soviet governing body that was responsible for its major policies under Leonid Brezhnev, the General Secretary of the Communist Party in 1979, was collectively known as the Politburo (short for the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union). The Politburo employed the KGB (*Komitet gosudarstvennoy bezoposnosti,* translated as "the Committee of State Security"), and the GRU (*Glavnoye razvedovatel'noye upravleniye,* translated as "the Main Intelligence Directorate") intelligence services, as their key foreign policy tools. The KGB and the GRU performed tasks that went far beyond their traditional roles as civilian and military intelligence services. In addition to collecting information about enemies of the Soviet state, these Soviet intelligence services managed Special Forces that were trained to perform all kinds of "sensitive" missions, and in case of the KGB, also played the roles of secret police and border guards, keeping Soviet population under control, and Soviet borders sealed.

---

* Egor Evsikov is a Corporal in Canadian Land Forces.

The Politburo decision to invade Afghanistan in 1979 reflected the overall degradation of Soviet relations with the West, and was motivated primarily by their fears of instability spreading across the border into Muslim regions of the Soviet Union, and of either American (via Pakistan) or Iranian Islamist advances into Afghanistan. Correspondingly, the Soviet decision to withdraw from Afghanistan after 1985 was motivated primarily by a desire to improve relations with the West (Halliday & Tanin, 1998:1371). Soviet intelligence services, together with the Soviet military, were tasked with carrying out these two successive strategic tasks assigned to them by the Politburo. In order to create conditions for Soviet intervention, intelligence services initiated the December 1979 removal of Afghan Communist leader - Hafizullah Amin from power and replacing him with their protégé Babrak Kramal. In 1986, in an attempt to create conditions that would allow an eventual Soviet pullout, the KGB orchestrated another regime change by replacing Babrak Karmal with even more closely controlled by KGB leader Mohammad Najibullah (*Ibid.,* p. 1366). On the operational and tactical level intervention was planned to closely resemble the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, but was instead forced to adopt intelligence service methods used for combating *Basmachestvo*, an anti-Soviet movement in Central Asia that occurred between 1918 and 1935 (Oliker, 2008:2-3). Soviet intelligence operations aimed at defeating the insurgency had a mixed record with some success but proved ultimately ineffective due to the failures of the Soviet military to adapt to counterinsurgency warfare, while intelligence operations aimed at regime changes in Afghanistan were successful and fulfilled both political-operational priority missions assigned to them by the Politburo.

This article will examine the role played by the Soviet intelligence services in the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. It will also provide a background of Soviet historic experience in its relations with Afghanistan, and with combating Muslim resistance in Central Asia. The focus of this article will be on examining Soviet intelligence service operations in Afghanistan, including the operation by KGB and GRU Special Forces units that removed Hafizullah Amin from power in 1979, operations that were aimed at combating the *mujahideen* insurgency, as well as operations aimed at stabilizing the Kabul regime, with the ultimate goal of allowing the Soviets to withdraw from Afghanistan.

The land-locked Asian kingdom of Afghanistan was first featured in Russian geopolitical calculations during the Napoleonic wars of early

nineteenth century. In 1801, Russian emperor Paul II was considering a joint Franco-Russian invasion of India and sent his Cossacks on a scouting mission to collect information and to create maps of Central Asia and Afghanistan (Riasanovsky, 1993:275). British fear of a Russian invasion of India via Afghanistan played an important role in the British desire to incorporate Afghanistan into the British Empire, and led to two Anglo-Afghan wars in the nineteenth century (Ewans, 2005:18). By playing off both European empires against each other, Afghanistan managed to remain independent throughout the nineteenth century despite losing vast territories to the British after the imposition of the Duran Line in 1893 (Kakar, 1995:3). In 1907, in order to reconcile its differences in the period leading up to the First World War, the Russian Tsar signed a pact with the British agreeing that Afghanistan lay outside its sphere of influence (Grau & Gress, 2002:xxii). After the Bolsheviks seized power in Russia, they were the first power to recognize Afghanistan as an independent nation in 1919 and during the same year sent weapons to help Afghans fight the British "imperialists" (Feifer, 2009:21).

Soviet Union enjoyed friendly relations with the Afghan monarchy despite its growing support of Afghan pro-Soviet leftists. Most Western countries had little interest in Afghanistan at the time. In 1954 United States Secretary of State John F. Dulles described Afghanistan as a country of no "security interest" to Washington. This neglect, in combination with increasingly hostile relations with Pakistan due to numerous border disputes dating back to the Duran Line agreement, left Afghanistan with no other option but to approach the Soviet Union for economic and military aid (Kakar, 1995:9). In 1973 Prime Minister Mohammad Daoud overthrew King Mohammad Zahir in cooperation with pro-Moscow leftist officers (much of Afghanistan's officer cadre went to schools in the Soviet Union since 1950s) and declared Afghanistan a republic (*Ibid.*, p. 12).

Two leftist pro-Soviet factions grew increasingly prominent in Afghanistan in the 1970s: Parcham (Banner), predominantly Dari-speaking, urban and upper-class, and the Khalq (Masses), a more orthodox Marxist-Leninist movement comprised mostly of Pashtun-speaking middle class and military officers (Harrison, 1995:18). There was also a separate military faction headed by Abdul Qadir with direct ties to the GRU, the Soviet military intelligence apparatus. The Parcham faction had close KGB links via the International Department of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), and was considered more reasonable by Moscow than the

Khalq faction, which was viewed as too radical and unpredictable (*Ibid.*, p. 19). The Khalq and Parcham factions united into the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) in 1977, but deep divisions within the party remained (Halliday & Tanin, 1998:1360). In April of 1978, a small group of Pashtun military officers who were mostly members of the Khalq faction, seized power in Kabul. The coup plotters, angered by Daoud's government rapprochement with Pakistan and alleged "sell-out" over the Durand Line issue, were led by Nur Muhammad Taraki and Hafizullah Amin. On April 27th of that year, a column of approximately fifty T-62 tanks, supported by six hundred soldiers and helped by several MiGs and SU-25s, rolled into Kabul and bombed the presidential palace. After a night of fighting on the streets of Kabul with troops loyal to Daoud, they murdered him and his family; and by next morning were in control of the capital (Harrison, 1995:26). The Communist coup in Afghanistan caught the Soviets by surprise. It was a last-minute operation orchestrated primarily by Khalq, in which "support from Soviet intelligence agencies and military advisers, if any, came only after they were confronted with a virtual fait accompli" (*Ibid.*, p. 25).

Reacting in an ad hoc manner to the developments in Kabul, Soviets decided to welcome the new Communist regime. Taraki met with Brezhnev and was able to secure massive Soviet assistance, which allowed the new regime to launch sweeping programs of land distribution, emancipation of women, and mass education. However, majority of rural Afghans saw these reforms as a destruction of the traditional Afghan social structure (Grau, 2002). The new government, which failed even to reconcile the divisions within the PDPA, and whose power base itself was confined to the military and major Afghan cities, lacked popular support and soon faced open armed resistance from the opposition. In March of 1979, the Islamist opposition in Herat organized an army mutiny and seized control of the city. As many as forty Soviet advisers, their wives and children, and a number of KGB residents, were massacred along with hundreds of Afghan government officials, and their body parts were triumphantly paraded through the streets (Andrew & Mitrokhin, 2005:392). Reports from the Kabul KGB residency, which had a network of well-placed agents in the Afghan official establishment, forecasted that unless Amin was removed, an "anti-Soviet Islamic Republic" would replace the Communist regime (Andrew & Gordievsky, 1990:480). During the Politburo meeting that followed, Defence Minister Dmitry Ustinov and chief Soviet ideologue Mikhail Suslov supported Soviet troop commitment

to Afghanistan while KGB leader Yuri Andropov urged more cautioned approach (Feifer, 2009:12).

Before the invasion of Afghanistan, Soviet army and intelligence services had previous experience in fighting against native Islamic resistance in Central Asia in the 1920s and early 1930s. Following the 1917 Communist Revolution, and during the Russian Civil War, Bolsheviks encountered strong resistance in Turkestan (historic name for Soviet Central Asia, which today includes modern Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Turkmenistan) from the local forces known as the *Basmachi* (Oliker, 2008:1-2). The social and political structures of the local population were barely affected by the Russian Imperial conquest in the nineteenth century, and remained virtually untouched since the Middle Ages, when Turkestan had been an important centre of Islamic civilization (Olcott, 1981:353). The Bolshevik attempt to restructure Muslim society met with strong local opposition and led to years of armed conflict, known as the *Basmachi* revolt. There were a number of similarities between the Afghan *mujahideen* insurgency in the 1980s and *Basmachi* insurgency that occurred 60 years earlier.

Basmachi insurgents were initially led by traditional authorities such as feudal aristocracy, tribal leaders, clergy, landowners and merchants, who successfully rallied deeply conservative and religious Central Asian Muslims, primarily in rural areas, to defend Islam and resist Russian oppression (Ritter, 1985:484). At the end of 1919 there were over 20000 *Basmachi* active fighters, and Soviet control of Central Asia was limited to the city of Tashkent, with most rural areas and small towns under rebel control (Olcott, 1981:355). However, a year later, the Red Army, aided by the disunity among the rebels, drove the *Basmachi* from nearly all of the Central Asian cities, into small towns and mountain villages (*Ibid.*, 358). Organized large-scale resistance by the *Basmachi* ceased in 1924, however, localized small-scale resistance, which took on the characteristics of a true guerrilla conflict, continued for another ten years. This resistance was particularly strong in Tadzhikistan, where the physical and cultural landscape, with its rugged mountainous terrain and conservative Muslim and tribal population, closely resembled that of Afghanistan. Under the leadership of local mullahs, and warlord Ibrahim Bek, who called for *jihad* against the Soviets, the *Basmachi* resistance in Tadzhikistan lasted for years, and was not fully crushed until 1935 (Ritter, 1985:485). Soviet authorities adopted extremely harsh measures to eradicate the *Basmachestvo*, including

scorched-earth campaigns and mass deportations of the local population. According to some estimates, over 1200 villages were destroyed by the Red Army, while the Cheka arrested and deported over 270000 Central Asians accused of aiding the *Basmachi* (*Ibid.*, 488). Soviet military intelligence and OGPU troops (the predecessor of the KGB) had special detachments who masqueraded as *basmachi* forces in order to intercept weapons and rebels crossing Soviet borders, and to ambush real *basmachi* rebels (Pogranichnyye voiska KGB SSSR v Afganistane 1979-1989, Undated). Central Asia was finally tamed by a combination of brutal terror, effective intelligence operations, indigenous forces (many local Muslims joined the Red Army) and economic modernization that undermined the influence of traditional feudal and clerical elites. The same methods were relied upon by the Soviets in their attempt defeat the *mujahideen* rebels in Afghanistan, but failed because unlike Turkestan the Soviet leadership had no long-term commitment to the occupation of Afghanistan.

Despite KGB attempts to maintain unity of PDPA personal, ethnic and ideological rivalries among Afghan Communists escalated. In September of 1979, new Afghan Prime Minister Amin seized power from President Taraki, and then secretly murdered him. Amin, who was an even more ideologically dogmatic Marxist than Taraki, initiated radical modernization reforms that were rapidly alienating conservative rural majority of Afghanistan. Amin also unleashed a campaign of terror against his rivals within the PDPA by murdering hundreds of Parchamis (Giustozzi, 2000:3). Although Moscow remained quiet publicly and maintained economic and military aid to Amin's government, KGB reports from Kabul became increasingly negative. In addition to being frustrated by Amin's purges against KGB-friendly Parchamis and his reckless radical reforms, the KGB suspected that Amin had links with the American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) (in his younger years he had studied at the Columbia University), could not control his temper, conspired with the Chinese, intended to steal Afghan government funds, and was secretly planning to switch sides in the Cold War (Andrew & Mitrokhin, 2005:392). Most of the rumours that eventually convinced the KGB that Amin was contemplating turning to the Americans were in fact spread by Amin's Parcham rivals. Defected KGB Major General Kalugin admitted that KGB made a crucial mistake by taking the bait and suspecting that Amin was indeed a CIA agent (Harrison, 1995:44). However, it was Politburo rather than KGB that made a decision to get rid of Amin, a decision that ultimately created even more problems for the Soviet Union. Brezhnev,

who was personally impressed by Taraki whom he met in Moscow on several occasions, was outraged by his murder (Halliday & Tanin, 1998:1372). The Politburo was also unable to see the world without the ideological prism of Marxism-Leninism. Even Andropov the most cautious member of the Politburo saw Afghanistan as a part of a worldwide struggle for influence with the United States (Andrew & Mitrokhin, 2005:413). Personal bias, spy paranoia and ideological bias all contributed to Politburo's decision to start a series of actions that eventually committed the Soviet Union to ten years of war in Afghanistan.

After Taraki's murder, the Politburo on Brezhnev request met to weigh its options in Afghanistan (after the public exposure following Bulgarian writer Giorgi Markov assassination in London all KGB operations against foreign political leaders had to be approved by the Politburo [Andrew & Gordievsky, 1990:480]) These options included the possibility of just removing Amin from power or his removal in combination with large-scale Soviet military intervention in order to ensure a more secure pro-Soviet regime in Kabul. Contrary to the Western rhetoric of the time still supported even to this day by many, Kremlin's geopolitical calculations did not include driving "Soviet tanks south to the warm waters of the Indian Ocean" or bringing "the Persian Gulf within strike range of military aircraft" (Marshall, 2007:70). In fact, as it was correctly pointed out by chief architect of Cold War era containment George F. Kennan, Afghanistan represented a natural security concern for Moscow and its intervention was defensive rather than offensive in nature (Gibbs, 2006:241).

In order to implement its foreign policy and create the desired outcome in Kabul, the Politburo turned to Soviet intelligence services. After some debate within the Politburo, there was a consensus that the desired outcome included a removal of Amin from power, and his replacement with the Parcham leader with KGB links, Babrak Karmal (Halliday & Tanin, 1998:1372). Initially, the KGB allegedly tried to engineer the death of Amin by covert means, but a number of assassination attempts failed. This failure, in combination with the unexpected resilience of Amin's regime (Soviets expected his fragile hold on power to last for only few weeks, but despite these predictions, Amin managed to secure the loyalty of Khalq supporters in the military and major cities, which gradually strengthened his position), brought the option of a military intervention to the table (Halliday & Tanin, 1998:1362).

Intelligence services were entrusted with carrying out Special Forces action against the presidential residence of Amin, which was to coincide with a rapid Czechoslovak-style military intervention. Just as in the previous invasions of Hungary and Czechoslovakia, an elaborate campaign of deception, or *maskirovka*, was organized to avoid suspicion that intervention was imminent. Amin was still receiving military and economic aid from the Soviet Union days before the December 1979 coup (Andrew & Mitrokhin, 2005:400). According to an expert on Soviet military affairs Stephen Blank:

> Moscow obtained complete operational surprise vis-à-vis Kabul, Pakistan, and the United States, despite numerous warnings and intelligence analyses suggesting that this was in the offing. This operation also successfully implemented Maskirovka (cover, concealment, and deception). Western analysts and governments were completely fooled. This use of Maskirovka applies to all levels of a military operation and even a war since Soviet commanders were directed to employ all forms of it at each level: tactical, operational, and strategic. (Blank, 1993)

On the night of the invasion, Kabul was infiltrated by the "Muslim battalion" of the GRU Spetsnaz, which was comprised of Special Forces recruited in southern Soviet republics (with many Tajiks and Uzbeks who spoke Farsi) dressed in Afghan Army uniforms. Supported by KGB Spetsnaz Groups codenamed "Thunder" and "Zenith", they conducted a daring assault on Tadzh-Bek presidential palace, overpowered stiff resistance from Amin's presidential guard, and killed the Afghan leader (Andrew & Mitrokhin, 2005:402). According to some allegations, hours before the assault started, Amin was poisoned during the reception held in honour of the PDPA anniversary, and was treated by Soviet doctors when Spetsnaz troops entered his palace (Grau, 2002). During the same night, KGB and GRU Spetsnaz, together with Soviet army paratroopers, secured other important targets in Kabul, including the Afghan Defence and Internal ministries, and the secret service headquarters and communications centers (*Ibid.*). On the morning after the assault, there was a radio broadcast claiming to be from Radio Kabul announcing that Babrak Karmal had assumed power and requested "fraternal Soviet military assistance". In fact, the broadcast was coming from the Soviet Army headquarters, to the great confusion of Radio Kabul staff (Andrew and Mitrokhin, 2005:402). The initial December 1979 incursion into

Afghanistan resulted in Soviet losses of 24 killed in action, 44 killed in accidents, and 74 wounded in action (Grau, 2002). Despite these losses (most were in fact incidental and fratricidal) Special Forces of KGB and GRU successfully completed the task of neutralizing Amin's loyalists and liquidating the Afghan leader before Afghan military, leadership or population could realize what was going on.

While organizing regime changes in Kabul, the KGB and the GRU were also involved in combating *mujahideen* insurgency in order to strengthen pro-Moscow regimes in Kabul. Soviet intelligence services faced a number of difficulties in this endeavour, but nonetheless proved to be by far more innovative than the Soviet army. It soon became clear to them that the Soviet Union faced resistance in Afghanistan of a very different nature than its latest experience in Czechoslovakia, or even its more rough experience gained in Hungary in 1956, when they had to fight armed Hungarians in the streets of Budapest. Soviet intelligence services were forced to recall the lessons of *guerrilla warfare* learned during and immediately after the Second World War, and even recall the experience of fighting against the *basmachi* of Central Asia in the 1920s and early 1930s (Mitrokhin, 2002). They were also forced to innovate and adapt to unfamiliar situations encountered while fighting a protracted counterinsurgency campaign. The KGB and the GRU came up with a number of ways to combat the *mujahideen* on operational, political, and tactical levels, including campaigns of disinformation, Special Forces operations that involved infiltration, sabotage, terrorism, recruitment of local support, and even of operations outside Afghan borders, striking at Pakistan and other *mujahideen* backers. For this purpose, in 1980 they assisted with the creation of an Afghan intelligence service closely modelled after the KGB, called the Department of State Information Services (riasat-i khidmat-i ettela'at-i doulati), more commonly known as KhAD (after 1986 it was renamed the Ministry of State Security, or WAD (vizarat-i amniyat-i-daulati)). Officially, it was a department within the prime minister's office, but in reality it functioned as a powerful independent ministry (Halliday and Tanin, 1998:1366). KhAD agents were trained in the KGB school at Balashikha, Uzbekistan, as well as in other KGB training facilities. After 1979, KhAD played a major role in consolidating the Afghan state and overall constructions of the PDPA institutions, a much more important role than is normally undertaken by a security organization. The KhAD became a major player within the politics of Afghanistan (*Ibid.*, p. 1366).

Disinformation and deception played a major role in the Soviet intelligence effort to defeat the insurgency. Among more successful intelligence disinformation operations was one that targeted Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, a prominent *mujahideen* leader (and one of the present leaders of the insurgency in Afghanistan). The KGB falsified a personal letter from Hekmatyar to one of the *Hizbi Islami* leaders that was later published in a newspaper. The letter discredited Hekmatyar in the eyes of other *mujahideen* leaders and the Pakistani authorities. This KGB disinformation encouraged hostility between the Pashtun forces of Hekmatyar and the Tajik forces of Rabbani and Massoud that led to violent clashes amongst the *mujahideen* (Andrew & Mitrokhin, 2005:418). Disinformation contributed to an atmosphere of mutual distrust and suspicion within the *mujahideen* that even outlasted the Soviet occupation, and led to a bloody civil war in Afghanistan in the 1990s. On a tactical level, Soviet intelligence services managed Special Forces teams known as "false bands" that would pose as the *mujahideen* groups. Especially notorious were KGB "Cascade" units, according to KGB defector Vasili Mitrokhin:

> The KGB 'Cascade' units operated in parallel throughout the country. They were given broad powers. As well as terrorist actions, sabotage and the recruitment of agents, they were active among the tribes, in disrupting the activities of the Mujahedin, and in the setting-up of self-defence units. They recruited informants, guides and other agents to expose the hiding places of the rebels in the towns and drew up plans of their houses and their approaches. In many ways the KGB compared the national liberation struggle of the Afghan Mujahedin to the *basmachestvo* in the USSR. It therefore thought it appropriate to carry over to Afghanistan the methods and tactics the Cheka had used against the *basmachi*. (Mitrokhin, 2002)

The KGB, GRU and KhAD also actively recruited local collaborators in order to undercut the insurgency. A number of pro-government militias and self-defence units were set up under the control of these intelligence services. The largest of such militias was the *Jebhe-yi Melli-yi Paderwatan* (National Front for the Fatherland), however, it relied primarily on ethnic Uzbeks, and had difficulty recruiting from other Afghan ethnic groups (Marshall, 2007:72). Irregular military forces set by the KhAD also included militias organized from government employees as 'self-defence groups' in government buildings, factories, educational establishments and residential areas. A number of Afghan tribes were recruited into militias,

either bribed by economic incentives or lured by prospects to settle scores with *mujahideen* rivals. These militias were also joined by a number of ex-*mujahideen* who surrendered and co-operated with the government (Halliday & Tanin, 1998:1365). Despite the widespread animosity that the Soviets were facing in Afghanistan, a number of tribal factions either supported the Kabul regime or shifted back and fourth between the PDPA government and the resistance (Harrison, 1995:148). According to Vasili Mitrokhin: "KhAD had talks with 315 tribal elders representing 18 large tribes accounting for 1 million people altogether. Some tribes were given material assistance through KhAD. The leaders were bribed and armed units hired to cover some parts of the borders with Pakistan and Iran" (Mitrokhin, 2002). Hazaras an ethnic minority long persecuted in the Tadjik and Pashtun dominated Afghanistan were for the first time in history were given some representation in the government in attempt to bring ethnic minorities on the side of the regime. Despite this effort great majority of rural Tadjiks and Pashtuns comprising some two thirds of the population remained deeply hostile to the policies originated in Kabul and Moscow, the policies that they perceived as un-Islamic and hostile to their way of life (Giustozzi, 2000:242).

As the *mujahideen* insurgency spread KGB assessments increasingly blamed foreign – especially American and Pakistani – arms supplies as the root causes of this escalation (Andrew & Mitrokhin, 2005:413). The Soviet Union was severely handicapped by a non-benign regional security environment in which China, Iran, Pakistan and the US conspired, to varying degrees, to undermine its efforts in Afghanistan (Marshall, 2007:83). The only regional power that was friendly to the Soviet Union was India. Delhi provided some crucial intelligence support to Moscow, mostly with regards to information about Pakistani aid to the *mujahideen* (Bradsher, 1999:106). Despite their limited options, the Soviet intelligence services, through its proxies in KhAD, did try to turn the tables on Islamabad. In 1982, Mir Khozar Khan, the leader of a Baluchistan separatist movement, which was desperate to win independence for the Baluchis in Pakistan and Iran, asked Babrak Karmal for financial and military assistance. KhAD opened several secret camps for Baluchis, who underwent guerrilla warfare training there (Mitrokhin, 2002). However, Moscow orders kept the Soviet and Afghan intelligence services from escalating the conflict. The KGB avoided confrontations with Pakistan which had the potential to escalate into war, since Islamabad enjoyed close ties with both Washington and Beijing. Overall, the KGB assessed wider

regional escalation of the Afghan war as counter-productive, since instability along the Soviet southern borders and in the Indian subcontinent would do little to harm the "main enemy" located in another hemisphere, but could easily spread to the Soviet Union itself.

In 1985, Mikhail Gorbachev became the general secretary of the Soviet Communist party and the chairman of the Politburo. The new Soviet leader wanted to ease the international tensions and tone down the Cold War. Gorbachev considered Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan as a way to achieve this goal. Soviet intervention in Afghanistan lacked international legitimacy, was loudly opposed by the Reagan administration, and negatively affected the Soviet image in the Third World, especially among the Muslim countries. This was the most important motive for Gorbachev's decision to pullout; this was a calculated action by Moscow rather than defeat of the Soviet army by the *mujahideen*. The latter myth, in fact, became accepted by many in the West, and indeed in Russia itself. Another commonly believed myth is that it was Gorbachev, who, because of his strong pacifist beliefs, convinced "the reluctant military and the KGB to stop the Afghan war" (Marshall, 2007:75). As of early 1983, Andropov and the KGB privately accepted the need for a settlement that fell short of a Soviet military victory (Andrew & Mitrokhin, 2005:413). The Soviets wanted to create conditions in Afghanistan that would allow the Kabul regime to stand on its own feet with minimal Soviet military assistance. In November 1985, Gorbachev invited Karmal to Moscow and lectured him on the measures he needed to enact in order to stay in power. These measures included the abandonment of dogmatic Communism, and an end to radical economic reforms aimed at building a socialist economy (Halliday and Tanin, 1998:1367). These suggestions were based on KGB reports coming from Kabul which correctly assessed that the root causes feeding the insurgency were reckless Marxist reforms imposed too quickly upon the conservative rural Afghan population. These modernizing reforms were mismanaged by a small, urbanized minority of radicals who were dangerously detached from the great majority of their own people.

By 1984, the Politburo realized that Karmal was unable to create a regime that could survive without Soviet support. Desertions and poor morale plagued the Afghan army, (it shrunk by half after the Soviet intervention, with many former soldiers joining the rebels) which was unable to fight the *mujahideen* on its own (Ewans, 2005:129). As early as 1982 KGB Afghan commission report assessed the situation as following:

> The situation in Afghanistan remains complicated and tense. The class struggle, represented in armed counter-revolutionary insurrections, encouraged and actively supported from abroad, is occurring in circumstances where a genuine unity of the PDPA is still absent, where the state and Party apparatus is weak in terms of organizations and ideology, which is reflected in the practical non-existence of local government organs, where financial and economic difficulties are mounting, and where the combat readiness of the Afghan armed forces and the people's militia is still insufficient. (Andrew & Mitrokhin, 2005:407)

Based on KGB assessments from Kabul, the decision was reached to replace Karmal with a more capable leader. This time no special force operation was required. In 1984, the Deputy Chief of the KGB, Vladimir Kryuchkov, visited Kabul and met with Karmal, in effect giving him notice that, if the situation did not improve in the near future, he would be replaced (Sherbashin, 2001). A number of recommendations were given to Karmal: among them, the establishment of a broad coalition government, dropping the name "socialist" from PDPA ideology and instead calling it "national democratic", and paying greater respect to mullahs and Islam (Ewans, 2005:130). However, the Kabul leadership became progressively weaker and more incompetent, with Karmal himself increasingly prone to heavy drinking. After 1985, another factor came into play, Gorbachev was determined to improve Soviet relations with the West, and demanded a stronger Kabul government that would allow the Soviets to extract themselves from Afghanistan. In the spring of 1986, Kryuchkov once again visited Kabul and encouraged Karmal to step down and hand over the power to KhAD leader Mohamed Nadjibullah. Karmal was given a dacha outside of Moscow, where he retired, and complained bitterly about Moscow's decision for the rest of his life (Halliday & Tanin, 1998:1374). KGB carried out a second regime change operation in Afghanistan without any help from the Special Forces and indeed without a single shoot being fired.

New Afghan leader Nadjibullah proved himself to be more capable and at least tried to implement the policies what KGB advised him to do. These measures named "National Reconciliation Policy" tried a variety of ways aimed at expanding the power base of the Kabul regime. Millions of roubles were spent to bribe village mullahs and tribal elders, the government proclaimed that it does not seek to build socialism in

Afghanistan anymore and will rule according to Muslim laws (Andrew & Mitrokhin, 2005:415). The government of Nadjibullah was successfully fighting *mujahideen* insurgency even after the last Soviet soldier left Afghanistan in 1989. In fact, after Soviet withdrawal, Afghan army won several major victories including one at Jalalabad that sent the insurgency back to the square one, despite the massive aid and an impressive arsenal of modern weaponry, including the stinger missiles, that the rebels processed at that point (Marshall, 2005:77). The regime of Nadjibullah collapse only in 1992 after the Soviet Union itself disintegrated. The reasons behind this collapse were political divisions (most importantly defection of General Dostum to the *mujahideen* side), economic crisis (Soviet economic aid to the regime ended in 1991), and increasing tribalism and ethnic nationalism throughout Afghanistan and not the military superiority of the *mujahideen.* (*Ibid.*, p. 80-81)

Soviet intelligence performed successfully in accomplishing missions assigned to it by the Politburo. Surprisingly, at the time when the Soviet society was dominated by a strong anti-war public sentiment and the army faced increasing draft evasion and desertions, KGB applicants for Afghan postings actually exceeded the jobs available. Young and ambitious KGB officers looked on the war as an opportunity to make their reputations and advance their career (Andrew & Gordievsky, 1990:482). Intelligence services were also able to correctly assess the situation in Afghanistan realizing as early as 1983 that the victory over the insurgency by military means was unachievable. However, there were a number of flaws that negatively affected the performance of Soviet intelligence services. In 1983, during the final year of his life, KGB head Andropov was obsessed by a belief that the Reagan administration had plans for a nuclear first strike against the Soviet Union. Andropov made collection of intelligence on these non-existent plans a top priority for both the KGB and the GRU, diverting resources from intelligence efforts in Afghanistan (Andrew and Mitrokhin, 2005:414). The GRU vs. KGB rivalry also harmed both agencies efforts in Afghanistan. According to Colonel Alexander Morozov, deputy KGB station chief in Kabul from 1975 to 1980 the KGB would often not share intelligence data with the GRU. In fact, military intelligence operated "largely independent" of the KGB and had its own closely guarded network of agents and informers (Harrison, 1995:19). KGB actions on many occasions run contrary to the wishes of the Soviet military in Afghanistan. For example, General Varennikov who was a personal representative in Kabul of the Soviet Defence Minister would often engage

in "stormy arguments with KGB representatives". Afghanistan became a proxy battleground for Soviet security ministries, who continued their domestic bureaucratic conflicts (Marshall, 2005:84). Despite these flaws, all major missions given to the KGB and GRU in Afghanistan by the political leadership were completed (even than their completion created more problems than it solved, as was clearly the case with the removal of Amin from power).

In contrast to the flawed performance of the conventional Soviet military in Afghanistan, as well as the abysmal record of PDPA leadership, Soviet intelligence services performed well in Afghanistan, being especially effective at organizing regime changes in Kabul. In order to achieve political objectives required by the Politburo, they had to change the Afghan Communist leadership twice. In December 1979, Soviet intelligence services managed to replace President Hafizullah Amin with Babrak Karmal, by a daring Special Forces operation. Once the decision was made in 1985 to oust Karmal, and replace him with a new and more efficient leader, in order to allow the Soviet military to withdraw from Afghanistan, successful behind the scenes arm-twisting was used to install Mohamed Nadjibullah as president. Soviet intelligence services were less successful in their secondary tasks of combating the *mujahideen* insurgency and strengthening the Kabul regime. However, unlike the Soviet Armed Forces, which were unable to adapt to an unconventional style of warfare in Afghanistan, Soviet intelligence services, and their special forces, adapted well, and even pioneered a number of effective counterinsurgency strategies and tactics. Soviet intelligence services, to a much greater degree than the army, retained the lessons learned during their fight against the *basmachi*, and used the tactics that proved effective in defeating the Muslim insurgency in Central Asia that occurred 60 years before Afghanistan. These measures were partially successful, and left the regime of Nadjibullah in a much stronger position in 1989, the year of the Soviet withdrawal, compared with the situation faced by Karmal at the beginning of the Soviet intervention. Therefore, the Kabul regime was able to survive on its own longer than anyone expected, until it eventually collapsed for internal reasons in 1992, which in turn created an opportunity for the *mujahideen* to finally seize power. (Marshall, 2005:80-81)

References:

Andrew, Christopher and Gordievsky, Oleg, 1990. *KGB: The Inside Story of its Foreign Operations from Lenin to Gorbachev.* London: Hodder & Stroughton.

Andrew, Christopher and Mitrokhin, Vasili, 2005. *The World Was Going Our Way: The KGB and the Battle for the Third World.* New York: Basic Books.

Blank, Stephen J., June 28th, 1993. *Afghanistan and Beyond: Reflections on the Future of Warfare.* Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College. http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pdffiles/PUB121.pdf

Bradsher, Henry S., 1999. *Afghan Communism and Soviet Intervention.* Karachi: Oxford University Press.

Ewans, Martin, 2005. *Conflict in Afghanistan: Studies in asymmetric warfare.* London: Routledge.

Feifer, Gregory, 2009. *The Great Gamble: The Soviet War in Afghanistan.* New York: HarperCollins Publishers.

Gaddis, John Lewis, 2005. *Strategies of Containment: A Critical Appraisal of American National Security Policy during the Cold War.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Gibbs, David N., 2006. Reassessing Soviet motives for invading Afghanistan: A declassified history. *Critical Asian Studies.* Vol. 38, Issue 2, p. 239-263.

Giustozzi, Antonio, 2000. *War, Politics and Society in Afghanistan 1978-1992.* Washington: Georgetown University Press.

Grau, Lester W., 2002. The Take-Down of Kabul: An Effective Coup de Main. *Urban Operations: An Historical Casebook.* http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/ report/2002/MOUTGrau.htm (accessed April 2nd, 2008)

Grau, Lester W., 2007. Breaking Contact Without Leaving Chaos: The Soviet Withdrawal from Afghanistan. *The Journal of Slavic Military Studies.* Vol. 20, Issue 2, p. 235-261.

Grau, Lester W. and Michael Gress, ed., 2002. *The Soviet-Afghan War: How a Superpower Fought and Lost. The Russian General Staff.* Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas.

Gordovez, Diego and Harrison, Selig S., 1995. *Out of Afghanistan: The Inside Story of the Soviet Withdrawal.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Halliday, Fred and Tanin, Zahir, 1998. The Communist Regime in Afghanistan 1978-1992: Institution and Conflicts. *Europe-Asia Studies.* Vol. 50, Issue 8, p. 1357-1380.

Hilali, A. Z., 2005. The Soviet penetration into Afghanistan and the Marxist Coup. *The Journal of Slavic Military Studies.* Vol. 18, Issue 4, p. 673-716.

Kakar, Hassan M., 1995. *Afghanistan: The Soviet Invasion and the Afghan Response, 1979-1982.* Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Liakhovsky, Alexander, Jan. 2007. *Inside the Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan and the Seizure of Kabul, December 1979.* Translated by Gary Goldberg and Artemy Kalinovsky. Cold War International History Project. http://www.wilsoncenter.org/topics/pubs/ WP51_Web_Final.pdf (accessed March 23, 2008).

Marshall, Alex, 2007. Managing Withdrawal: Afghanistan as the Forgotten Example in Attempting Conflict Resolution and State Reconstruction. *Small Wars and Insurgencies.* Vol. 18, Issue 1, p. 68-89.

Mitrokhin, Vasili. Feb. 2002. *The KGB in Afghanistan. English Edition. Working Paper No. 40.* Cold War International History Project.
http://www.wilsoncenter.org/topics/pubs/ACFAE9.pdf (accessed March 23, 2008).

Olcott, Martha B., 1981. The Basmachi or Freemen's Revolt in Turkestan 1918-24. *Soviet Studies.* Vol. 33, Issue 3, p. 352-369.

Oliker, Olga, Feb. 2008. Soft Power, Hard Power, and Counterinsurgency: The Early Soviet Experience in Central Asia and Its Implications. *RAND National Defence Research Institute.*
http://www.rand.org/pubs/working_papers/2008/RAND_WR547.pdf

Pogranichnyye voiska KGB SSSR v Afganistane 1979-1989. *Sredneaziatskiy pogranichnyi okrug – rozhdennyi v bor'ba s basmachestvom.*
http://pv-afghan.narod.ru/militant_action_table/KSAPO.htm (accessed March 23, 2008).

Riasanovsky, Nicholas V., 1993. *A History of Russia,* 5th ed. New York: Oxford University Press.

Ritter, William S., 1985. The Final Phase in the Liquidation of Anti-Soviet Resistance in Tadzhikistan: Ibrahim Bek and the *Basmachi,* 1924-31. *Soviet Studies.* Vol. 37, p. 484-493.

Sherbashin, Leonid, Aug. 2001. *Ruka Moskvy: zapiski nachalnika sovetskoi razvedki.* Tsentr-100, 1992. http://lib.ru/MEMUARY/SHEBARSHIN/rukamoskwy.txt (accessed March 29, 2008).

"Forest Brothers" 1945: The Culmination of the Lithuanian Partisan Movement

*By Vylius M. Leskys**

The conventional acceptance of the Lithuanian partisan movement against the Soviets from 1944 to 1953 typically delineates the effort into three stages according to distinguishable patterns of operations and centralization of effort (Kuodyte & Tracevskis, 2006:34). Operationally, however, the Lithuanian resistance fought by the "forest brothers" (*Ibid.*, p. 17) may be more clearly divided by defining the unacknowledged culmination that occurred in 1945—a point when overwhelming Soviet combat power caused a decline in partisan capabilities that continued until the conflict's final demise in 1953. Although the resistance effort maintained its strength ideologically, the Lithuanian partisan movement never recovered from the culminating point because of a shortfall in resources, a lack of external support, and the inability of resistance leadership to adapt rapidly enough against a comprehensive Soviet assimilation campaign.

Cold War delineation of the Lithuanian partisan movement generally divided the war into two stages, "four years of strength (1944-48) and four of gradual decline (1949-1952)." (Vardys, 1965:85) With the elucidation provided by previously classified documents of the NKVD (People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs), the generally accepted post-Cold War division of the partisan movement is segmented into three stages: 1) July 1944-May 1946, 2) May 1946-Nov 1948, and 3) Nov 1948-May 1953. The first period encompassed the years of "victory and romanticism" when partisans "would gather in the hundreds in the forests and arrange well-fortified camps" to plan large scale attacks against the Soviets (Kuodyte & Tracevskis, 2006:36). In the second period from May 1946 to Nov 1948, partisans were forced to avoid battles with the NKVD while dividing into smaller units that lived in small, camouflaged bunkers; during this period, "a joint resistance authority was formed [and] the organizational structure of the resistance units took shape." (*Ibid.*) In the final period, partisans created the joint authority for both military and political resistance; nonetheless, "the Soviets organized a brutal liquidation of farm

---

* Vilius Leskys is a Major in U.S. Army Special Forces.

households, deportations and forced collectivization, depriving the forest brothers of their supporters." (*Ibid.*)

These divisions create logical lines that embrace the campaign's efforts along tactical methodology, as well as the effort to create a linear "shadow" government on the strategic level. From an operational campaign perspective, however, the partisan effort is more logically divided into two stages distinguished by a 1945 culminating point: 1) 1944-45—conventional war operations, a period of traditional offensive warfare by an organized partisan movement; and 2) 1946-1953—irregular warfare operations, a period of unremitting decline by a significantly diminished resistance, relegated to a more defensive posture and small scale offensive operations.

1. The First Soviet Occupation

Lithuania declared its neutrality at the start of World War II, but in doing so, was ostracized from Germany and essentially handed over to the Soviet Union through the signing of the 1939 Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact (Vardys, 1965:45). Now within the sphere of Soviet influence, the Bolsheviks forcibly coerced the Lithuanian administration into assuming a puppet communist government that then requested annexation by the Soviet Union (Kaszeta, 1988). The communists mobilized the NKVD who rapidly embarked on a campaign to disband the Lithuanian armed forces, suppress the Roman Catholic Church, nationalize business and industry, confiscate agricultural property, and deport enemies of the state (*Ibid.*).

In 1941, the NKVD selected individuals for deportation based on a list of 23 different groups considered threats to the communist integration of Lithuania (*Ibid.*) (see Appendix A). The NKVD implemented this deportation program quickly and efficiently. In one week between June 14th nd June 21st, 1941, "30425 deportees in 871 freight cars were sent to various regions of the Soviet Union" (*Ibid.*). The first occupation in 1940-41, accordingly, "eliminated a sizable stratum of the educated and politically conscious," effectively suppressing the leaders within Lithuanian society (Peterson, 2001:171).

In Lithuania, the Soviets followed procedures similar to those they implemented successfully in other usurped nations as well. In Poland, the Soviets deported "upwards of 1 million people from all social classes and

all ethnic groups … to Siberia and Soviet Central Asia." (Lukowski & Zawadski, 2001:227) In the Ukraine, "[t]he wanton rape, pillage, deportation and slaughter of innocent people of all ages, and burning of the entire villages were common occurrences." (Potichny, 2003:289) In reaction to these Soviet atrocities, resistance movements formed across the annexed nations in pursuit of independence from oppression.

The first organized resistance group in Lithuania, the Lithuanian Activist Front (LAP), formed in October 1940 by Kazys Skirpa, a former Lithuanian military attaché to Germany (Kaszeta, 1988). Broken down into three man "cells" across Lithuania, this 36000-member organization was to "incite a revolt when the leadership determined that the conditions were right." (*Ibid.*) Lithuanian leadership activated the LAP on 22 June 1941 as Germany invaded the Soviet Union, resulting in the liberation of major cities and the retreat of the Red Army (*Ibid.*). This victory was short-lived, however, as the Germans soon arrived to become yet another occupying regime.

2. German Occupation and Operation *Bagration*

Over the course of the three-year German occupation, the bitter sting of the communist totalitarian government from 1940-41 still lingered. The Lithuanians would not soon forget the painful treatment under the Soviets, let alone the deportation of 35,000 friends and family members to labour camps (Vardys, 1965:86). Fuelled by the flames of these atrocities, an organized anti-German resistance movement formed, including an underground political centre—the Supreme Committee for Liberation of Lithuania (Remeikis, 1980:43).

As the Germans began to lose significant momentum in their operations, this Supreme Council discussed strategic concerns and ramifications for the outcome of WWII, formulating three possible scenarios: "1) Germany will make a compromise peace with Western democracies, which will force Germany to grant Lithuania independence; 2) Germany will lose the war to Western democracies and will be forced to grant independence and if necessary defend Lithuania by force of arms from Soviet designs; 3) Germany will also lose the war to Russia, which in all probability will mean the destruction of Lithuania." (*Ibid.*)
As the last scenario evolved into the most probable course of action, the Lithuanians appealed to the Germans to develop a defence force to fight

the Red Army. Timed appropriately with concurrent actions by Soviet guerrillas in eastern Lithuania, the Lithuanian government reached an agreement with the Germans in February of 1944 to enable the creation of a "Home Guard" for "defending the homeland from [the] red partisan menace and the Red Army." (*Ibid.*) The plan called for the establishment of an officer's school and fourteen battalions (Kaszeta, 1988).

Within four months, however, the Germans discovered the intent behind the Supreme Committee underground and rapidly disbanded the Home Guard to prevent an organized resistance (*Ibid.*). Although the defence force was dispersed when the Germans broke their agreement in May 1944, a formalized organizational structure with identified leadership was established (Remeikis, 1980:44). Upon its dissolution, many of its members left for the woods to assume the guerrilla war posture for the expected war against the Soviets (*Ibid.*).

As anticipated by these Lithuanians, the Red Army executed its greatest success in WWII from June 22nd - August 9th, 1944 – Operation *Bagration* – a strategic offensive campaign on the eastern front of the Axis lines. At the end of the operation, the Soviets seized most of Lithuania and north-eastern Poland, creating a gap in the eastern front for follow-on movement towards Warsaw and Berlin. The Soviets rapidly expelled the Germans and "liberated" Lithuania once again. This efficient expulsion created an infrastructure vacuum, promptly filled by communist soldiers and police from the massive Red Army production machine.

During the planning process, the Allies discussed both operational planning and the status of post-war Europe. Roosevelt and Churchill became increasingly wary of Stalin's possible intent to further territorial expansion into the Baltic and, ultimately, Poland. It became evident that Stalin "wanted to be in a position to take any necessary measures to ensure Soviet domination after the war, specifically to prevent the return of the anti-Soviet Polish government that was in exile in London." (Dunn Jr., 2006:148)

The end state for Operation *Bagration*, accordingly, may be perceived with an appreciation for Stalin's desire to expand Soviet dominance across Europe. Under the *Stavka* (Soviet Supreme High Command) plan, the Red Army was to defeat German forces in Belorussia (focusing on the German Army Group Centre), creating a gap in the eastern front for follow-on

movement towards Warsaw and Berlin thus further advancing Soviet territorial expansion throughout Europe. As a measure of the operation's success and Soviet strength, the Red Army defeated 25 divisions and 300000 men of the German Army Group Centre at the end of the tactically planned twelve-day effort (Merridale, 2006:276).

The *Stavka* maintained the momentum of their operational advantage and sought to exploit opportunities to gain further territorial control. On the convergence of Minsk, the *Stavka* quickly recognized the total collapse of German resistance, and, accordingly, maintained the tempo to exploit westward into Poland and Lithuania even as exhaustion and logistical depletion beset their units.

As the immediate front missions rapidly progressed, the *Stavka* looked towards transitioning to the exploitation phase to maintain the offensive momentum and achieve further strategic mission goals. The 3rd Byelorussian front, accordingly, received follow-on orders on July 4th to continue the push westward through Lithuania, towards the Baltic Sea. This area carried strategic weight as it opened the flank of Army Group North, exposing a desired avenue of approach towards Warsaw and Berlin (Glantz & Orenstein, 2001:158). The six-day battle to "liberate" Lithuania's capital, Vilnius, occurred from July 8th-13th, resulted in 8000 German casualties and 5000 prisoners.

The rapid expulsion of German forces by the massive Red Army prevented any organized resistance efforts among the Lithuanians, allowing the Russians to quickly transition into communism integration operations. Their production machine continued to generate additional soldiers and equipment. This Soviet surplus of soldiers provided a pool of military trained forces to use in the course of occupation. Combined with the overwhelming levels of Red Army production of soldiers and equipment, the rapid expulsion of German forces set the ideal conditions to accelerate the process of integrating Lithuania into the communist Soviet state.

Psychological intangibles like "esprit de corps" advanced by vendetta and communist ideology played a significant role in the Soviet occupation of Lithuania in July of 1944. To fuel the passions of Red Army soldiers, the *Stavka* initiated Operation *Bagration* on June 22nd —the third anniversary of the German invasion of the Soviet Union (Zaloga, 1996:7). With this mindset, the Soviets acted more brutally then before upon their re-

occupation, as they "were eager to wreak vengeance for their panicky retreat in the summer of 1941." (Pajaujis-Javis, 1980:89)

Additionally, "four years of savage fighting against the Germans, and the millions of dead produced by it, contributed to the formation and execution of savage pacification policies, especially when these policies were to be applied to a population considered guilty of collaboration." (Peterson, 2001:171) In an effort to exact some revenge for "collaboration" with the Germans, the Soviets either executed or deported an estimated 37000 Lithuanians over the following 5 months of 1944 (Pajaujis-Javis, 1980:89).

3. The Third "Liberation"

The successful Soviet blitzkrieg in 1944 would be the beginning of the third "liberation" of Lithuania during World War II in a period of five years (Daumantas, 1975:10). The first in 1940 was a Russian liberation from "capitalist and Fascist exploiters," and the second in 1941 was a German liberation from "Bolshevik bondage." (*Ibid.*) With each consecutive wave of occupation, the elders, public officials, and those in power were segregated, arrested, and often executed or deported to labour camps, further weakening the core of Lithuanian society.

The third occupation allowed the Soviets to resume their deportation effort, which ended with the extradition of 35000 Lithuanians to labour camps (Vardys, 1965:86). In conducting all "liberating" efforts, the Red Army would bear in mind "the humiliating reverses inflicted upon them by inferior numbers of Lithuanian guerrillas before the actual entry of German troops." (Pajaujis-Javis, 1980:89) Accordingly, the Soviets embarked rapidly on a campaign to arrest and deport with renewed fervour.

Armed with their knowledge of Soviet intent and practices, many of the remaining leaders and educated Lithuanians attempted to escape from the approaching Soviet front. An estimated 80000 Lithuanians tried to escape but, "many were cut off by the pincers of the Soviet front in western Lithuania… only about 60000 actually escaped." (*Ibid.*) The totality of mass deportations between the three occupations and the wave of 60000 escapees ultimately led to a vacuum in political, moral, and military leadership at the forefront of the partisan effort (*Ibid.*).

4. The "Forest Brothers"

The partisan effort represented a movement comprised of individuals across the social strata broken down into "three categories of freedom fighters: (1) the active front line soldiers who lived in the forests or in farm shelters; (2) the inactive fighters who were armed but who stayed at home and were called upon to join the active ranks when necessity demanded; and (3) the supporters of the resistance who lived in the open and who did not bear arms." (Pajaujis-Javis, 1980:94) The main tier of the "Forest Brothers" were comprised of partisans who wore Lithuanian military uniforms to project legitimacy in their efforts and were armed "with captured German and Soviet weapons, including Czechoslovakian Skoda machine guns, Soviet 'Maxim' machine guns, and a few mortars." (Kaszeta, 1988)

Most sources estimate that the resistance strength exceeded 30000 active participants at its height within the first two years (*Ibid.*). By 1946, however, these numbers dropped to approximately 4000 and then further down to 2000 by 1948 due to the success of the Soviet campaign against the partisan effort (Kuodyte & Tracevskis, 2006:35). The strategic aim of the resistance movement was ultimately to achieve independence for Lithuania. At the operational and tactical level, however, the goals of the movement were much more precise: (1) to prevent Sovietisation of the country by annihilating Communist activists and the NKVD forces in the countryside; (2) to safeguard the public order, to protect the population from robberies, either by civilians, or by Red soldiers; (3) to free political prisoners from detention wherever circumstances allowed it; (4) to enforce the boycott of the "elections" to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR or to the leadership of the puppet state, and thus to prevent the falsification of the will of the Lithuanian nation and the creation of a false base for the legality of the Soviet-imposed regime; (5) to disrupt the draft of Lithuanian youth into the Red Army; (6) to obstruct the nationalization of landed property and collectivization of agriculture; (7) to prevent the settling of Russian colonists on the land and in the homesteads of the Lithuanian farmers deported to Siberia. (Pajaujis-Javis, 1980:95)

Because the Soviets were able to maintain effective pressure early in their campaign, these partisan aims remained decentralized by region (See Appendix B). Attempts to unify the disjointed effort were made from the

64

start, but a formalized sense of unity was not accomplished until 1946. By 1949, the resistance finally achieved a centralized command that "reorganized into the Movement of Lithuania's Struggle for Freedom (LLKS) [and] adopted tactics more suitable to small conspiratorial groups." (Vardys, 1965:85) In 1949, however, the effort had seriously been degraded, and the partisan military strength was a mere fraction of it's once peak numbers (*Ibid.*).

This unification effort also facilitated the Soviet counter-insurgency targeting campaign. The Soviets "encouraged the centralization of the underground so that leadership could be decapitated and local units more easily uncovered." (Peterson, 2001:172) Though the targeting of leadership helped facilitate Soviet closure in the partisan defeat, the reduction of active Lithuanian forces from 30000 in 1945 to 4000 in 1946 clearly identifies a pivotal point in the resistance movement.

5. Hope and Motivation

Ideology defined the partisan effort. A strong sense of nationalism, a desire for independence and an already ingrained hatred towards the Russians from the prior Tsarist and earlier Soviet occupations spurred the will of partisans and the people alike. Lithuanians joined the resistance effort inspired by a full spectrum of motives—national pride, self-preservation, and avoidance of Red Army conscription.

The international political community, still in flux at the end of WWII also provided a sense of hope and faith that the democratic West would not let the Soviet annexation continue. To further these aspirations of viable independence in the near future, Roosevelt and Churchill generated a post-World War II global vision in the Atlantic Charter, proclaiming that independent states should have the right to "self-determination." The partisans "believed that the West would implement the Atlantic Charter and demand freedom for the occupied nations." (Kuodyte & Tracevskis, 2006:17) Lithuanians were convinced that the West would liberate them (*Ibid.*). Thus, the resistance movement was not concerned with the defeat of the Soviet occupants, but rather "only sought to delay and harass the Soviets until help arrived." (*Ibid.*)

In addition to the optimism generated by the Atlantic Charter, Lithuanians pinned hope on the threat of the atomic bomb. In the hands of the West,

the political use of such a weapon could force the Soviet Union to "withdraw from the countries she occupied and to renounce the idea of world domination through warfare – declared or undeclared." (Daumantas, 1975:86)

The ideological front was also greatly assisted by the fact that over ninety percent of the country was Roman Catholic. Catholic clergymen in several instances participated as staff members for the movement (Bagusauskas, 2000:67). Resistance members "usually held prayer meetings and frequented sacraments of the Roman Catholic Church, to which the majority of the partisans belonged." (Vardys, 1965:96) To add to the solemnization of the oath ceremony for partisans, "whenever available, a priest, usually the group's chaplain, administered the oath, and the new partisans kissed a crucifix or the Bible, and often a gun as well." (*Ibid.*) The obvious Soviet movement to stifle the faith of Lithuanians, merely by the inclusion of clergymen on the deportation lists, stoked the fires of the partisan front, and ideologically, "the defence of national values became intrinsically connected with the defence of one's faith." (Pajaujis-Javis, 1980:98)

Along with religion, the Soviets faced a comprehensive battle against nationalistic ideology to bend the will of the Lithuanian population. Success in irregular wars requires "the government to be accepted as legitimate by most of that uncommitted middle." (Headquarters Department of the Army, 2006:1-20) Ideological emphasis by the partisan effort was the glue that held together the will of the people in 1944-45, creating the hope that kept the passive majority pro-partisan. This ideology, however, neglected to view "a realistic analysis of the balance of power and the national interests of the adversaries." (Remeikis, 1980:57) It would soon become apparent to Lithuanians that their hopes for international intervention would not come to pass.

Across the Atlantic, the will of the American people was not apt to support additional wars or threats for war at the end of WWII, even with sole knowledge and capability of atomic weaponry. In addition, unbeknownst to the Lithuanians, "Roosevelt and Churchill did not even question the occupation of the Baltic by the USSR" at the Yalta Summit which ratified the post WWII Europe (Kuodyte & Tracevskis, 2006:18).

Lithuania saw time progress without assurances of support from the West, even as the Soviets continued the process of mass arrests, collectivization, deportation and execution. With the realization that there would be no support from the democratic West, the driven will of the partisans and people faded rapidly.

6. Soviet Measures against the Resistance

Predictably, the Soviets upon occupation immediately engaged in "the conscription of all able-bodied Lithuanian men and women into forced labour gangs." (Daumantas, 1975:21) Conscripts were to dig a network of defensive trenches and clear land for airfields to further Soviet operational reach against the German Army Group North. (*Ibid.*) By maintaining order through this conscription, the Soviets, within a matter of days of entry into Lithuania, seamlessly transitioned occupational authority from the Red Army forces of the 3rd Byelorussian front to the NKVD rear defence regiments of the 3rd Byelorussian Rear Defence Corps and the 1st Baltic Rear Defence Corps (Anusauskas, 2006:47). The NKVD was a self-contained organization with infantry "as well as an efficient network of intelligence operatives and informants, and a brutal terror apparatus." (Kaszeta, 1988) The military arm of the NKVD wasted no time in the implementation of force. Within weeks of the occupation, and counter to the Hague convention accord, the Soviets began to mandate conscription of all young males into the Red Army (Pajaujis-Javis, 1980:89). When this mandate was ignored, the NKVD began an aggressive campaign to locate the evading conscripts and often "shot the fleeing or hiding draft evaders on sight." (*Ibid.*, p. 90)

In addition to the NKVD, the SMERCH (military counterintelligence) and the MVD (Ministry of Internal Affairs) provided the Soviet resources for General Kruglov – the Kremlin dispatched Commissariat selected in September 1944 to spearhead the counter-insurgency campaign in Lithuania (Peterson, 2001:170). Having acquired a reputation of cruelty towards Soviet opposition as the deputy director of SMERCH, Kruglov approached the resistance effort with pragmatic brutality (Pajaujis-Javis, 1980:101). According to Kruglov, "anybody who ran away, whether armed or not, was an enemy and had to be shot (in this way most village idiots were killed as they did not understand what soldiers speaking a strange language wanted of them), and every farm visited by partisans was an enemy house and could be burnt down." (Anusauskas, 2006:50)

Kruglov's overall strategy applied effective and persistent pressure across the spectrum of diplomatic, informational, military, and economic lines. The strategy prescribed five principles: "the formation of locally based and recruited militias, called *istrebiteli*; the periodic combined operation of *istrebiteli* and NKVD forces in "sweeps" through the forested areas to surround and capture or kill Lithuanian partisans; the infiltration of partisan units with spies; periodic offers of amnesty; and… collectivization accompanied by deportation." (Peterson, 2001:171)

The *istrebiteli*, also called the "defenders of the people" were a Soviet organized local militia created as an informational campaign to transform the perception of the partisan effort into a "civil war." (Pajaujis-Javis, 1980:103) This force consisted of roughly sixty percent Lithuanians who were paid a salary through the NKVD and was mostly comprised of "thieves, drunks and other disorganized individuals." (Anusauskas, 2006:61) Through the course of the partisan effort, the *istrebiteli* acquired a reputation among partisans as a band of ruthless criminals, effectively quashing any domestic perception of a civil war (*Ibid.*). Though their over-all effectiveness as a separate unit was questionable, the *istrebiteli* proved quite valuable to the Soviets when combined with NKVD oversight to conduct forest-combing operations.

Together with NKVD soldiers, the *istrebiteli* conducted cordon and search operations throughout the forests of Lithuania to flush partisan encampments out of the woods and into open engagement areas. Soviet soldiers would surround areas in a human chain, broken down in pairs with gaps of ten to 15 meters between them to provide mutually supporting effort (*Ibid.*, p. 57). They effectively conducted these forest-combing operations until the larger groups of partisans were forced to disband and assume alternate safe havens in underground bunkers by late 1945.

The implementation of an amnesty program under Major-General Bertasiunas of the NKVD proved to be one of the greatest successes of the Soviets (Daumantas, 1975:88). Assurances were provided to partisans who surrendered that they (and by extension their families) would not be harmed or arrested through this proclamation of amnesty. According to *chekist* (Soviet state security) numbers, a total of 38604 partisans and

supporters were given amnesty, of which 36272 were given amnesty in 1945 alone (Gaskaite, Kaseta & Starkauskas, 1996:620).

Economically, the Soviets embarked on a nationalization and collectivization program that usurped all land from private ownership. The numbers in 1940 reflect the significance of agriculture in Lithuania – roughly "76.7 percent of the population were occupied in agriculture on privately owned small and medium sized farms, and only the remaining 23.3 percent were involved in industry, commerce, and other trades." (Pajaujis-Javis, 1980:109) In effect, this effort was a tenet of communization, and more importantly, a mechanism to attack the heart of the Lithuanian economy and individual agrarian prosperity.

The collectivization program enabled the Soviet state to claim ownership to all land and simultaneously provided the Soviets with a propaganda campaign to create a schism between small landowners and larger ones. At the forefront, much of the land was redistributed to Soviet sympathizers and many who had owned land. In August 1944, the collectivization program "ordered a new land distribution that fragmented landholdings and inflicted economic punishment on 'kulaks' (any farmer who owned over 25 hectares or about 62 acres) and farmers singled out as German collaborators." (Vardys, 1965:90) Ultimately, the process "deprived of land not only the so-called 'kulak'…, but also the numerous class[es] of small-holders, who had become self-sufficient farmers with very close attachment to their land." (Remeikis, 1980:59)

Accompanying the collectivization of agriculture was a policy of deportation for the "kulaks" as well as an enforcement measure for those smaller farm owners who resisted. The "kulak" farmers, "whose land had been forcibly taken over and agglomerated into the collective farm… were loaded into cattle-trains and deported to Siberia, where most of them were destined to perish." (Pajaujis-Javis, 1980:111) *Chekist* statistics disclose 106037 Lithuanians were sent to labour camps over the course of the partisan movement, deporting 4479 in 1945 and reaching a height of 39482 deportees over the summer of 1948 (Gaskaite, Kaseta & Starkauskas, 1996:620).

Kruglov's campaign proved highly effective in applying pressure across multiple lines of operation. In his final campaign modifications to isolate the partisans in 1950, Kruglov directed the NKVD to include the

formation of *chekist* military groups, consisting of 10-30 soldiers or agents who focused specifically on individual partisan units (Anusauskas, 2006:60). These groups existed until the elimination of their partisan counterpart. The basis of their targeting, accordingly, was intelligence collection focused on "the number of partisans, their codenames, surnames, age, behaviour, methods of camouflaging and fighting, bases, signallers, [and] supporters." (*Ibid.*)

At its peak in 1945, NKVD presence exceeded 20 regiments and platoons (*Ibid.*, p. 47) numbering "more than 100000 men stationed in a nation of only 3 million people." (Kaszeta, 1988) When used in conjunction with remaining Red Army forces, to include the Air Force, armour and artillery, the NKVD was a massive and formidable opponent to the partisans.

4. Culmination

While many authors argue that the high point in the Lithuanian partisan war occurred during 1946-47, the totality of evidence points towards a 1945 culmination, from which the effort never recovered. In part, this culminating point may be attributed to "miscalculated partisan resources" by partisan leadership in addition to a lack of external support (Vardys, 1965:107). The main reason for achieving culmination, however, rested in the inability of partisans to fight a conventional war against a massive, combined arms Soviet force.

The Genocide and Resistance Research Centre of Lithuania believes that roughly four percent, or about 120000 of the three million strong population of Lithuania, were engaged in the partisan movement (Kuodyte & Tracevskis, 2006:34). In comparison, two percent of the population supported the insurgency in Vietnam directly or indirectly (*Ibid.*). Of these 120000 presumed partisans in Lithuania, more than 60 percent were neutralized in 1945 alone based on previously classified documents of the NKVD. In a single year, the Soviets incapacitated 73769 partisans and supporters: 36272 partisans and supporters were given amnesty, 9777 partisan fighters were killed, 7747 were captured, and 19973 were arrested (Gaskaite, Kaseta, Starkauskas, 1996:620).

In a larger sense, the efficiency of the Soviets in stifling the partisan effort may also be attributed to the communist party's comprehensive understanding of how to conduct guerrilla warfare, having emerged

victorious through the Russian revolution. The Soviets understood that an insurgency is a war of the masses and ideology, where the population's stance is determined by "which side gives the best protection, which one threatens the most, [and] which one is likely to win." (Galula, 2006:26)

Though the partisan effort constitutes a less "orthodox" method of insurgency, the failure to follow basic tenets for insurgencies may have led to the effort's premature demise (See Appendix C). During the first part of the occupation, in1944-1945, the partisan effort was led by former officers of the Lithuanian army (Anusauskas, 2006:56). Still maintaining the structured mindset from the "Home Guard" organization under the Germans and having only been trained in conventional warfare, the leadership engaged in force on force operations against their Bolshevik oppressors (*Ibid.*). These former officers "did not know the tactics of partisan warfare and attempted to fight a positional war with the Soviet Army (this included building trenches, shelters, etc.)." (*Ibid.*)

For however bold the partisan force and leadership may have been, a conventional fight against the Russians failed to take into consideration a simple relative combat power assessment. Traditional war against the Soviets matched a light infantry partisan effort against the weight of a battle-hardened combined arms force, complete with armour, artillery, and air. Having incurred significant casualties in conventional attempts, "almost all partisan groups switched to partisan tactics in late 1945." (*Ibid.*) By this time, however, partisan numbers had dwindled from 30,000 to roughly 4,000 (Kuodyte & Tracevskis, 2006:35).

By August of 1945, the increased pressure of the Soviet campaign along with the amnesty program extended by NKVD Major-General Bertasiunas compelled the resistance to hold a "congress of partisan commanders." (Daumantas, 1975:88) The congress was to address the general's amnesty proclamation that "urged the partisans to lay down their arms and return from the forests, at the same time promising not to punish those who surrendered, nor to take any repressive measures against their families and relations." (*Ibid.*) Although it seemed clear to all partisans that this proclamation was inconsistent with current communist actions, it nonetheless provided an "out" for many with a sense of despair against the daunting Soviet campaign.

Seeing the desire of many partisans to lay down their arms, the congress of partisan commanders concluded they would "not forbid the men to lay down their arms and be registered." (*Ibid.*, p. 89) This decision also appeared to be tainted with some sense of desperation. The leadership justified amnesty for two reasons – inability "to support a large number of partisans" and "with no likelihood of a speedy change in the political situation in Europe, the number of armed resisters was too large for the tasks imposed upon them." (*Ibid.*, p. 89)

This decision to allow the ranks to decide freely about amnesty provided the single greatest loss in partisan numbers based upon the *chekist* data. The 36,272 partisans and supporters that were given amnesty in 1945 would represent more than one percent of the total population of Lithuania (Gaskaite, Kaseta, Starkauskas, 1996:620). Once registered and without arms, the Soviets had free reign to interrogate these ex-partisans to garner further actionable intelligence about the resistance movement.

In addition to the amnesty program, the collectivization program implemented in August 1944 succeeded in the rapid closure of underground support networks in rural areas, as safe havens were usurped by the Soviet state. The resistance forces by the end of 1945 were forced to divide into smaller units and, "instead of the camps arranged in the forests or homesteads, partisans built well-camouflaged bunkers." (Kuodyte & Tracevskis, 2006:35) The same year signified the Soviet peak in dismantling underground command centres and finding regional and district staff members, as well (see Appendix D). Holed up defensively, command, control, and communications suffered significantly. With dwindling control, the partisans were relegated to fewer and smaller operations against the Soviets, dropping from 3324 in 1945 at its peak to 2354 in 1946 (see Appendix E).

Lost resources created an additional unrecoverable concern for the resistance. Without re-supply, "the development of the insurgent military establishment is impossible." (Galula, 2006:26) To continue the effort, resources had to be either captured or derived from an outside source. The Soviets effectively blocked the borders and prevented partisan re-supply efforts. Further, the German and Soviet weapons cached over the organizational development of the anti-Nazi resistance movement and the "Home Guard" effort were captured at an alarming rate. According to

chekist data, the number of captured weapon systems peaked in 1945 and drastically diminished thereafter (see Appendix F).

Lastly, although the number of Soviet army operations nearly doubled between 1945 and 1946 from 8807 to 15811 (Anusauskas, 2006:56), the number of partisans killed dropped from 9777 to 2143 (Gaskaite, Kaseta & Starkauskas, 1996:620) (see Appendix E). Further, only 563 Soviet operations were conducted in 1947 and 515 in 1948 (Anusauskas, 2006:56). These numbers reflect the transition from large conventional offensive operations of the Lithuanians in 1945 to smaller partisan efforts in 1946 and a culminating point from which the partisan effort never recovered.

Conclusions

Even though the early culmination occurred, it is relevant to note that the resistance continued for an additional eight years. The tenacity of the "forest brothers" evolved into a symbol of patriotism that permeated the core of Lithuanian art, stories, and folk song lyrics. In many ways, the legendary status of the partisan movement represented hope in times of despair under an oppressive communist regime.

The partisans were also successful in at least one of their seven operational aims: "to prevent the settling of Russian colonists on the land and in the homesteads of the Lithuanian farmers deported to Siberia." (Pajaujis-Javis, 1980:95) Under current census data, "while ethnic Russians now make up a third of Latvia's population and a quarter of Estonia's, only around [six] percent of the population of Lithuania is ethnically Russian." (Kuodyte & Tracevskis, 2006:39) Analyzing these percentages as a measure of effectiveness, one may conclude that the reputation of the resistance effort made Russian colonists reluctant to settle down in Lithuania.

Although these successes transcended beyond the movement, the resistance campaign, nonetheless, may be conclusively divided into two stages split by the 1945 culminating point. This point bridged a gap between partisan attempts at traditional warfare and a forced transition to irregular warfare operations.

Initially, the vacuum of leadership at the forefront of the partisan effort occurred because of mass deportations between the three occupations and the wave of 60000 escapees. With the absence of civil and military leaders,

the Lithuanians were already in part "decapitated" before the partisan movement even began. As a result, lower ranking and reservist leadership that only knew how to fight conventional wars initiated the resistance movement. Against the weight of a battle-hardened combined arms Soviet force, light infantry tactics under the guise of less experienced leaders was bound to fail.

Ideologically, Lithuanians realized that there would be no external support from the democratic West as time progressed with no obvious attempts or indications. With the hopes of the people fading fast, the Soviets were able to bend the malleable will of the "uncommitted middle" by mobilizing a massive NKVD force that exceeded 100000 men in 1945. When taken together with five continuous years of conflict and three separate occupations, the majority of Lithuanians were less apt to want to continue the struggle. War weariness against a formidable foe, therefore, may also have been an additional factor to the quick culmination as evidenced by the number of Lithuanians that so willingly surrendered under the 1945 amnesty program.

Lastly, the numbers reflect an apex in military capability that continued to slide after 1945. Lithuanian partisan numbers dwindled from 30000 in 1945 to 4000 in 1946, the number of partisan operations decreased from 3324 in 1945 at its peak to 2354 in 1946, and the number of weapons captured continued to fade away after the 1945 zenith.

Accordingly, this pinnacle of partisan effort in 1945 clearly represents a culminating point that forced the Lithuanian resistance movement to shift their operations drastically because of a shortfall in resources, a lack of external support, and the inability of resistance leadership to adapt rapidly enough against a comprehensive Soviet assimilation campaign. Ultimately, based on the totality of evidence, the 1945 culminating point splits the resistance into two stages: 1) 1944-45 – conventional war operations, a period of traditional offensive warfare by an organized partisan movement; and 2) 1946-1953 – irregular warfare operations, a period of unremitting decline by a significantly diminished resistance, relegated to a more defensive posture and small scale offensive operations.

References:

Anusauskas, Arvydas. 2006. *The Anti-Soviet Resistance in the Baltic States.* Vilnius: Pasauliui apie mus.

Bagusauskas, Juozapas R., ed., 2006. *Lithuanian Partizans Tauras Region, 1945-1952 (The Collection of Documents.* Vilnius: Lithuanian Archives Department.

Daumantas, Juozas, 1975. *Fighters for Freedom.* New York: Manyland Books.

Dunn, Walter S., Jr., 2006. *Stalin's Keys to Victory, The Rebirth of the Red Army.* Westport, Connecticut: Praeger Security International.

Galula, David, 1964, reprinted in 2006. *Counterinsurgency: Theory and Practice* Westport, CT: Praeger Security International.

Gaskaite, Nijole; Kaseta, Algis and Starkauskas, Juozas, 1996. *Lietuvos Kovu ir Kanciu Istorija; Lietuvos partizanu kovos is ju slopinimas MVD-MGB documentuose 1944-1953 metais.* Kaunas: Pasaulio Lietuviu Bendruomene.

Glantz, David M. and Orenstein, Harold S.; trans. and ed., 2001. *Belorussia 1944: the Soviet General Staff Study.* London: Frank Cass Publishers.

Guevara, Che, 1997. *Guerilla Warfare,* 3rd ed. (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, Inc..

Headquarters Department of the Army, Dec. 2006. *Counterinsurgency.* FM 3-24. (Washington, DC: Headquarters Department of the Army.

Kaszeta, Daniel J., Fall 1988. Lithuanian Resistance to Foreign Occupation 1940-1952. *Lituanus Lithuanian Quarterly Journal of Arts and Sciences 34*, No. 3.

Kuodyte, Dalia and Kaseta, Algis, 1996. *Laisves kovos 1944-1953 Metais.* Kaunas: Pasaulio Lietuviu Bendruomene.

Kuodyte, Dalia and Tracevskis, Rokas, 2006. *The Unknown War.* Vilnius: Genocide and Resistance Research Centre of Lithuania.

Lukowski, Jerzy and Zawadski, Hubert, 2001. *A Concise History of Poland.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mao, Tse-tung (trans. Samuel B. Griffith). *On Guerrilla Warfare.* New York, NY: Praeger Publishers, 1961.

Merridale, Catherine, 2006. *Ivan's War: Inside the Red Army, 1939–45.* New York: Metropolitan Books.

Pajaujis-Javis, Joseph, 1980. *Soviet Genocide in Lithuania.* New York: Maryland Books Inc..

Peterson, Roger D., 2001. *Resistance and Rebellion.* Baltimore: Cambridge University Press.

Potichny, Peter J., Fall-Winter 2003. The Archive of Soviet Internal Forces as a Source of Insurgency and Counter-Insurgency Studies. *The Ukrainian Quarterly*. Vol. LIX, No. 3-4.

Remeikis, Thomas, 1980. *Opposition to Soviet Rule in Lithuania 1945-1980*. Chicago: Institute of Lithuanian Studies Press.

Starkauskas, Juozas, 1998. *Cekistine Kariuomene Lietuvoje 1944-1953 Metais*. Vilnius: Meninis Apipavidalinimas, Alfonas Zvilius.

Truong, Chinh, 1963. *Primer for Revolt: The Communist Takeover in Vietnam*. New York, NY: Frederick A. Praeger Publishers.

Vardys, Stanley V., 1965. *Lithuania Under the Soviets*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger.

Zaloga, Steven, 1996. *Bagration 1944, The Destruction of Army Group Centre*. Oxford: Osprey Publishing.

APPENDIX A

1941 NKVD deportation priorities: Groups considered a threat to the occupation

1.   Former members of legislative bodies and prominent members of political parties
2.   Army officers from the Russian Civil War (1917-1921)
3.   Prosecutors, judges, and attorneys
4.   Government and municipal officials
5.   Policemen and prison officials
6.   Members of the National Guard
7.   Mayors
8.   Border and prison guards
9.   Active members of the press
10.   Active members of the farmers' union
11.   Business owners
12.   Large real estate owners
13.   Ship owners
14.   Stockholders
15.   Hoteliers and restaurateurs
16.   Members of any organization considered to be right wing
17.   Members of the White Guard
18.   Members of anti-communist organizations
19.   Relatives of any person abroad
20.   Families against whom reprisals had been taken during the Soviet regime
21.   Active members in labour unions
22.   Persons with anti-communist relatives abroad
23.   Clergymen and active members of religious organizations

Appendix A (1941 NKVD deportation priorities: Groups considered a threat to the occupation)

Source: Daniel J. Kaszeta, "Lithuanian Resistance to Foreign Occupation 1940-1952," *Lituanus Lithuanian Quarterly Journal of Arts and Sciences 34*, No. 3, Fall 1988.

APPENDIX B

Appendix B. Partisan military districts

Source: Kuodyte, Dalia and Rokas Tracevskis. *The Unknown War*. Vilnius: Genocide and Resistance Research Centre of Lithuania, 2006.

APPENDIX C

Theoretical Appendix: A Case Study in Flexibility and Security

The successful Soviet blitzkrieg during Operation *Bagration* in 1944 would be the beginning of the third occupation of Lithuania during World War II in a period of five years (Daumantas, 1975:10). The first in 1940 was a Russian "liberation" from "capitalist and Fascist exploiters," and the second in 1941 was a German "liberation" from "Bolshevik bondage." (*Ibid.*) With each consecutive wave of occupation, the elders, public officials, and those in power were segregated, arrested, and often executed or deported to labour camps. A fierce sense of patriotism and hatred towards these occupiers arose, resulting in the build-up of a robust partisan movement lasting from 1944 to 1953. Though this Lithuanian partisan movement remained strong ideologically and continued to resist for ten years, it never recovered from a premature culmination in large part due to its failure to embrace two universal tenets for successful insurgencies – flexibility and security.

1. People and Ideology

The foundation for the resistance was grounded in two of the most basic fundamentals of insurgencies – people and ideology. In Guerrilla Warfare, Mao Tse-tung states, "Because guerrilla warfare basically derives from the masses and is supported by them, it can neither exist nor flourish if it separates itself from their sympathies and cooperation." (Mao, 1961:43) Accordingly, the partisan movement was initially fuelled by the fire of overwhelming support towards a universal ideology – independence from an occupying force.

Truong Chinh describes this universal ideology by delineating between two kinds of wars – just and unjust. "Just wars are wars against oppressors and conquerors to safeguard the freedom and independence of the peoples. Unjust wars are wars aimed at the seizure of territories, at usurpation of the freedom and happiness of the majority of the people of such territories." (Truong, 1963:107) Freedom against oppression was a simple and universally appreciated rationale to set the foundation for a just war against the Soviets.

Ideology defined this partisan effort in every respect. A strong sense of nationalism, a desire for independence and an already ingrained hatred towards the Russians from the prior Tsarist and earlier Soviet occupations spurred the will of partisans and the people alike. An occupying force is by its very nature easily demonized, and the movement found recruits in droves. Lithuanians joined the resistance effort inspired by a full spectrum of motives—national pride, self preservation, religious oppression and avoidance of Red Army conscription.

Success in irregular wars requires "the government to be accepted as legitimate by most of that uncommitted middle." (Headquarters Department of the Army, 2006:1-20) Initially, the occupiers had no legitimacy. Ideological emphasis by the partisan effort was the glue that held together the will of the people in 1944-45, creating the hope that kept the passive majority pro-partisan.

Most sources estimate that the resistance strength exceeded 30000 active participants at its height within the first two years (Kaszeta, 1988). In addition to the active front line soldiers, the movement consisted of inactive fighters who were "on call" and a supporting or auxiliary element that resourced the effort (*Ibid.*). Though their numbers were initially high and a strong ideology unified the masses, the effort was slow to adapt against a comprehensive Soviet counterinsurgency campaign.

2. Flexibility

Guerrilla strategy must be based mainly on "alertness, mobility, and attack." (Mao, 1961:46) According to Mao Tse-tung, this strategy "must be adjusted to the enemy situation, the terrain, the existing lines of communication, the relative strengths, the weather, and the situation of the people." (*Ibid.*) The Lithuanian resistance movement did not properly observe many of these fundamentals and failed to adapt rapidly enough to oppose a combined arms Soviet force.

During the first part of the occupation from 1944-45, the partisan effort fell under the leadership of former officers of the Lithuanian army (Anusauskas, 2006:46). Maintaining a structured organizational mindset and having only been trained in conventional warfare, the leadership engaged in force on force operations against their Bolshevik oppressors (*Ibid.* p. 56). These former officers "did not know the tactics of partisan

warfare and attempted to fight a positional war with the Soviet Army (this included building trenches, shelters, etc.).” (*Ibid.*)

Che Guevara in Guerrilla Warfare states that “an attack should be carried out in such a way as to give a guarantee of victory.” (Guevara, 1997:91) He further posits, “Against the rigidity of classical methods of fighting, the guerrilla fighter invents his own tactics at every minute of the fight and constantly surprises the enemy.” (*Ibid.*, p. 59) The inability of the Lithuanian partisan movement to recognize the necessity to rapidly change their style of war-fighting characterizes inflexibility and contributed greatly to the movements’ demise.

Also, for however bold the partisan force and leadership may have been, a conventional fight against the Russians failed to take into consideration a simple relative combat power assessment. Traditional war against the Soviets matched a light infantry partisan effort against the weight of a battle-hardened combined arms force, complete with armour, artillery, and air. Having incurred significant casualties in conventional attempts, “almost all partisan groups switched to partisan tactics in late 1945.” (Anusauskas, 2006:56) By this time, however, partisan numbers had dwindled from 30000 to roughly 4000 (Kuodyte & Tracevskis, 2006:35).

These numbers are vitally significant to analyze. According to Guevara, “In a fight between a hundred men on one side and ten on the other, losses are not equal where there is one casualty on each side.” (Guevara, 1997:59) In terms of the Lithuanian resistance, that single casualty signifies a significantly higher loss to the insurgency, a force outnumbered three to one by the Soviets who had “more than 100000 men stationed in a nation of only 3 million people.” (Kaszeta, 1988)

3. Security

Although the resistance spanned across all social strata, active partisans remained in the forests for protection and received support from the rural population. This dispersion across rural regions made sense where roughly “76.7 percent of the population were occupied in agriculture on privately owned small and medium sized farms.” (Pajaujis-Javis, 1980:109) In many regards, the resistance movement and support network typified the classic “agrarian revolutionary” concept of Mao Tse-tung, Truong Chinh and Che

Guevara (Guevara, 1997:53). The partisan movement originated from and gained its strength from the rural populace.

Towards the beginning of the movement the ideology for the "just war" was sufficient to maintain support from the agrarian population. The population maintained its support for the partisans because there were no issues with regard to the first two tiers of Maslow's hierarchy of needs – fundamentals for survival (i.e. food, shelter, and clothing) and security. As the Soviets began to defeat the partisans, however, the second tier of security for the agrarian population faded, as did their unbridled loyalty to the resistance out of fear for survival.

According to David Galula, the population's stance is determined by "[w]hich side gives the best protection, which one threatens the most, [and] which one is likely to win." (Galula, 2006:26) Another means of describing the crux of this statement is in the equation: "Quality" (Q) x "Acceptance" (A) = "Effectiveness" (E).[1] In the case of the Lithuanian resistance, the partisans espoused an ideology of freedom for the future "Quality" of life. Their "Acceptance" for security and success under the partisans, however, dwindled as the Soviets gained momentum in their movement.

The Soviets, on the other hand, embarked on a nationalization and collectivization program to usurp all land from private ownership, "guaranteeing" a higher "Quality" of life in co-ops for the rural populace. Additionally, the Soviets were rapidly seen as the side most likely to win, generating "Acceptance" for social stability and security. The Soviet equation rapidly tipped the scales of "Effectiveness" which decimated the partisan support infrastructure and led to the movement's early culmination.

Conclusions

There were a number of reasons for the resistance movement's early culmination to include a shortfall in resources, a lack of external support, and the inability of resistance leadership to properly address each element of the comprehensive Soviet assimilation campaign. Ultimately, the main reasons for achieving culmination rested in the inability of partisans to adapt rapidly in their kinetic operations and the inability to preserve the security of the agrarian population. The resistance could not succeed in

fighting a conventional war against a massive, combined arms Soviet force, and the effectiveness of the Soviet efforts eventually persuaded the populace to abandon the movement stemming from a collective desire to preserve any sense of security.
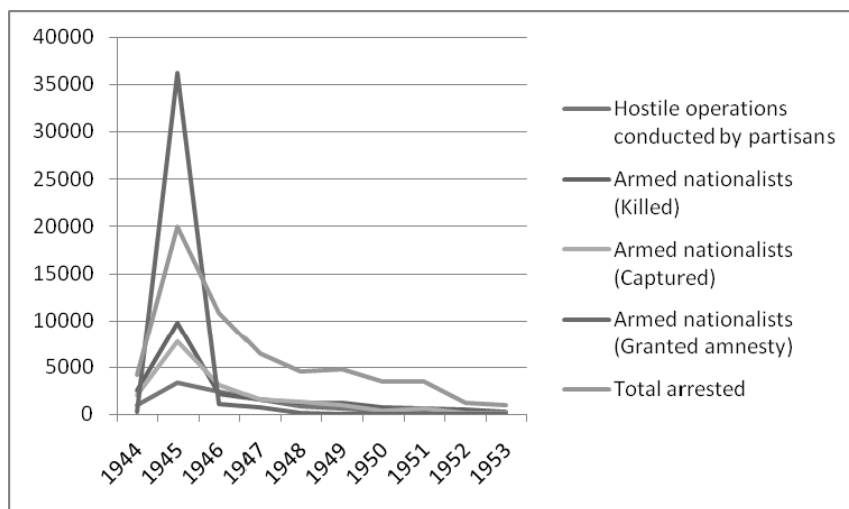
APPENDIX D
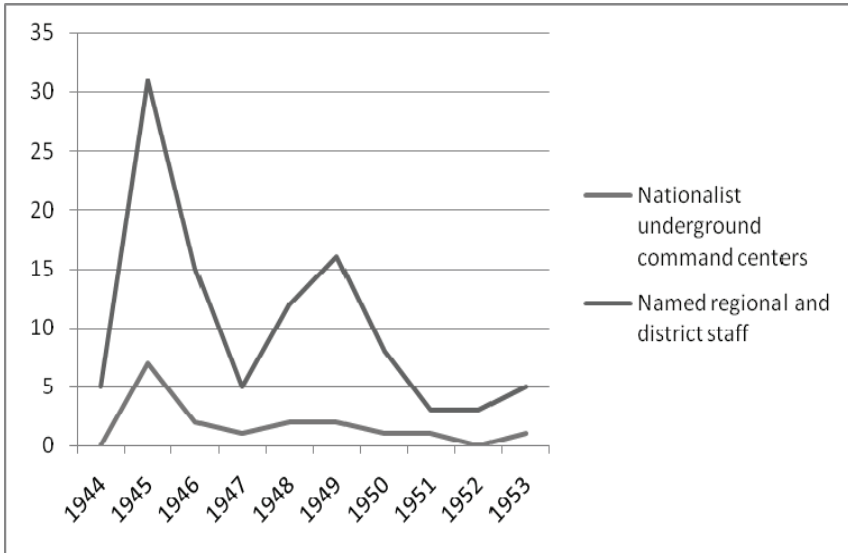
Appendix D. Chekist data: Number of Nationalist underground command centers dismantled; regional and district staff members captured or killed by the Soviet campaign

Source: Graph created based on information from: Nijole Gaskaite, Algis Kaseta and Juozas Starkauskas, *Lietuvos Kovu ir Kanciu Istorija; Lietuvos partizanu kovos is ju slopinimas MVD-MGB documentuose 1944-1953 metais* (Kaunas: Pasaulio Lietuviu Bendruomene, 1996), 620.
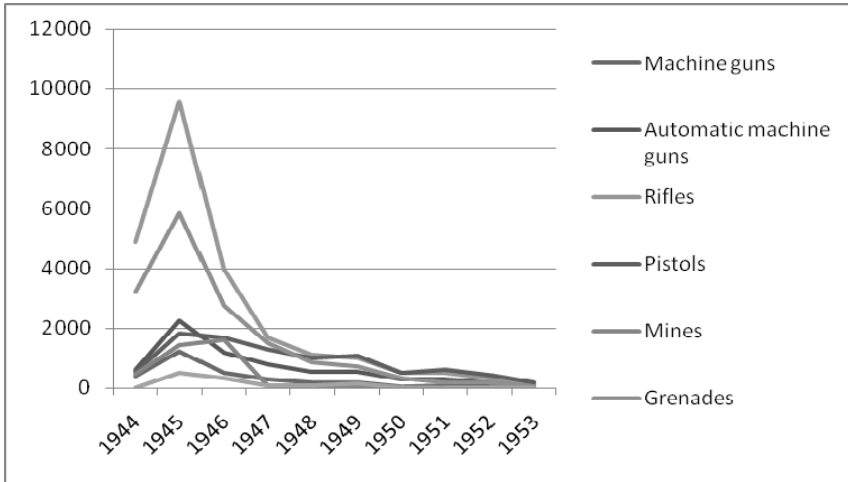
APPENDIX E

Appendix E. Chekist data: Number of partisan operations conducted; partisans killed, captured, arrested and given amnesty

Source: Graph created based on information from: Nijole Gaskaite, Algis Kaseta and Juozas Starkauskas, *Lietuvos Kovu ir Kanciu Istorija; Lietuvos partizanu kovos is ju slopinimas MVD-MGB documentuose 1944-1953 metais* (Kaunas: Pasaulio Lietuviu Bendruomene, 1996), 620.

APPENDIX F

Appendix F. Chekist data: Number of captured weapon systems by Soviets

Source: Graph created based on information from: Nijole Gaskaite, Algis Kaseta and Juozas Starkauskas, *Lietuvos Kovu ir Kanciu Istorija; Lietuvos partizanu kovos is ju slopinimas MVD-MGB documentuose 1944-1953 metais* (Kaunas: Pasaulio Lietuviu Bendruomene, 1996), 620.

---

[1] Formula used by George Eckes in the Six Sigma business management strategy.

The Naval War in the Baltic, September – November 1939

*By Donald Stoker**

In the inter-war period the states of the Eastern Baltic embarked upon numerous efforts at collective security. The Poles achieved the greatest coup, an alliance with France that provided for French intervention in the event of war. Unfortunately for all of the parties involved, the progress of technology in the late 1930s, as well as the rearmament of Germany, made this agreement tenuous at best. After 1933 the French could not keep their naval commitment to Poland in the event of a war with Germany without paying a devastating cost. British intervention in the region, even if they had not already abandoned the area to its more aggressive residents, would have been just as disastrous. Immediately preceding the outbreak of war, Britain and France did guarantee Poland. By this time though, it was too late, and the promise proved hollow.

In August 1939, Germany and the Soviet Union took advantage of the power vacuum created by British and French abandonment of the Baltic region and signed the infamous Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. The agreement delineated clear spheres of influence in Eastern Europe and led to yet another partition of Poland. The pact cleared the path for Hitler's war against Poland and allowed Stalin to extend the grip of the Soviet regime.[1]

On September 1st, 1939, Germany invaded Poland, sparking a war that consumed great tracts of Europe. Many in the Nazi hierarchy welcomed the invasion and viewed it as the first step on the path toward German domination of the continent. Grand-Admiral Erich Raeder, the Commander-in-Chief of the German Navy, was not so quick to applaud the onset of war. The German Army and Air Force were prepared to embark upon offensive operations, but only the first faltering steps had been taken toward the creation of a strong German navy. Raeder, who built the German fleet while working under the impression that no major conflict would occur before 1944, found his forces in battle before he felt them ready. The war against Poland, and the conflicts subsequent extension to the west, forced the German navy to fight with the scant forces it possessed. Combined British and French naval superiority was

---

* Donald Stoker (PhD) is a Professor at the U.S. Naval War College

crushing, somewhere on the order of ten-to-one, leading Raeder to comment that "in any war with England, the German Navy could do little more than go down fighting." (Raeder, 1960:280-281)

The only theatre in which the German Navy exerted a decisive influence during the early stages of the war, and arguably at anytime, was the Baltic Sea. This was due more to the dictates of geography and the weakness of their opponents than German strength. Control of the Baltic was of vital importance to the Reich. This guaranteed the flow of Swedish iron ore to German industry, safeguarded trade with Scandinavia, and insured the successful transit of military units and supplies. The Baltic was also an extremely valuable training area for the navy, being the only place where submarine crews could be prepared without the threat of enemy interference. Maintaining control of this sea, as well as the sea lines of supply and communication to East Prussia, proved the navy's primary tasks. (Doenitz, 1990:398; Bachmann, 1971:197)

Fortunately for Raeder, the Poles possessed meagre naval forces. The combined tonnage of all Polish fighting ships was only 14443 tons, less than that of either of the German pre-Dreadnought battleships *Schleswig-Holstein* and *Schlesien*, which displaced 14900 tons. The *Bismarck* (though not yet ready) alone displaced nearly three times this amount - 41700 tons. The Polish Navy had one destroyer flotilla consisting of *Wicher*, *Burza*, *Grom*, and *Blyskawica*, one submarine flotilla of five submarines, *Wilk*, *Zbik*, *Rys*, *Orzel*, and *Sep*, and a minelayer, *Gryf*. Poland also possessed a few smaller vessels: a squadron of 12 torpedo boats, 12 trawlers, a number of river monitors, and the hydrographic ship *Pomorzanin*. Polish navy personnel numbered only 300 officers and 3200 other ranks. (Baginski, 1942a:98-99; Showall, 1979:130, 136; Robinson, 1942:1682; Jurga, 1970:266-267)

By comparison, the German navy fielded overwhelming naval force: three pocket-battleships, one heavy and six light cruisers, 34 torpedo boats and destroyers, and 57 submarines, as well as the aforementioned pre-dreadnought battleships, numerous minesweepers and other light vessels, and extensive air support from the *Luftwaffe*. Raeder had hoped to have more. Famously, his "Z Plan" had called for the construction of a world-class navy, but it had been composed on the assumption that there would be no war this early. For the *Kriegsmarine*, the war had come too soon. Raeder did not commit all of his available forces against Poland, but this

was hardly necessary. (Thomas, 1990:179, 188)

A decision (albeit a wise one) made two days before the German invasion by Admiral Jerzy Swirski, the chief of the Polish navy, reduced what the little strength the Poles possessed. It was decided that since German mastery of the Baltic made it unlikely that Poland would receive any substantial support from its allies that the three most modern destroyers, *Blyskawica*, *Grom*, and *Burza*, should sail to Britain to fight alongside the Royal Navy. The two nations signed an agreement on the issue shortly before the outbreak of the war and the trio departed on August 30th, 1939. (Baginski, 1942a:99-100, Flisowski, 1991:66; Garlinski, 1995:17-18)

The destroyers received special and detailed instructions from Navy Chief of Staff Admiral Jozef Unrug. The ships left Poland so as to arrive after sunset between Bornholm and Christiansö Islands. The Poles had orders that upon encountering other ships or planes they were to pretend that they were doing exercises. After dark, they were to increase speed so as to pass Malmö around midnight (Unrug report, 1992:331-332).[2] Before an official declaration of hostilities they were to take action only in response to a clear act of aggression. If war erupted, they would receive the signal "smok" (smoke). Then, they were not to evade battle unless the enemy had a clear and significant advantage. After exhausting all options, the flotilla was to seek refuge in a neutral port, preferably a Swedish one. Barring this, they were to return home, if they could. If they found this impossible, they had orders to scuttle their ships to prevent them from falling into German hands. The signal for the departure for Bornholm and Christiansö was "Nanking." When they reached this point, the flotilla would receive another signal, "Peking." After this, the destroyers were to sail immediately for Great Britain. (*Ibid.*)

Four German destroyers spotted the Polish ships and shadowed them for some time. Reconnaissance aircraft also kept the trio under continuous observation. But a state of war did not yet exist between the two powers and consequently, the German ships broke-off the chase and returned to their base at Swinemünde on the north German coast. The Polish destroyers arrived in Britain on September 1st, 1939. (Whitley, 1983:98; report, Aug. 31st., 1984, [microfilm], roll 1, 17)

On August 30th, two days before the Germans started the war, the Polish government issued a navigation advisory for its coastal regions. The

warning, broadcast in Polish and English, stated that an area three miles from the Polish coast had been mined. The order gave longitude and latitude coordinates and ordered all approaching vessels to request a pilot. In reality, the operations had not yet been carried out. The Poles did plan to mine the area, and had about 1000 mines for this purpose, but the maritime authorities wanted to be sure that all vessels coming to Gdynia had first been forewarned. (Gruillot to Ministre de la Marine, 1939a)

The German navy, not expecting the conflict to spread to the west, concentrated the bulk of its forces against the Poles. The *Kriegsmarine* received fairly straightforward orders. Its tasks in the war against Poland included establishing a blockade of the Bay of Danzig, neutralizing Polish warships, and providing support for the army, especially during the conquest of the Westerplatte, Gdynia, Gdansk (Danzig), and the Hela peninsula. (Maier et al., 1979:159)

Vice-Admiral Conrad Densch commanded the German forces at sea from his flagship, the light cruiser *Nürnberg*. Two other light cruisers, *Leipzig* and *Köln*, accompanied *Nürnberg*. A flotilla of ten destroyers, six motor torpedo boats, 21 minesweepers of various types, five small escort vessels, and ten submarines lent additional weight. The Germans also committed the pre-dreadnought battleship *Schleswig-Holstein*. She and her escort had arrived in Danzig on August 25th on a "courtesy visit" conducted under the premise of honouring the memory of the crew of the German cruiser *Magdeburg*. The Polish press quickly condemned the presence of the German warships, which had been agreed to by the Polish government. *Magdeburg* had been sunk in the Baltic during World War I, 25 years to the day of the *Schleswig-Holstein's* arrival, and her deceased crewmen lay buried in Danzig. The battleship had orders to remain in the shallow waters of the harbour so that even if it was bombed or hit by Polish shells it would not sink completely, but come to rest on the harbour bottom. It soon became apparent to the German naval commanders that the forces employed by the *Kriegsmarine* were unnecessarily large, perhaps even dangerously so. The Polish submarine flotilla constituted the major threat to the German forces. These boats had put to sea prior to hostilities and the German cruisers operating close to shore in the confined waters of the Polish coast were potentially easy targets. The Germans withdrew the three cruisers and three of the submarines westward by September 2nd. However, the German naval forces were strengthened on September 21st by the arrival of the *Schleswig-Holstein's* sister-ship, *Schlesien*. (Whitley, 1983:99; Baginski,

1942a:100; Stjernfelt & Bohme, 1979:42; report, Aug. 23rd, 1939; Piekalkiewicz, 1987:17; Gruillot to Ministre de la Marine, 1939b)

At 0445 hours on September 1st, 1939, the *Schleswig-Holstein* and her escort of torpedo boats, gunboats, and minesweepers, fired the first shots of the German campaign in Poland, and of World War II. Their targets were the Polish fortifications on the Westerplatte peninsula in Danzig. A League of Nations resolution of December 9th, 1925 allowed Poland to maintain a military installation and 88 soldiers on the Westerplatte. In March 1939, with the threat of war looming on the horizon, this force was augmented by an additional detachment of 50 men. (Stjernfelt & Bohme, 1979:11; Rohwer, Hümmelchen & Weis, 2005:1; Bethell, 1972:1; Baginski, 1942a:100)

After a brief bombardment, which took place at a distance of only a few hundred meters, the 225-man naval assault force "Hennigsen" landed in an attempt to seize the Westerplatte. They were immediately driven off. A second assault followed. It too was repulsed. The attackers suffered heavy casualties, 83 of their 225 effectives were killed, including the commander, or wounded. The battle for this mile-long strip of Danzig harbour lasted until September 7th when the Poles surrendered after running out of food and water. The German press called the area "kleines Verdun" (little Verdun) because of the several hundred Germans killed in attacks on the site. (Detwiler, 1979:78; report, Sept. 2nd, 1939; Koburger Jr., 1989:23; Bethell, 1972:134)

Early on September 1st, German aircraft flew reconnaissance missions over the Polish naval base at Gdynia. The majority of Poland's remaining surface naval units, the destroyer *Wicher*, the minelayer *Gryf*, the torpedo boat *Mazur*, and a number of auxiliary vessels, lay at anchor here. Several hours later, German bombers appeared over the base and attacked the ships, sinking *Mazur* and the depot ship *Baltyk*, and forcing the remaining craft to flee. The smaller vessels went to Puck Bay, near Hela, where later they either fell victim to air attack or were scuttled by their crews. The *Wicher* and the *Gryf* sailed to the Hela naval base in the Gulf of Danzig. (Robisnon, 1942:1683; Baginski, 1942a:101)

With the German attack, the submarines put into action operation "Worek," the Polish navy's plan for deploying these boats in the event of war with Germany. Two boats, *Orzel* and *Wilk*, were to operate in Danzig

Bay, the other three off the coast of Hela. Because of their small munitions supply, and the heavy threat from the German fleet, particularly the large number of Nazi submarines, the Polish boats had orders to concentrate their efforts against larger German vessels such as battleships, cruisers, and destroyers. Enemy merchant ships could only be attacked if the submarines followed the prize rules of the 1938 convention Poland had signed with London. This committed the attacking submarines to making an effort to insure the safety of merchant crews, and to attack only after issuing a warning. (Bachmann, 1970:19)

The submariners also had instructions similar to those given to the Polish destroyer crews. They should fight the enemy as long as possible and finally, if no safe base existed in Poland, try to make their way to a British port. If this did not seem possible, the submarines should then proceed to a neutral port, except for a Soviet one. (*Ibid.*, p. 20)

On August 26th, with the war-clouds looming, the Chief of the Polish submarine division, Commander Aleksander Mohuczy, and his staff, had moved the three mine-laying submarines *Sep*, *Rys*, and *Zbik*, to Hela. The vessels only carried 20 mines each, one half of their capacity. The Poles had 1000 type 07 mines, ex-Russian models, for the surface ships, but the submarines could only use the French type H 5. The submarines *Orzel* and *Wilk* remained in Gdynia. (*Ibid.*)

In the pre-dawn hours of September 1st, the Polish submarines put plan "Worek" into action and sailed for their respective duty stations. At 0500 hours on September 1st, German destroyers arrived off the Gulf of Danzig and near Hela, having sailed from their Pillau base at 0332 hours. The destroyers had orders to conduct mercantile warfare off the Polish coast and search for blockade-runners. During the day, they stopped and searched several ships, including neutral Greek and Norwegian vessels. Polish submarines patrolled the area and throughout the day the German escort vessel *F7* and the destroyers *Ihn* and *Steinbrinck* reported sightings. The Polish submarine *Wilk* unsuccessfully attacked the latter. Encounters between the Polish submarines and other German ships followed, but produced little except minor damage, usually inflicted on the Polish submarines by German depth charges. (*Ibid.*, p. 22-25; Baginski, 1942a:101-102)

The Hela peninsula housed a second important Polish naval base. Its

defence centred on four uncompleted forts, was led by Rear-Admiral Unrug. Unrug, before the creation of the modern Polish state, had been a senior officer in the Imperial German Navy. During the latter years of World War I, he commanded the German submarine training forces where one of his most capable students had been Karl Dönitz. Unrug, and the 4000 men serving under him, mounted a stubborn defence of the peninsula. It was one of the last areas of Polish territory to capitulate, doing so only on October 1st, 1939. (Baginski, 1942a:101, Piekalkiewicz, 1987:18; Whitley, 1983:100; Koburger, 1989:23)

On September 3rd, the German destroyers *Leberecht Maass* and *Zenker* received orders to patrol the harbour at Hela and identify the warships therein. During their approach, they found the destroyer *Wicher* and the minelayer *Gryf*. The German destroyers struck, *Maas* engaging *Wicher* and *Zenker* attacking *Gryf*. The Germans opened fire at 14000 yards. The Polish ships replied, as did a shore battery of six-inch guns. The Poles shot well, forcing the German destroyers to increase their speed to 27 knots and take evasive action. This, combined with the laying of a smoke screen by the German destroyers, seriously hindered German fire control. At 0657 hours, the Polish shore battery scored a hit on the starboard Number Two gun deck of the *Maas*, killing four members of the gun crew and wounding the remaining four. The action continued inconclusively and at 0735 hours, the German destroyers were ordered to withdraw and return to Pillau to refuel. Shortly afterward, Hela was attacked by German aircraft. Junkers Ju-87 "*Stukas*" sank the *Wicher*, while other German bombers destroyed the minelayer *Gryf*. Before its destruction, *Gryf* had managed to sow its mines in the Baltic, but the effort proved futile as the *Gryf* had "laid her mines with their firing mechanisms still set on safe." (Whitley, 1983:100; report, Sept. 3rd, 1939; Koburger, 1989:23)

Other Polish vessels suffered from German air attacks and the *Luftwaffe* proved the greatest danger to the Polish ships. On September 3rd, at Jastarnia, near Hela, the Germans sank two minesweepers and the gunboat *General Haller*. As the war progressed, and the Poles realized that further defence of Gdynia was impossible, the Polish Navy expended several vessels as block ships at the entrance of the port in an attempt to render it useless to the Germans. The garrison at Gdynia, a combined force of soldiers, sailors, and Home Guard battalions raised from the local population, all under the command of Colonel Stanislaw Dabek, resisted German attacks for 20 days. They surrendered only after they had

exhausted their ammunition and the majority of the defenders had become casualties. (Baginski, 1942a:97, 100-101; Rohwer et al., 2005:2)[3]

On the night of September 3-4th, the Polish submarines *Rys, Wilk*, and *Zbik* began to sew mines north of the Vistula River estuary. By September 6th they laid a total of 50 mines in three barrages before being forced to withdraw in the face of depth charge attacks by Captain Friedrich Ruge's 1st Minesweeping Flotilla. The Germans cleared the first two barrages, but the third claimed the German minesweeper *M.85* on October 1st. The Polish submarines, despite all having suffered damage from German attacks, continued their patrols and began operating between the Danish island of Bornholm and the Gulf of Danzig, though without success. On September 11th they received orders to either attempt to get through to Britain or allow themselves to be interned in Sweden upon exhausting their supplies. *Wilk* reached Britain on September 20th. *Rys*, *Zbik*, and *Sep* were interned in Sweden by September 25th. (Bachmann, 1970:28-30)

The remaining Polish submarine, *Orzel*, with a crew of 29 officers and men, had a different fate. During the first days of the war, *Orzel* cruised off the Polish coast where it suffered damage from a depth charge attack. The crew, after making repairs, sailed to the coast of the Swedish island of Gotland. Next, after obtaining permission from the Estonian government, the *Orzel* made for Tallinn (Reval) to disembark its commanding officer, Lieutenant Commander Henryk Kloczowski, who was suffering from a serious illness. The German minister in Tallinn convinced the Estonian government to confiscate *Orzel's* maps and navigational instruments, despite this being a breach of international law. The Estonians also began to disarm the vessel by removing 14 of its 20 torpedoes and the breech mechanism from its 3.5-inch deck gun. (Rohwer et al., 2005:4; Robinson 1942:1683; The Baltic Times, 1939:1)

On the night of September 17-18th the crew of the *Orzel* kidnapped the Estonian guards assigned to their ship, sawed through the steel cables holding the boat to the dock, and departed Tallinn. Fire from the coastal batteries failed to keep the submarine from reaching the open sea. Possessing no maps or navigational instruments, but still having a few torpedoes *Orzel*, now under the command of its first officer, Lieutenant-Commander Jan Grudzinski, patrolled the Baltic in an unsuccessful search for German targets. On October 6th, *Orzel* passed through the Belts and began a cruise in the North Sea that lasted until October 14th. His fuel

nearly exhausted, Grudzinski radioed the British Admiralty for instructions and then joined the *Orzel's* sister ship, *Wilk*, in the British port of Rosyth. (Baginski, 1942a:102; Robinson, 1942:1683-1684; Roskill, 1954:69; Rohwer et al., 2005:4; Gallienne to Foreign Office, 1939)

The German navy, after overcoming what little resistance the Poles could offer, established a blockade of Polish ports. Afterward, it had little to do other than protect convoys moving between Stettin, other German ports, and East Prussia, and prevent the escape of the few remaining Polish naval and merchant vessels. The Polish surface vessels that had not fled before the war were all destroyed or captured, but all five of the Polish submarines escaped, three to neutral Sweden, and two to ports in Britain. The majority of the Polish merchant fleet also escaped. Of the 135000 tons of merchant shipping possessed by Poland on the outbreak of war, 10000 tons were sunk in Gdynia harbour. The other 125000 tons reached Britain, and after an October 1939 agreement, cooperated with the British Merchant Marine. Much of the surviving 125000 tons of shipping was not in the Baltic on September 1st, having already been ordered to sail to Britain. The German Navy can hardly be faulted for their escape. Three Polish ships, *Poznan*, *Slask*, and *Rozewie*, which had remained in the Baltic to maintain Poland's communications with Sweden and Finland, managed to slip through the Skaggerak and Kattegat, despite the minefields and the German navy. (Detwiler, 1979:78, 90; Baginski, 1942a:97-98, 101-102; Baginski, 1942b:162)

The collapse of Poland did not put an end to the German-Polish naval war. The vessels and sailors that escaped to Britain continued the fight alongside their allies, led by one of their own, Rear-Admiral Jerzy Swirski, from his new headquarters in London. Swirski escaped from Poland via Romania, a route taken by many of his countrymen. The Poles, while cooperating with the Royal Navy, acquired a reputation for skill and gallantry and participated in most of the major naval actions in the European Theatre of Operations. The Polish submarine *Orzel*, during the German attack on Norway, sank the German troopship *Rio de Janeiro*. On April 10th, 1940, the *Orzel* followed up this victory by sinking an armed German trawler in the Skaggerak. Shortly afterward, the *Orzel* was lost. She sailed for a two-week patrol on May 23rd, 1940 and never returned. The destroyer *Grom* took part in the fighting at Narvik, where she was sunk by bombs from a German aircraft. The destroyer *Burza* helped evacuate British forces from Dunkirk and Calais during May and June 1940, and

went on to serve with distinction as a convoy escort and submarine hunter. The destroyer *Blyskawica* had a particularly distinguished career, participating in nearly every major sea action in the European Theatre, including the intervention in Norway, the evacuation at Dunkirk, escort duty on the dangerous Malta run, and the Normandy invasion. [4] The Polish Navy in exile grew through the addition of Allied vessels; major units included six British destroyers and one that had belonged to France, as well as three British submarines and an American one. The Royal Navy also lent the Poles two light cruisers, one, *Dragon*, was sunk by a small German submarine during the Normandy invasion. In all, Polish naval vessels conducted 1162 wartime patrols. (Baginski, 1942a:102-103; Robinson, 1942:1684-1686; Roskill, 1954:69-70; Aronson, 1958:18-30; Flisowski, 1991:66-72; Peszke, 1999:171, 185-187)

The Germans intended for their naval war against Poland to be a short conflict and the German navy had orders to crush the meagre Polish forces in the opening days of the war. The foresight of Admiral Swirski with his decision to send Poland's three most modern destroyers to Great Britain prior to the outbreak of hostilities, enabled the most valuable units of Poland's navy to carry-on the fight against Germany. The bravery and resourcefulness of the crews of the submarines *Orzel* and *Wilk*, and their escape to Britain, also help Poland continue its war. The German navy succeeded in its task of securing the Baltic, but it failed to destroy the vessels of the Polish Navy, as well as its fighting spirit.

References:

Aronson, Arthur A., 1958. The Burza was a Destroyer. *United States Naval Institute Proceedings* 84. Vol. 18.

Bachmann, Hans R., 1970. Die polnische U-Boot-Division im September 1939. *Marine Rundschau.* Vol. 67.

Bachmann, Hans R., 1971. Die deutsche Seekriegsführung in der Ostsee nach Ausschaltung der polnischen Marine in Herbst 1939. *Marine Rundschau.* Vol. 68.

Baginski, Henryk, 1942a. *Poland's Freedom of the Sea.* Kirkaldy: Allen Lithographic.

Bethell, Nicholas, 1972. *The War Hitler Won: The Fall of Poland, September 1939.* New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.

Koburger, Jr., Charles W., 1989. *Steel Ships and Iron Crosses: The German Navy in the Baltic, 1939-1945.* Westport and London: Praeger.

Detwiler, Donald S. (ed.), 1979. *World War II German Military Studies: A Collection of 213 Special Reports on the Second World War Prepared by Former Officers of the Wehrmacht For the United States Army.* 24 vols. New York and London: Garland. Vol. 15.

Doenitz, Karl, 1990. *Memoirs: Ten Years and Twenty Days*, 2nd ed., translated by Stevens, R.H. and Woodward, David. London: Cassell.

Flisowski, Zbigniew, 1991. At Rest From Combat. *Military History 8*.

Gallienne to Foreign Office, 19 Sept. 1939, Foreign Office 371/23154, National Archive, Public Record Office, Kew, London.

Garlinski, Jozef, 1995. *Poland in the Second World War.* London: MacMillan.

Gruillot to Ministre de la Marine, Aug. 30th, 1939b. SHM, carton 1BB⁷ 132 Pologne.

Gruillot to Ministre de la Marine, Aug. 31st, 1939a (2 reports). Service Historique de la Marine, Vincennes, Paris, (henceforth SHM), carton 1BB⁷ 132 Pologne.

Baginski, Henryk, 1942b. *Poland and the Baltic: The Problem of Poland's Access to the Sea.* Edinburgh and London: Oliver and Boyd.

Jurga, Tadeusz, 1970. Analyse Comparative du Rapport des Forces. In Witold Biegánski (ed.), *Histoire de la Pologne: Problems Choisis, disertations, etudes, esquisses.* Warsaw: Edition du Ministère de la Defense Nationale.

Maier, Klaus A. et al., 1979. *Der Deutsche Reich und der Zweite Weltkrieg.* 9 Vols. Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. Vol. 2.

Peszke, Michael Alfred, 1999. *Poland's Navy, 1918-1945.* New York: Hippocrene.

Piekalkiewicz, Janusz. *Sea War: 1939-1945*, translated by Peter Spurgeon. Dorset, England: Blanford Press.

Raeder, Erich, 1960. *My Life*, translated by Henry W. Drexel. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1960, 280-1.

Report, Aug. 23rd, 1939, *Skl*, roll 1, 8-9.

Report, Sept. 2nd, 1939, *Skl*, roll 1, 22.

Report, Sept. 3rd, 1939, *Skl*, roll 1, 25.

Report, Aug. 31st, 1939. *Kriegstagebuch der seekreigsleitung (War Diary, Operations Division, German Naval Staff, 1939-1945).* Translated by Naval Historical Center. Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources Microfilm, 1984, [microfilm] [henceforth *SKL*], roll 1, 17.

Robinson, Walton L., 1942. Poland's Navy Fights On. *United States Naval Institute Proceedings.* Vol. 43.

Rohwer, J., Hümmelchen, G. and Weis, T., 2005. *Chronology of the War at Sea, 1939-1945: The Naval History of World War II*, 3rd ed. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press.

Roskill, S. W., 1954. *The War at Sea, 1939-1945.* 3 Vols. London: HMSO. Vol. 1.

Showall, Jak P. Mallmann, 1979. *The German Navy in World War Two: A Reference Guide to the Kriegsmarine, 1939-1945*. London and Melbourne: Arm & Armour Press.

Stjernfelt, Bertil and Bohme, Klaus-Richard, Aug. 23rd, 1939. *Westerplatte 1939*. Freiburg: Rombach. 42; report, *Skl*, roll 1, 8-9;

The Baltic Times, 1939. Interned Polish Submarine Escapes from Tallinn. *The Baltic Times*. Sept. 20th.

Thomas, Charles S., 1990. *The German Navy in the Nazi Era*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press.

Unrug report, Sept. 26th, 1939. Rozkaz specjalny Dowódcy Floty nr 1000/spec. z26 sierpnia 1939 r. w sprawie odejścia do Anglii Dywizjonu Kontrotorpedowców In Czeslaw Ciesielski, Walter Pater, and Jerzy Przybylski, *Polska Marynarka Wojenna, 1918-1980*. Warsaw: Bellona, 331-332.

Whitley, M.J., 1983. *Destroyer! German Destroyers in World War II*. London: Arms and Armour.

---

[1] For British and French abandonment see Donald Stoker, 2003. *Britain, France, and the Naval Arms Trade in the Baltic, 1919-1939: Grand Strategy and Failure*. London: Frank Cass.

[2] I am indebted to Janina Jadrych for translating this letter.

[3] The sources disagree on the sinking dates. For example, *Conway's All the World's Fighting Ships, 1921-1946*. London: Conway's Maritime Press, 1980:349 gives a date of September 6th, 1939 for the sinking of *General Haller*.

[4] *Blyskawica* is now a museum ship in Gdynia.

The Estonian Higher Military School (1921–1940): Some Methodical Aspects in the Development of Small Nation's Higher Military Education[1]

By Andres Seene[*]

This article will attempt to describe some basic features of the Military Academy's (Staff College) establishment and development in the period between the world wars in the Republic of Estonia. An examination of the Estonian Higher Military School's development helps one discover some of the basic concepts of the Estonian military doctrine and orientation of the period. The level of training of the pre-World War II Estonian defence forces is often evaluated as high or even outstanding, but there still remains a lack of detailed study of the training system. This article aims to fill some of the gap and focuses on the curriculum and the educational methods of the established staff course. The question of how a staff officer was defined under Estonian conditions in the pre-World War II period is also examined.

After the first years of development, the former Russian school of military education was found to be too theoretical. The need for practical work methods was consistently stressed in the early years of the Estonian Republic's school. However, as it is been noted in one general study of military education, the tensions between theory and practice create ambiguities that were part of the military education of the period on question and which remain unresolved today.[2] These tensions were quite evident in the armed forces of the Republic of Estonia in the period between the world wars.

The Military Academy of the Republic of Estonia was established as a separate training unit – the General Staff Course Unit – on the 12th September 1921. On the 1st October 1923, the courses, together with the Military School and Non-Commissioned Officers School were incorporated into the Estonian Military Educational Institution (in Estonian *Sojaväe Ühendatud Oppeasutused*). Since then, the Chief of the General Staff Course was also the Commandant of the Estonian Military

---

[*] Andres Seene is the Chief of the Estonian National Defence College War Museum

Educational Institution (after 1937 a separate leader was appointed for the Higher Military School under the command of the above named larger training formation leader). The purpose of combining the different institutions that provided military training was to put them under a unified authority and thereby ensure common objectives for the training process at all levels. The measure was also intended to cut personnel and administrative costs of each training unit. On the 1st. August 1925, the General Staff Course Unit was named the Higher Military School (in Estonian: *Korgem Sojakool*).

1. Some comparisons with neighbours

The rapid organisation of general staff officer courses in Estonia was made possible by the previous experiences of the War of Independence (1918–1920), and by the common view shared by senior military leaders in Estonia as to dealing with military personnel issues. Although there were 17 to 18 officers of Estonian descent in Russian service in the end of 1917 who had graduated from the Russian Nicholas General Staff Academies peacetime or wartime courses, only seven of these officers participated in the formation and command of the Estonian armed forces in the War of Independence (Kröönstöm, 2008:57). Therefore, by general consent, it was deemed absolutely necessary for a small nation to have well-prepared armed forces and highly qualified leaders[3] in order to provide a successful resistance against a larger military force that they would be likely to face in any future conflicts. The fact that the Estonian military leaders had a common (former Russian) military training also contributed to agreement on a process that allowed the use of former teaching staff officers of Russian academies who lived in Estonia at that time on the faculty of the Republic's officer schools. Probably the best-known of them was the former Russian General-Lieutenant and military historian Alexey Baiov (1871–1935). As a consequence, the rapid launch of higher military education in Estonia made it possible to start the development of operational and tactical solutions that fit Estonia's local situation and took into account the recent war experience. The conditions noted above made it possible for Estonia to be the first of the former Russian border states to establish a military staff college. (Korgem Sojakool, 1931)[4]

In Finland the Higher Military School (in Finnish: *Sotakorkeakoulu*) was founded in 1924. In Finland, the initial concept was to educate staff officers in necessary numbers in abroad. The establishment of the Staff

College was also hindered by dissentions between two parties in officer corps --between the Russian school officers and those who served as volunteers in German Army in the World War. The "Russians" tended more towards studies in abroad, but they were forced out of key positions soon by the "Jaeger officers". When the Finnish staff college was established the first lecturers of the main military subjects were hired from Sweden and some other European countries. (Kemppi, 2006:170-172)

In Latvia a Staff College was founded in 1924[5] as the Military Academic Courses (in Latvian: *Kara Akademiskie kursi*). Together with Military Polytechnic Courses (founded in 1922) they were united institutionally in 1928 as an independent course under the name – Senior Officer Courses (*Virsnieku Augstakie kursi*). In 1935, according to the approved law, the organization of the military educational facilities structure was changed. Henceforth, both of the above mentioned courses functioned as a general and special departments of the Higher Military School (*Augstākā kara skola*). Initially, the course followed the example of Russian and French organized training. However, the course program was adapted to the local tactical conditions under the leadership of General Hugo Rozensteins (1892–1941) in the second half of the 1930s. Other Latvian officers were also seconded for staff education to French, Polish, Czechoslovakian and to other national staff colleges. (Anderson, 1983:189-191)

The Lithuanian Higher Military School (named for Vytautas the Great—in Lithuanian *Vytauto Didziojo aukstaja karo mokykla*) was founded in 1931. Up to that time the Lithuanian officers were seconded for staff education to the appropriate academies of France, Belgium and Czechoslovakia. (Zebrauskaite-Yepishkiniene, 2000:15; data from *Sodur*, 1934:697)

In Poland the military staff college was founded in 1919 with the assistance of the French military mission. It was named as the Higher Military School (in Polish: *Wyzsza Szkola Wojenna*) soon after the end of Polish–Soviet war in 1922. The Polish Military Academy was established and influenced from the start by the French army. (Wikipedia.org; Kiesling, 1998:55)

From the early 1920s onwards, the training of staff-officers in Estonia was based on the principle that officers received their higher education in their home country, and after that some would have the opportunity for additional training in relevant educational institutions abroad, mostly in France. The first Estonian commandant – Colonel (later General-

Lieutenant Nikolai Reek, 1890–1942) and first director of the General Staff Course 1921–1923) was admitted to the French Higher Military School (in French *Ecole Superieure de Guerre*) course in 1923. Reek had been a graduate of the Russian General Staff Academy's abbreviated wartime course. The pattern chosen by Estonia was based on the concept that officers should first get to know the situation and respective tactics of his home country and, after that, his knowledge could be supplemented by relevant training abroad.

During this period, almost 30 Estonian officers received their higher military training in military institutions of higher education abroad (at least fifteen in France, five in Finland, four in Poland, two in Latvia, one in Belgium and one in Germany. Based on mutual agreement, students were exchanged with institutions in neighbouring countries like Finland and Latvia. Three Finnish and three Latvian officers graduated the Estonian Higher Military School course during the interwar period. In addition, during that period, two-way visits and study trips were arranged with military academy students in Finland, Latvia and Poland. In the summers of 1932 and 1933 the Estonian and Latvian Higher Military Schools worked together in conducting a joint staff ride exercise in the territory of both countries. In the 1930s, compared with other small countries in the region, the qualification of leaders with a higher military education in Estonia was considered to be advanced. Even in periods of economic hardship, the government never considered suspending the activities of the Academy.

2. The purpose of the institution

The mission of the Military Academy was first articulated in temporary statutes with the establishment of the General Staff Course Unit in 1921[6]: to prepare officers for junior general staff officer posts and provide additional military training for commanders of military units. In addition, the course was designed to broaden the horizons of the participants in military matters, attract greater interest and devotion to the science of war and provide students with methods of scientific research in military subject areas. The mission of the Military Academy was set out for the second time, in the Law of the Military Academy approved by the Government of the Republic of Estonia in 1931[7]. The law stipulates that officers are to be provided with military higher education, especially directed towards the formation and command of the armed forces, as well as to doing scientific

research and implementing possible outcomes, in subject areas related to national defence. The overall aim of military higher education is to synthesize, develop and implement leadership and working methods (doctrine) among Estonian officers in fitting with the special Estonian situation. The ultimate aim of the military higher education is to provide all officers filling both wartime and peacetime posts of battalion commanders or above with a unified military higher education in the Military Academy. The study process was designed to prepare leaders with the ability to think and work independently.

3. The curriculum development

The curricula of the Military Academy subdivided the 2-year study period into two courses. For those entering the academy with entrance tests, a 4-month period was added to the two years for writing their final papers. From the year 1938, the course was transformed into a 3-year course. Both academic years were in turn subdivided into summer and winter courses. The aim of the summer course was to teach practical skills and it included various practical tasks. The winter course, on the other hand was more encyclopaedic-theoretical, involving more theoretical lectures in the classroom. In this respect, substantial changes were made during the study of the 3rd course (1926–27). The changes were introduced following the pattern of the French Military Higher School (*Ecole Superieure de Guerre*), and were initiated by officers who had studied there, leaded by Colonel (late General-Lieutenant) Nikolai Reek who was promoted to the post of Chief of General Staff in 1925. A year after General Reek presented the plan of reorganization of the Staff Course under the example of the French experiences to the Minister of War. The plan was approved though it met some hot discussion and resistance from the representatives of old school. The reforms introduced in field of military education in 1926 were described by contemporaries as the breakpoint in change of orientation in military education from former Russian ideas towards European thinking. The previous system based on repetition was replaced by a new system with greater emphasis on independent work. The number of class lectures was reduced considerably which enabled more time for independent works and solutions. Instead of unconnected lectures and information the work methods were considered to be more important for raising the staff officers who are able to think and work independently. All military subjects had support the principal subject – the general tactics. From now on

instead of examinations the students had to be evaluated only under their independent practical works.

The study of the War of Independence (1918–1920) was included to the curriculum as a means of teaching leaders how to think and operate in the local environment (theatre of war and human resources). Colonel Reek also stressed the importance of closer study of the Soviet Russian military organization, doctrine and tactical developments. As a result of the reorganization of the study process in the years of 1927–1928 the general number of theoretical class lessons was reduced by 1/3.[8] The class lessons in tactics and staff service of second class (1923–1926) were reduced almost by half in comparison with the fourth class course (1927–1930) (from 571 lessons to 230) and respectively even up to quarter size to that of previous number in art of war and history of war (from 205 lessons to 52). The change of study methods decreased average number of lessons per day from first class (1921–1923) 6,2 work hours to that of 4,5 in the sixth class (1931–1933). Starting from the sixth class (1931) the whole detailed 2-year curriculum in paper could be distributed to the students from the start of the study course. According to the curriculum of the seventh class (1934–1936) in both winter years in tactics practical map exercises were solved, also one two-sided war-game was played. During the summer course under the study of tactics one 2–3 week long field ride was organized, during which the terrain exercises were solved for teaching assessment of landscape character especially in border areas. Tactical exercises were solved both in map and terrain at the limits of battalion and regiment in first year and in the limits of brigade and division size units in the second year.

The subjects taught were subdivided into the principal groups (tactics, strategy, staff procedures and war history) and supporting groups (communications, war gas, fortification, naval warfare, special services, military topography, political history, constitutional law, international law, criminal law applicable to armed conflict, economy, statistics, military psychology, sociology, meteorology and languages: Estonian, German, French, English and Russian), as was stipulated in the Law of the Military Academy of 1931. In the autumn of 1938 several new subjects were included to the curriculum as national defence and war leadership, Estonian history in the early middle age, military administration, economic mobilisation, civil defence (aerial and gas defence), public economy and state administration, national treasury and practical shooting. This caused

the whole study course extension to three years; however the existing work organization was not changed.

In the war economics specialty opened in the Military Academy in the year 1934, the volume of tactical subjects was smaller than in leadership and staff procedures specialties, or rather a more specific approach was adopted. As an example, subjects like logistic support in wartime (supply tactics) and administration of the defence forces were included in the curriculum. Also, in the specialty of economics, the volume of military subjects was smaller. Instead subjects like chemistry, food, leather, wood and metal technologies, bread baking, soap making, care of soldiers, commercial law, civil law, labour law, agriculture, economic geography and accounting were taught. The study process in the Military Academy was arranged so that about 70% of all subjects in the curriculum were common for both study branches, and 30% of the subjects were taught separately to both specialty groups. Rannamets, 2003:38)

4. Development of the study methods

In the initial years of the staff course teaching methods were dominated by theoretical class lectures. The temporary statute of the course constituted that the teaching is organized under the repetition system. With the reforms of 1927–1928 the repetitions were replaced completely with the student's independent works. Practical leadership exercises were introduced in maps and terrain together with corresponding class and homework. The lectures were now used in field of tactics only for introduction as an assistant method. The amount of practical leadership exercises rose for example in comparison with the second class (1923–1926) 39% to that of 81% in the fifth class (1929–1931). The study process was reorganized under the practical work method. The foundations of the leadership exercises were changed with the reform of 1927–1928. Earlier the students were divided for tactical exercises to groups (10 pupils in each) under the supervision of group leaders, but as these worked separately and reached different final solutions it resulted in a lack of integrity. Now the exercises were carried out under the leadership of the senior leader. The solutions were discussed with the group leaders and the so-called school solution was framed. The general leader of tactical studies delivered the introductory lectures on which the tactical situation was created. The situation was then discussed in the groups. Under the school solution the exercises were based on maps and led by the group leaders.

During the winter the exercise was conducted indoors, but in summer it was carried out as a field ride. After discussions in the groups the students had to present their individual solutions in the form of written decisions. The student's individual work was first critiqued by the group leaders. Then a general discussion was carried out by all groups under the leadership of the senior leader, who criticised student reports anonymously and also announced the school solution. The aim of the school solution was to create a set of unified leadership principles (leadership doctrine). However, an effort had to be made to avoid stereotypes in the solution and allow space for critical thinking. After the general discussion with all students, individual discussions with each student were held by the instructors.

 Two important methodical manuals were compiled under the guidance of General Reek. First of them was written by Reek himself for facilitating practical works in tactics under the title "*The Leaders Decision and its development*" (1927, updated version in 1937). The booklet was a review of tactical problems and theirs methodical handling manual, compiled of the principles from newer Belgian, French and German instructions and manuals. For introduction of the French case study methods (in French *cas concrets*) in tactics the French Higher Military School lecturer's manual was translated into Estonian in following year (Gerin, 1928). The Reek's booklet remained for the rest of the period as the basis for exercises in tactical field. According to this manual the military situation had to be evaluated from the point of own and enemy forces, the character of terrain, time and weather factor had to be taken into account. Analysis of the mentioned elements had to form the basis for leaders decision, which had to express shortly and clearly the aim of the planned manoeuvre.

In addition to tactical works the individual written class and amount of homework assignments grew steadily in other subjects (military history, languages etc). For instance, up to 1936 the military history was taught mostly in lectures. After 1936 the main stress was given to the individual student surveys and presentations. The equalization of the officers' intellectual level enabled in the second half of the 1930ies to put the main emphasis in the study process to the principle of individual work. The purpose was also to expand the officer's ability to work independently and to prepare him to compose final papers from different sources.

106

Of all the teaching methods employed, the practical or theoretical student written assignments were most widely used method. An important part of the study process was also field rides and excursions that focused on the employment of various tactics, the use of military topography and an understanding of military history. The study process was completed by the student with the writing and defence of a final paper. Writing the final paper was compulsory for those who passed entrance tests to get to the Academy. For those who were seconded there, the final paper was optional. In instructions for composing of the papers the student's independent responsibility was stressed and no supervision is mentioned in the records. Two judges (a senior and a junior judge) were appointed to review each paper. Only those graduates of the course who presented and defended their final papers were granted final diplomas. These diplomas granted them the right to hold future appointments on the staff that presupposed the higher military education. Thus, the independent written work had to prove the officers suitability for staff service.

The papers on military topics had both theoretical and practical parts. The practical part of the paper addressed the applicability of the theoretical approaches presented in relevant research outcomes to given i.e. Estonian, conditions. In historical topics, a review of the main outcomes related to the art of war was required in addition to the scientific research of a specific subject area. The final papers by the Military Academy graduates that have come down to us are an important source of information for exploring military doctrine and its developments in the Independent Estonian Republic.

According to a report written by Major Nikolai Riiberk (1900–1942), who was the only Estonian who studied at the German General Staff Academy in Berlin (German: *Kriegsakademie*) between 1936–1938 (ERA 650–1–718, 349-351, 379-381), the Estonian Higher Military School was more oriented towards delivering general education in comparison with the German institution. Nevertheless he noted that Estonia and Germany were both inclined towards moving to a more focused and specialized military education. In Germany the practical exercises were the dominant part of the curriculum. As Major Riiberk noted, in comparison with Estonia, the Germans tactics were handled in more formal way and their curriculum focused much more on large formation operations. In Estonia the tactics and operations of brigades[9] were conducted only on a theoretical basis as there was no such peacetime standing unit in a small country like Estonia

and practically no possibilities to train leaders in this level of command. These conditions raised the question about the practical applicability of brigade level training in wartime.

5. The teaching staff

From the first years of its existence there were limits imposed on the study process in the Academy by the use of temporary teaching staff. In 1922, the permanent post of a professor was created in the Military Academy. Yet, in 1927 this post was eliminated from the structure of the academy. During the reorganization of the foundations of the study process in 1926–1927 most of the teaching staff-officers of Russian origin or with training received in Russia – were replaced by younger Estonian personnel (graduates from the first courses of the Academy). The positions of permanent lecturers were established as late as in the academic year of 1936–37. However, the number of permanent posts for teaching staff also remained relatively small afterwards. Military subjects, especially tactical subjects, were taught both by permanent teaching staff and by inspectors of the branches of the armed forces, chiefs of military districts and other specialists. Civilian subjects were also taught by several Tartu University professors.

6. The graduates

During the period from 1921 to 1940, officers graduated from the Academy in the leadership and staff procedures specialty course in nine year groups, and in the war the economy specialty consisted of two year groups. A total of 232 officers graduated, among them 3 officers from the Finnish and 3 officers from the Latvian Defence Forces.

Each year at graduation there were some experienced officers seconded to the Academy as well as junior officers who had passed the entrance tests. The exception is the last, 9th course (1938-40) – where all the officers admitted to that course had taken the entrance tests. From the 6th course onwards (in 1931) those officers who were seconded to the Academy also had to take entrance tests. The experienced officers seconded to the Academy made up from one sixth to more than half of all students. In the 1930s, on average, there were three candidates per one student place. During that period of time, about 70% of all graduates of the Academy

were those who had entered through entrance tests, while the rest of the graduates were senior officers (starting from the rank of major).

Based on current knowledge, out of the 226 officers who graduated from the Academy (not considering the three Finnish and three Latvian officers), few of the more than 100 officers (a little less than 50% of all officers) had received some sort of military training before entering the Academy in other lower institutions of military education in Estonia such as the Military School and Military Technical School. More than half (60%) of the students who took entrance tests were the graduates of other military schools throughout Estonia. The rest of the students were the graduates of different military schools in Russia. However, the majority of them had been to the ensign courses during World War I (i.e. received short-term wartime officer training), followed by peacetime training offered by the Estonian Military School, and after that by the one-year in-service officer training courses designed for officers in active service organised by the Estonian Military Educational Institution.

By the time of Estonia's occupation in 1940, there were almost 220 officers who were graduates of the Estonian Military Academy in active service. As many as 50 of them were killed by the Soviet authorities, mostly during the period from 1941 to 1942 in the territories of Estonia or the Soviet Union. Several Estonian officers who were graduates of the Academy were killed or repressed by the Soviet authorities after the second occupation of Estonia by the Soviet Union (1944). Another 50 graduates of the Academy perished in concentration camps in the Soviet Union. Consequently, around 100 graduates of the Academy (i.e. 45% of all graduates in the active service as of the year 1940) can be regarded as direct victims of the Soviet authorities. Although in 1940, the majority of the Academy graduates who were in the service that time were incorporated in the Red Army (the 22nd Rifle Corps), by the year 1944, there were only 30 of them left in the active service in the Red Army (i.e. 13–14% of all Estonian officers who had graduated from the Academy). At least 65 graduates of the Academy were members of various German military and police units and services formed in Estonia (in all almost 30% of the Academy graduates who were in the active service in the year 1940). Most of them had fled the Red Army in 1941 or were taken prisoners by the Germans.

The two Finnish officers who graduated from the Academy served in 1944, one as a regiment commander and the other as a battalion commander of the Infantry Regiment No 200, a unit in the Finnish Army made up mostly of Estonian volunteers. About ten graduates of the Estonian Military Academy were killed in combat in World War II. Some officer-graduates also died during evacuation or of combat-related incidents. (Estonian National Defence College Proceedings Series, 9/2008:60-70)[10]

Conclusion

We can probably safely assume that Estonia is one of the smallest nations ever to have had a higher military educational system (staff education) in its own language. As the former Russian military education was considered to be too theoretical, soon after the first years of the General Staff Courses the significant changes were introduced in methodology and a curriculum on the French model was created and initiated in 1927. During this relatively short period an interesting transformation was achieved starting with the development of the old Russian system and moving towards a European oriented system. The Estonians established their unique education system that considered is own conditions and possibilities. The last mentioned moment was stressed often by the contemporaries.

From the start the far-sighted decisions were made that forced the whole officer corps to promote self-education for acceptance to the Higher Military School course, which served as the only firm guarantee for advancing one's military career. In comparison with the great powers the educational level of the Military Academy education was brought to bear on much lower levels of command. There was an idea that all peacetime and wartime battalion commanders (besides higher level staffs personnel) should have unified higher military preparation.

In the initial years of the Estonian Army the general and military educational background of the Estonian officers was very diverse and sometimes quite low. This left its imprint on the course in general and hindered the attempt to set proper academic standards. However, the improvement in the quality of the students and the more even level of education in the graduates is seen by the beginning of 1930s when the recently commissioned subalterns dominated the class composition of the course participants. This improvement in educational background and

110

preparation enabled the course to change the nature of the study process. Independent work methods became the dominant methodology—and this also reflected the ideal, which was to raise the officer's unified skills and his ability to think and work independently in local conditions. Although the conditions and means of warfare have greatly changed over the decades, the developments made in Estonia in this period --especially in field of study, work methods and organization – provides some thought provoking material even today.

The training and education of military personnel is a long process. According to some estimates, the period of time needed to prepare a competent officer-leader corps for an army is about 25 years. The Estonian Republic had almost sufficient time between the World Wars to prepare its officer corps. However, in losing its national independence and as a result of the turmoil that followed, Estonia's military was destroyed and the promise went unrealized.

References:

Anderson, Edgar, 1983. *Latvijas bruņotie spēki un to priekšvesture, [Armed Forces of Latvia and their historical background]*. Toronto: Daugavas Vanagi. pp. 189–191.

Anon., 1934. *Sõdur*. No 24/25/26. p. 697.

Commandant Gérin, 1928. Väikeste üksuste lahing. Neli harjutust kaardiga reljeef-plaanil [Original title in French: *Commandant Gérin, Le Combat des petites unités. Quatre Exercices de cadres (sur plan relief), Paris: Charles-Lavauzelle & Cie, 1926*]. *Publication of the General Staff, Section VI*. Tallinn.

Estonian National Defence College. 2008. *Estonian National Defence College Proceedings Series,*. (KVÜÕA Toimetised). issue 9. Pp. 60–70.

Hattendorf, John B., 2002. The Conundrum of Military Education in Historical Perspective, in G. C. Kennedy and K. Neilson (ed.), 2002. *Military Education: Past, Present, and Future*. Westport, Connecticut; London: Praeger. p. 3.

Kemppi, Jarkko, 2006. Suomalaisen sotataidon kehittyminen vuosina 1918–1924, [The development of the Finnish art of war 1918–1924]. *Finnish Defence Academy Department of Military History*. Helsinki: Edita Prima Oy. Series 2, No 9.

Kiesling, Eugenia C., 1998. Educated But Not Trained: Junior Officers in Interwar France, in Elliott V. Converse III (ed.), *Forging the Sword. Selecting, Educating, and Training Cadets and Junior Officers in the Modern World*. Chicago: Imprint Publications. p. 55.

Kröönstöm, Mati, 2008. Eesti sõjaväe juhtivkoosseis Vabadussõjas 1918–1920 [The Officer Corps of the Estonian Army in the War of Independence in 1918–1920]. *Dissertationes Historiae Universitatis Tartuensis.* Tartu. Vol. 16. p. 57.

Kõrgem Sõjakool 1921–1931. [*Higher Military School 1921–1931, 10-years anniversary edition*] Tallinn, 1931. p. 40.

Rannamets, Ragnar, 2003. *Kõrgem Sõjakool 1921–1940* [*The Higher Military School 1821–1940*]. B.A. theses manuscript: University of Tartu, Department of history, Tartu. p. 38.

Reek, Nikolai, 1927 (upgraded version from 1937). Juhi otsus ja selle kujunemine [*The leaders decision and its development*]. *Publication of the Defence Forces Staff, Section VI* .

unnamed, undated. ERA (Estonian State Archive) 650/1/718. Pp. 349–351, 379–381.

Wikipedia, webpage. *Wyzsza Szkola Wojenna.* http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wy%C5%BCsza_Szko%C5%82a_Wojenna, (accessed January 21st, 2008)

Zebrauskaite-Yepishkiniene, Alina, 2000. The General Jonas Zemaitis Military Academy of Lithuania – Institution of Changes. *Baltic Defence Review* No. 4, Vol. 2. p. 15.

---

[1] An earlier extended version of this paper appeared in Estonian (with English Summary) in the *Estonian National Defence College Proceedings Series* issue No 9/2008 (KVÜÕA Toimetised 9/2008).

[2] See Hattendorf, John B. The Conundrum of Military Education in Historical Perspective, in G. C. Kennedy and K. Neilson (ed.), 2002. *Military Education: Past, Present, and Future.* Westport, Connecticut London: Praeger. p. 3.

[3] The maxim – „*the smaller the army the better its leaders should be*" was borrowed from Germans and stressed by General Nikolai Reek in some of his writings in the 1920ies. (in German: "*Je kleiner das Heer, desto tüchtiger müssen seine Führer sein*"). The impact of Weimar Germany's influence on Estonian military training is not studied. However there can be noticed some similarities in numbers. With the treaty of Versailles the Germany could have 100000 men peacetime army with 4000 officers. In Estonia almost the same number of forces was considered to be possible to gather in case of total mobilization. These parallels had to be mentioned by the contemporaries in Estonia and offer some interest especially in field of training.

As much as it is possible to distinguish the overall military or leadership doctrine in Estonia it could be defined as "*quality instead of numbers*". It meant that in Estonian situation against possible war with enemy with overwhelming human and technical resources it was possible only by relying upon superbly trained military

forces.

[4] The establishment of the Polish staff college as compared here with Estonia remains disputable. It is interesting that in Estonian General Staff Courses foundation (1921) there was some hope among army leadership that a group of Latvian and Lithuanian officers would also participate. There were some considerations, or hopes, that some Finnish and Polish officers will participate (although the Polish situation in question was considered as much better). It became obvious however that in case of participation of Poles and Finns some of the former Russian generals and academy professors declared their refusal of work as lecturers in course. (ERA [*Estonian State Archive*] 1856/1/5).

[5] As in case of Finland there was probably some lack of unity perceptible in the Latvian officer corps in 1920s. According to Estonian General Staff report from the February 1922 there was quite abnormal situation in Latvian officer corps because of existing rivalling parties – The former Latvian Riflemen; Northern Latvians (the Latvian units which were organized under the Estonian command in 1919); Southern Latvians (the Latvian units under the Landeswehr and General von der Goltz in 1919 – Colonel Balodis units), the „Siberians" (those who served in White Russian Admiral Kotshak's forces). As it is expressed in the given report, the tensions between the parties tended to intensify not lessen. (ERA [Estonian State Archive] 527/1/1471. p. 32).

[6] Command of the day of the Minister of War No. 433 from July 18th, 1921.

[7] Decree of Higher Military School given by the Government of the Repulic of Estonia on July 29th 1931.

[8] Numerical data here and later taken mostly from the ahead mentioned issue: Korgem Sojakool, 1931.

[9] Between 1928–1940 the Estonian army organization consisted of 3 divisional commands and staffs (4th division was formed in 1939). For every division there were established territorial defence districts. As the operational units of the divisions in wartime it was expected that the army would form 6 brigade leaderships (staffs). It was planned that every brigade will consist of 2–3 infantry regiments, of 2 lighter and of 1 heavier battery groups and a reconnaissance squadron. In case of necessity other arms units had to be included.

[10] All data presented in this section is gathered by the author from several sources and is properly cited in the *Estonian National Defence College Proceedings Series,* issue No 9/2008 (KVÜÕA Toimetised 9/2008) Pp. 60–70.

The Making of an Officer-Diplomat: August Torma's Early Years

*By Tina Tamman**

August Torma (1895-1971) is not a household name in Estonia, but he is easily found in national reference books where he is described as a diplomat who served in Rome, Bern and Geneva in the 1930s and was then appointed to London where he stayed in post after the 1940 Soviet occupation of Estonia and where he died in 1971, having kept the idea of Estonian sovereignty alive for several decades. In his early days, however, he was a military man. The Estonian encyclopaedia sums up his army service laconically (and not entirely correctly): he was "mobilised during the First World War, wounded in 1917, a prisoner of war in Austria, evacuated to Denmark, returned to Estonia 1918. During the War of Independence Jaan Laidoner appointed T[orma] Estonian representative at the English Northern Corps in Archangel (formed an Estonian legion there)." (Eesti Entsüklopeedia, 2000:545) These truncated sentences fail to convey the complexities and excitement of those few years, which is why the piece below aims to put some flesh on the bare bones. Torma, incidentally, was born August Schmidt and changed his name only in 1940; therefore he is referred to as "Schmidt" throughout. In reference books, however, he is "Torma".

In 1914 August Schmidt completed his studies at Pärnu gymnasium for boys and decided to study languages at St. Petersburg University. He was 19 at the time. His best friend Felix Tannebaum was slightly older but had studied in the same year at school. He also enrolled at St. Petersburg but chose to read science. It was probably Felix's influence that made August suspend his studies in 1916. The war had broken out and Felix had joined the Pavlov military school the year before. On graduation he was awarded the rank of 1st lieutenant (*poruchik*) and sent to the Caucasus. August, according to his military records, volunteered for army service in May 1916, opting initially also for the Pavlov school, but settling finally for the Vladimir military school where he completed a six-month course with the rank of 1st lieutenant.

---

* Tina Tamman is a graduate student at University of Glasgow.

Despite the need for men on the front, Schmidt for some reason spent the next six months in a reserve regiment in Irkutsk. It was to this town in Siberia that his St. Petersburg friends sent postcards hoping to hear him play Beethoven's "Appassionata" soon again. Schmidt was very musical and, apart from playing the piano and the violin, he was also composing songs.

In early 1917 his regiment was transferred to Galicia on the western front where the situation was very difficult. Not only were the Germans advancing, but the Tsarist Russian troops were in complete disarray, with soldiers refusing to obey orders. In desperation the commanding officers formed shock battalions and death units to deal with the situation. These are said to have consisted of highly-motivated volunteers of which Schmidt was one: he joined a death battalion in June. He was an enthusiastic young man in those days, as the artist Jaan Vahtra recalls in his memoirs published in 1936. They had met in St. Petersburg when Schmidt was a student and, according to Vahtra, he was always good company. Vahtra had also seen him wear military uniform. Schmidt "had been involved in military operations but had not lost his cheerful disposition and optimism. I clearly recall him from those days. When I later met him in Estonia as a diplomat he seemed to me as a completely different Schmidt." (Vahtra, 1936:277-278)

In the summer of 1917 Schmidt was in the midst of fierce fighting in and around Tarnopol for six weeks. His own impressions are not known, but Russian Col Manakin has detailed a day that ended with 310 men dead and wounded and only 90 surviving intact. The town itself was in complete chaos, with no military or civilian authority. In those conditions Manakin described the efficacy of the death units that were required "to stem the wave of fleeing deserters." He has not provided much gory detail, but commented that widespread looting, for example, was curbed only by shooting the looters on the spot. (Manakin, 1955:218-219)

Near the village of Koniuchy in today's Poland Schmidt was badly wounded on July 21st, 1917 (Gregorian calendar) and left on the battlefield for dead. The Austrian Red Cross picked him up and treated his wounds (ERA 495/7/5497 [a]). Curiously no Red Cross records have come to light to describe the severity of his wounds and identify the hospital he was taken to, but another Estonian, Oskar Öpik (Oskar Mamers), was taken to Wieselburg camp in Austria when he was wounded in 1915 (Mamers,

1957:48, 98). It was apparently a well-run place where health care was taken seriously. Tsarist Russian Red Cross nurses used to visit the camps to monitor conditions and listen to complaints. Among them was Vera Maslennikova, who was to help Schmidt later in Denmark. Oskar Öpik also travelled to Denmark where he and Schmidt are known to have ended up in the same camp.

Against all odds, news travelled fast during the war, if not always accurately, and Schmidt's contemporaries in Estonia mourned his death and the loss of his "rare talent" (Semper, 1917a). The obituary was written by another school-friend from Pärnu, Johannes Semper, who had also studied in St. Petersburg where he was known as a literary figure. In years to come he would join the Communist Party and become a minister in the 1940 Soviet Estonian government. In 1917, however, he had to publish a correction when he learnt that Schmidt had been wounded but was very much alive (Eesti Sojamees, 1917b). For his bravery in Galicia Schmidt earned the Russian Anna medal, IV Class, as, incidentally, did Öpik. Schmidt was to gain a series of medals in years to come, but quite possibly he was never actually presented with the Anna because it is missing from the collection now kept at the Estonian Embassy in London.

In December 1917 a 50-strong group of prisoners of war was sent from Austria to neutral Denmark on a Red Cross exchange. The two men, Schmidt and Öpik, found themselves at the Horseroed camp for the Russian wounded. For eight months Schmidt was recuperating there and learning Danish, and he must have wondered about his next move. Estonia declared its independence on February 24th, but was promptly occupied by Germany. As the Baltic Sea was effectively closed to traffic there was no way back to Estonia. The Horseroed camp was due to close in June and there was the danger of repatriation to Russia. Öpik's affairs may have been more secure because he married a pretty Danish nurse in May. Schmidt, however, had reason to worry about his earlier membership of the death battalion, which "would mean that he would definitely be killed if he were to return to Russia," as an unknown sponsor put it when requesting that Schmidt be allowed to stay in Denmark (Estonian Foreign Ministry Archive, 1918). The sponsor was somebody well known to Vera Maslennikova whom Schmidt had probably met in an Austrian camp. She later took the veil, became Mother Martha and moved to London to look after the Tsar's sister, Grand Duchess Xenia (van der Kiste & Hall, 2002:210, 228, 234) but apparently kept in touch with Schmidt.

Horseroed being close to Copenhagen, Schmidt met other Estonians there during one of his visits. Independent Estonia badly needed international recognition and had set up a Foreign Delegation to achieve this aim. The delegation had initially intended to make Stockholm its base but found the city expensive and unfriendly and so chose Copenhagen instead. Schmidt met Jaan Tõnisson, Karl Menning, Mihkel Martna and Ferdinand Kull in Copenhagen. He has not recorded what was discussed during their meeting (EKM EKLA 193/41/22, 1923), but he would have heard the latest news. It is possible that the men told him that volunteers were sought to join the British forces in North Russia.

1. In North Russia with British expeditionary force

Schmidt has provided the following explanation for his subsequent actions: "It was the time of a full attack on the Western front, with Estonia, however, groaning under the force of occupation. For this reason I decided to refrain from being a bystander and joined the English service." (*Ibid.*) His army records say that he accepted an invitation from an unnamed Russian military representative to travel to North Russia and volunteer for the British Expeditionary Force. He seems to have been physically strong enough for the journey and may have even been looking for adventure. Setting out from Denmark on September 4th and travelling via Sweden and Norway, he arrived in Archangel on September 24th, where he was promptly assigned to intelligence. Elsewhere just a single sentence in his own hand sums up the events of the month: "Volunteered in Denmark for English service and appointed to serve at the North Expeditionary Corps' headquarters at Archangel (Sep 1918)." (*Ibid.*; ERA 495/7/5497 [a]; ERA 957/8/1999)

By the time of Schmidt's arrival the intervention force in North Russia had already run into difficulties: there was resistance to Allied occupation and winter was approaching. Schmidt did not keep a diary and nothing is known of his experience. British Colonel Philip Woods, however, who had arrived three months earlier and recorded his impressions, found the situation delicate. "Nobody seemed to know whether we were at war with the [local] inhabitants or not," he said and noted that the Russian soldiers viewed the British with "a sort of nervous armed neutrality which threatened at any moment to break out into open hostility." (Baron, 2007:157) Around the time of Schmidt's arrival, on September 27th, 1918,

French diplomat Louis de Robien recorded in his diary: "We are now feeling the full impact of the mistake which the Allies made in not hurrying. Where before a battalion would have sufficed, today a regiment would have difficulty in succeeding. The Bolsheviks have got used to the idea fighting against Allied soldiers and they resist, whereas in the beginning they were seized with panic and could only think of abandoning everything." (de Robien, 1969:304)

On his arrival Schmidt became "engaged in the Military Censorship, Intelligence, NREF [North Russian Expeditionary Force]", as his commanding officer put it (ERA, 495/7/5497 [b]). The main censorship was done in Peterhead in Scotland, where the staff were mostly Danish, but it was deemed advisable to check the traffic with knowledge of local conditions as well, which is why the station at Archangel was set up. There was also a landline from nearby Aleksandrovsk to Vardo in Norway and these communications similarly needed checking. Archangel in those days was full of Bolshevik agents and the censors were expected to watch out for any Bolshevik attempts at communication. It was impossible to tell who was pro-British and who opposed the British occupation. The censors had their work governed by *Cable Censor's Handbook* plus various helpful lists, including *Enemy Diplomatic and Consular Representatives in Neutral Countries* and lists of approved banks.

Schmidt's fellow censors were foreigners like himself: Russian, Polish, Serb and Belgian, all supervised by British officers in higher grades and with Chief Censor Lt-Col. H.V.F. Benet in overall charge. Benet was an experienced man who had formerly worked in St. Petersburg, cooperating with Tsarist censors there. In North Russia he found himself short of staff – "persons of the right class, who possessed a knowledge of French and English". It took some seven weeks before he himself was assigned an interpreter and, as months went by, he lost a number of British men to serious illness; they had to be shipped back to England, some of them were invalided out (Browne, 1919:294-296). North Russian winters were harsh, much harsher than London had imagined although protective clothing had been designed to meet the local conditions. It was, however, very cumbersome, as were the facial mosquito nets the soldiers had to wear during the summer months. Also, the 1918-1919 Spanish flu epidemic took many lives.

Censorship personnel were normally selected from among the military. It was expected that military men, even when dealing with commercial telegrams, would "instinctively and subconsciously" recognise any possible military significance of a text. "The individuals selected for such posts should therefore be chosen from classes accustomed to constantly exercise their judgment and accept responsibility." (*Ibid.*, p. 91)

Even if the station at Archangel was newly organized and short staffed, Schmidt appears to have enjoyed a position of trust. His superior, Col. Benet, was clearly satisfied with his performance. Schmidt "has worked very hard, diligently and punctually," he said when recommending him for promotion in rank to officer (ERA 495/7/5497 [c]). Schmidt's Tsarist rank of "poruchik" had been interpreted by the British as 2nd lieutenant. Some historians have seen this as tantamount to demotion, a common British practice for foreigners (Kröönström, 2005). On Benet's recommendation, however, Schmidt was soon confirmed as a lieutenant.

A considerable number of Estonian soldiers had arrived in North Russia by the autumn of 1918 in an effort to join the Allied forces. They may have included the remains of the Estonian division that had briefly existed in 1917-18 under the command of General Johan Laidoner. Any order or structure in the Russian army had collapsed and the Estonian division had dispersed. At one point it was reported that there were 100000 men, nationality unspecified, making their way to North Russia (National Archives, PRO FO 371/3308/140838). Laidoner himself had gone into a self-imposed exile in Russia and spent several months in St. Petersburg. He had been an intelligence chief in the Tsarist Western Front Corps and this made him a marked man in German-occupied Estonia. It was better to disappear than to risk capture - this has been an Estonian explanation for his exile, ruling out the possibility that Laidoner simply fled. (Walter, 1990:5-17; 1999:29)

The idea of a dedicated Estonian military unit had been mooted at the time of Schmidt's departure from Copenhagen. The Estonian Foreign Delegation told the local British Legation about an imminent German mobilisation in Estonia. The British reported to London that "Project is being considered very secretly by Esthonian representatives for evacuating men of military age before mobilization can take place and enabling them to escape eastwards to endeavour to join entente forces advancing from Murmansk." (National Archives, PRO FO 371/3308/137968) Ants Piip,

the Estonian representative in London, visited the Foreign Office to promote the idea there. Encouraged by the nod he perceived, he dispatched Lt. Veros with his plan to Archangel.

Meanwhile the Estonian War Minister Andres Larka paid a visit to the British mission in Helsinki. He was "most anxious to mobilise an Estonian unit in Russia". London subsequently authorised both Helsinki and Stockholm to issue visas for Estonian men provided they were "definitely prepared to serve in the Allied forces at Murmansk or Archangel." (National Archives, PRO FO 371/3342/164259) This suggests that there were perhaps other volunteers like Schmidt travelling through Scandinavia to North Russia. Oskar Öpik for one travelled to Murmansk and fought there under Russian General Eugene Miller.

The British had been recruiting for the Slavo-British Allied Legion in North Russia ever since late June. It was going to be a unit of Russian men in British uniform hired on fixed-term contracts to serve under British command, with training provided. Leaflets had been dropped in and around Archangel – even in the Estonian language. Military Intelligence in London had been consulted and in November "a special Esthonian unit" was in place "as part of the Slavo-British Allied Legion serving under the supreme Allied Command", although E.H. Carr of the Foreign Office had advised against the "Slav" element in the name, pointing out that the Estonians might find this offensive. (National Arhchives, PRO FO 371/3342/170305; PRO FO 371/3308/183979)

Estonian historian Hannes Walter has viewed those events in Northern Russia from the Estonian point of view and with considerable clarity. He no doubt had the benefit of hindsight. In his view Laidoner was the brains behind the idea. Laidoner had wanted to bring together all Estonian soldiers scattered across Russia, and officers in particular. "He determined that the rallying place should be North Russia where the Allies had landed simultaneously with the Germans landing in Finland in spring 1918. According to Laidoner's plan, this was where the Estonian Legion should be formed. On the one hand, this would provide a symbolic signal of Estonia fighting together with the Allies. On the other hand, the unit would form the core for the time when the German occupation collapsed and the national military force was restored… Over the period of a couple of months Laidoner's network transported about 200 Estonian soldiers to

the north. They made up the Estonian Legion attached to the French expeditionary corps." (Walter, 1999:29)

If one compares this view with modern Estonian reference books, it seems that the name "Estonian Legion" has not been universally recognised. The Estonian encyclopaedia, an authoritative reference source for the nation, had an entry for the legion in an early, Soviet, edition without any reference to Schmidt, who during the Soviet era was seen as a traitor. A post-1991 tome introduced an entry for Schmidt and credited him with the legion's formation, but a more recent volume has dropped the entry for the legion altogether. (Eesti Nõukogude Entsüklopeedia, 1987:219; Eesti Entsüklopeedia, 2003:66; 2000:545; Walter 1999:29; ERA 495/10/65 [a]) British sources do not seem to mention the Estonian legion as such – it may have been just the Estonians' own shorthand.

2. Difficulties in setting up Estonian Legion

Archival sources provide plenty of detail. What to Walter seems to have been a straightforward matter, was in fact a messy and complicated arrangement for those involved with the formation of the Legion in 1918. There were huge difficulties - communication for a start. While the Legion was in its infancy in Archangel, Ants Piip was wondering about Laidoner's and Seljamaa's whereabouts and was keen to see the two in London where he had set up a mission (ERA 1583/1/47 [a]). Meanwhile, Julius Seljamaa as the Estonian government's envoy had established a base in St. Petersburg, with Laidoner helping him as his assistant. In the absence of a government in occupied Estonia, the two men sent a small group of Estonians to Archangel. The group of six Estonians was to build a courier link between St. Petersburg, Archangel, London and Copenhagen. The men's journey was hazardous: they walked most of the way and one of them died (Webermann, 1923:90). On arrival in Archangel in early October, they helped with the formation of the unit. One of the group, Harald Vellner, sought British help in transferring Estonians from the Russian army. He said that 62 Estonians had been registered and confirmed the aim of forming a legion. Gundemar Neggo, a fellow courier, noted the difficulties with the local Russian government that was "refusing permission for the Estonian community to hold a meeting that would promote membership of the legion." (ERA 495/10/21 [a]; ERA 1583/1/47 [b]) By November 75 men had been registered, by December the figure had risen to 92 and there was the possibility of another 200

seamen. The British Consul Francis Lindley in Archangel confirmed the figure of 200 (ERA 1619/1/1 [a]; ERA 31/1/39 [a]; PRO FO 371/3308/181678).

There is no list of names to account for the 200, although various shorter lists exist. These show men were attached to either the White Russian, French or Slavo-British corps. With the general confusion in North Russia, one should not be surprised that the reports and telegrams regarding the legion are sometimes confused or even contradictory. One can conclude that the legion may have been altogether ill-defined and short-lived. Regardless, it matters for Estonia because of its unifying character. Also, as far as August Schmidt is concerned, it provided him with an opportunity to use his own initiative alongside his "day job" in censorship. The formation of the legion as such seems to have been a collective effort, but for more than six months in 1919 Schmidt was in sole charge of organising the soldiers' return home.

There was also the diplomatic aspect as Schmidt was involved in the talks on the formation of the Legion. Several foreign missions had relocated to Archangel from St. Petersburg and Schmidt proved useful as a linguist who spoke excellent French, Russian and German. It is, however, a mystery as to where this young man had learnt English. At school and university he had studied a number of languages, including Latin, Gothic and Old French, but English does not appear on any of his reports. The language became fashionable in Estonia only in the 1920s. It is just possible that he had befriended the Dickses while still in Pärnu - they were perhaps the only English family in town. There were two brothers, Alfred and Charles, only slightly older than Schmidt, who had studied at the same gymnasium. They may have known each other because of a shared interest in music. Both brothers played the violin in the school orchestra, as did Schmidt. The Dickses lost their well-established timber and shipping business when the Soviets came in 1940 when they abandoned everything and fled to England.

It is also possible that Schmidt learnt English in 1917 before he was wounded. There were British officers training Russian soldiers in Galicia. In any case, by the time he arrived in Archangel Schmidt's written English was good and he had a substantial vocabulary, judging by his telegrams to Tallinn and London.

It was clear that the Estonian Legion would not survive on its own. Schmidt told one of the couriers who had left for London: "We thought of setting up a fully independent Estonian military unit, but had we even got permission for this, funding [would be a problem] – you know yourself what it's like here. And we lack the legal basis for contracting a loan on behalf of the Estonian government." (ERA 1583/1/47 [c]) The solution was to attach the Estonians to an Allied unit, but even that arrangement failed to provide stability.

Gen. Ironside, the General Officer Commanding at Archangel, suddenly told the Estonians that the Slavo-British Legion would be disbanded and the Estonians would have to join the White Russian army. This created a crisis that forced Schmidt and Ernst Webermann to launch a new round of talks that tested their embryonic negotiation techniques. The couriers from St. Petersburg had left and Webermann and Schmidt were on their own to discuss the transfer of some of the men to the French Foreign Legion. They must have made an impression because the Ambassador Joseph Noulens has mentioned them in his memoirs. (Noulens, 1933:267-268)

Webermann was not a military man and may have greatly benefited from Schmidt's army knowledge during those talks. Sent to Archangel by Moscow's Agricultural Institute, Webermann was a fisheries expert who had an office at 20 Sobornaya Street in Archangel that he had placed at the Estonians' disposal. Almost accidentally he had been elected a leader of the local Estonian community and an Estonian committee was set up. During their rounds of foreign embassies, Webermann found the British, French, Japanese and US diplomats kind and friendly. Emboldened by their initial success, the two Estonians seized the opportunity to promote Estonian independence wherever they went. Their diplomacy made some impact in so far as Ants Piip in London had heard rumours of an "Estonian mission" operating in Archangel (ERA 1583/1/47 [a]).

Webermann has recorded a particular sense of satisfaction over the agreement reached with the local North Russian government. There had been friction, but suddenly the Russians allowed the documentation of the Estonians in the area. Webermann and Schmidt acted quickly: they published an appeal to their fellow countrymen in a local newspaper, devised a simple document in Estonian, English and Russian and set up a basic vetting procedure. The agreement ensured that the Estonians were exempted from Russian mobilisation (Webermann, 1923:88-102). It had

been a serious concern that if the Estonians were needed at home they should be free to go and not find themselves caught up in some Russian fighting. Webermann was also pleading with Piip for some credentials to be sent to him; "otherwise there would be no official basis [for the local Russian government] to accept our representative." (ERA 1583/1/47 [d])

The positive arrangements with the Russians, however, did not last. A call for the Estonians to return to homeland came at the end of November and a week later general mobilisation was announced in North Russia. A period of uncertainty followed. The Estonians appealed to Ironside. The general, who had been friendly towards the Estonians all along, saw no reason for creating obstacles and London agreed that the men were free to go home if they so wished. By comparison, the French were slow to release the Estonians, but praised them highly (ERA 495/10/9 [a]). The Russians, however, created difficulties because they badly needed every man available, even if he had been registered as an Estonian.

The Foreign Office in London had a few months previously considered the potential conflict between Estonian passports and Russian mobilisation when Piip had applied to issue passports there. For London it was also matter of *de jure* recognition "if, by recognising Esthonian passports, we show that we consider Esthonia as separate from Russia." There were the Poles and Ukrainians similarly clamouring for recognition and so it was decided to "let M. Piip issue passports merely as certificates of identity, laying it down at the same time that holders of such passports are not thereby absolved from their obligations as former Russian subjects." (PRO FO 371/3308/123134) And although Webermann had in vein asked Piip for passport blanks to be sent from London, it is quite likely that the identity documents issued in Archangel and London were similar, focusing on the bearer's ethnic origin.

Piip was very much interested in the Estonians' success in Archangel, as he saw Estonian freedom directly dependent on an Allied victory. "For this reason I *de facto* recognised as correct that Estonian citizens serve in the Allied force … in line with the English-Russian convention," he said. "The Russian Bolshevik government protested but I in essence supported this obligation so that large numbers of our citizens would serve as part of this country's forces." (ERA 1619/1/1 [b])

3. Schmidt in charge of Estonian repatriation

Webermann, who had been the official Estonian representative in Archangel since November, left for London in February 1919. At that point Laidoner put Schmidt in charge of the Estonians' return passage. Laidoner also cabled to Ironside: "Please if possible undertake necessary steps to release all Esthonians serving at Expeditionary Force for purpose of transferring to Esthonia. Kindly furnish them with equipment and provision for account of Esthonian temporary government's war department. Have authorized Lieutenant August Schmidt Intelligence to arrange despatch." (ERA 495/7/5497 [a]; ERA 495/10/65 [b]) Henceforth it was Schmidt alone who argued with the French, British and Russian authorities for the release of the men, often on an individual basis. Numerous letters were written and cables sent, and communication difficulties persisted. Schmidt had arguably better telegraph links with London than with Tallinn, possibly because Lindley had allowed the Estonians to use the British courier service (ERA 31/1/39 [b]; ERA 1583/1/47 [b]). But Schmidt was often in the dark about events at home and was looking forward to receiving Estonian newspapers (ERA 957/8/33 [a]).

Laidoner had meanwhile returned to Tallinn and become the commander-in-chief of the Estonian forces. The Bolsheviks had attacked from the northeast and this started the Estonian War of Independence. In his desire to speed up the arrival of the men from North Russia, Laidoner asked Col. Thornhill, chief of intelligence in Archangel, for Schmidt's release so that he could concentrate on the job of repatriation. Schmidt was concerned: "In order to give me more liberty and independency in my actions it is not necessary to release me from my present occupation at the British Headquarters because then I had to join the Russian army that I am not willing to do at all," he told Laidoner. "If the British War Office does not release me please arrange for me to stay on attached to the Headquarters as an Estonian officer wearing an Estonian uniform and being paid by the British War Office as I am in active British service." Laidoner's laconic acceptance of the young man's plea is impressive. He has just written across the top of the telegram: "Do as Schmidt says." (ERA 495/10/9 [b]; ERA 495/10/65 [c])

Schmidt was obviously working well for the British because Colonel Thornhill refused to release him but told Laidoner that "there is no reason

that he should not attend to the duties you require in addition to his other duties of censorship." (ERA 495/10/65 [d]) The War Office in London described Schmidt as an officer who was "performing important work" and this required him to wear British uniform (ERA 957/1/1070 [a]). Confusingly Schmidt himself, however, told Tallinn in July that he had been released from the British service at his own request ever since March 27th. "I am at present an Estonian officer. I was asked, however, and succumbed, so now I'm working at the English headquarters as a volunteer. In every other respect I consider myself as falling under the Estonian headquarters." (ERA 495/10/65 [e])

Schmidt seems to have been successful in his dispatch of the men. By the time he left Archangel in October 1919 he had secured the release of all but nine of the Estonians whom the Russians would not release because "the Russian troops' commander-in-chief would no longer bend to the Allied commander-in-chief and thus forbade the release of Estonians from the Russian forces." (ERA 495/10/21 [b])

The very first group of Estonian officers travelled on land, across Finland, and arrived safely in Tallinn in March 1919. Subsequent transports proved more difficult. During the winter the sea was frozen and the Swedes took a long time to process the transit visas required. Once the visas were issued it was no longer safe to use the land route. Money was constantly short although Laidoner in March sent GBP 300 with a promise of further GBP 1000 that does not seem to have materialised. The British and French demand that the men leaving for Estonia surrender their uniforms or pay for them created what seemed to be an insurmountable difficulty. Schmidt was at a loss until he ran into Count Sollohub, the Polish military representative, who was ready to help. The Count very kindly produced civilian clothes and waived the charges (ERA 495/10/21 [c]). Tallinn also helpfully decided that every soldier should receive 1000 marks but that was to be paid only on arrival in Estonia (ERA 495/10/9 [c]).

Navigation started late in Archangel but even when the ice melted there were no ships to carry the returnees. The British, who had from the start been helpful, offered to take the men as far as Britain but how would they then get home? The Estonian Legation that Ants Piip had set up in London was short of funds and manpower. It was temporarily run by Jaan Kopwillem while Piip was at the Paris Peace Conference. Everything in

those days was in short supply except for unlimited stocks of determination and enthusiasm.

However, as many as 300 men – "the legion and civilians" - were eventually transported from Archangel to Tallinn (ERA 957/1/1070 [b]; ERA 957/8/33 [b]). Despite numerous telegrams the details of homeward journeys are scant and it is near impossible to put together a clear picture. Despite initial talk of shipping, a large number travelled across land through Finland and Schmidt was concerned about the small amounts of cash he was able to give each man for the journey (ERA 495/10/21 [c]). Another 104 Estonians were evacuated in August. Tallinn had firmly decided to place its trust in Schmidt well before the top commanders had clapped eyes on him: instructions to allow into the country everybody documented by Schmidt were issued as early as March (ERA 957/8/92; ERA 957/8/39).

The North Russian venture came to an end in the autumn of 1919 and Schmidt left Archangel in October. The failure of the project was not unexpected: the intervention had been limping along ever since the armistice. The troop departure, however, affected not only soldiers who were leaving but the locals who stayed behind. Considerable disillusionment had been building up over the months. When the British troops withdrew the people of Archangel and Murmansk were literally abandoned and in due course the Bolsheviks carried out reprisals. One of the commanders sent to organise the evacuation, Maj-Gen. Sir C. Maynard, was dismayed that "the Bolsheviks were given ample warning of our contemplated evacuation, which was announced officially in our Press many months before it commenced." (Maynard, 1928:240) He said that as an individual he was delighted to go home, but the troop withdrawal he found disheartening because of his concern for the local population.

What did August Schmidt feel? As there are no letters, one can only speculate. He may have felt more positive than Maynard because his Estonian efforts were largely constructive. It is curious, however, that Schmidt seems not to have referred to Archangel in any of his subsequent correspondence, even when writing to individuals who had also taken part in the intervention. No doubt he learnt a lot in North Russia: he improved his English, came to understand the basics of diplomacy and learnt a few lessons in compromise. When years later he found himself in a frustrating situation in London he behaved very much as Gen. Ironside had in

Archangel, just soldiering on despite adversity. Ironside, however, had his diary to trust his doubts and innermost thoughts to and his diary has survived. Schmidt, it seems, shared his thoughts only with his wife Alice. He was close to his brother-in-law Felix as well. Felix fought in the War of Independence on Estonian soil and later became vice-president of the Bank of Estonia only to be arrested by the Soviets in 1941. He died in a Soviet labour camp in 1947.

Disappointingly, Schmidt's British service records do not seem to have survived; they may have perished in the Second World War, or may be held elsewhere because of his intelligence links. The latter were to play an important role in his later life, not least because he had met Harry Carr (Henry Lambton Carr) in Archangel. Carr was a fluent Russian speaker interpreting for Gen. Ironside; Carr and Schmidt were two young men of similar age and disposition working in the same HQ building. Carr later became the controller of the Northern Area of the Secret Intelligence Service (SIS).

Schmidt made friends easily in those days, it seems. Even during a stopover in Helsinki on his way back home he ran into Sir Park Goff MP who was to remember their meeting fondly many years later, in 1934. (ERA 957/14/7)

Schmidt's service in North Russia earned him two British medals but, curiously, he was only able to collect his Allied Victory and General Service Medals much later, in 1937, with the help of the Directorate of Military Intelligence. He had by then been posted to London where the Foreign Office observed him wearing his newly-acquired decorations "with the keenest pride." (PRO FO 371/23689 N5102/518/38)

In 1919, however, Schmidt spent only a few days in London on his way home. The Estonian Legation had just moved from rented premises to the newly-purchased town house at 167 Queen's Gate. The 7-storey building designed by Sir Mervyn Macartney and completed in 1890 (Moore & Pick, 1985:96-97) looks impressive today and may have impressed Schmidt then. At the time he could not have possibly foreseen that 15 years later he would return and spend the rest of his life at that address. He was yet to choose between a military and diplomatic career. Soon after his arrival in Tallinn on October 29th he was appointed military attaché to Lithuania where he stayed for the next three years.

References:

Anon., 1917 (Oct. 26th). Teated Eesti sõjalastest (News of Estonian soldiers). *Eesti Sõjamees*, Tallinn.

Baron, Nick, 2007. *The King of Karelia: Col. P.J. Woods and the British Intervention in North Russia 1918-1919. A History and Memoir.* London: Francis Boutle Publishers.

Benet to GSO Intelligence, undated. Eesti Riigiarhiiv (Estonian State Archive) (ERA) 495/7/5497 [c].

Benet's certificate. 1919 (April 4th). Eesti Riigiarhiiv (Estonian State Archive) 495/7/5497 [b].

Browne, Lord A., 1919. *Report on Cable Censorship during the Great War (1914-1919).* London: General Staff, War Office. pp. 294-296.

Capt Pint to Piip, undated. Eesti Riigiarhiiv (Estonian State Archive) 31/1/39 [a].

Clive to London, 1918 (Sept. 28th). National Archives, London. Public Record Office (PRO) Foreign Office (FO) 371/3342/164259

Copenhagen to London, 1918 (Aug. 7th). National Archives, London. PRO FO 371/3308/140838.

D.F.Anderson of War Office to Kopwillem, 1919 (June 2nd). Eesti Riigiarhiiv (Estonian State Archive) 957/1/1070 [a].

de Robien, Louis, 1969. *The Diary of a Diplomat in Russia, 1917-1918.* London: Joseph.

eesti leegion, 1. 1987. *Eesti Nõukogude Entsüklopeedia. Vol. 2.* Tallinn: Valgus.

Eesti Leegion, 2003. *Eesti Entsüklopeedia. Vol. 12.* Tallinn: Eesti Entsüklopeediakirjastus.

FO minute, 1939 (Sept. 20th). National Archives, London. PRO FO 371/23689 N5102/518/38.

FO minutes, 1918 (July 18-20th). National Archives, London. PRO FO 371/3308/123134.

FO to Military Intelligence 1918 (Oct. 1st). National Archives, London. PRO FO 371/3342/164259.

Kopwillem to Schmidt, 1919 (April 10th). Eesti Riigiarhiiv (Estonian State Archive) 495/10/9 [c].

Kopwillem to Tallinn, 1919 (April 10th). Eesti Riigiarhiiv (Estonian State Archive) 957/8/33 [b].

Kopwillem to Tallinn, 1919 (Aug. 11th). Eesti Riigiarhiiv (Estonian State Archive) 957/8/39.

Kröönström, Mati, 2005. Eesti ohvitserid Vene kodusõja rinnetel 1918-1920 (Estonian officers on Russian Civil War fronts 1918-1920). *Akadeemia*. Tartu. No. 5.

Laidoner to Ironside 1919 (Feb. 26th). Eesti Riigiarhiiv (Estonian State Archive) 495/10/65 [b].

Laidoner to Schmidt, 1919 (Feb. 27th). Eesti Riigiarhiiv (Estonian State Archive) 495/10/65 [b].

Laidoner's note, 1919 (March 2nd). Eesti Riigiarhiiv (Estonian State Archive) 495/10/65 [c].

Lindley to London, 1918 (Oct. 31st). National Archives, London. PRO FO 371/3308/181678

Lt-Col Soots to Minister of War, 1919 (Feb. 16th). Eesti Riigiarhiiv (Estonian State Archive) 495/10/65 [a].

Mamers, Oskar, 1957. *Kahe sõja vahel*. Stockholm.

Manakin, Victor, 1955. The shock-battalions of 1917: Reminiscences. *Russian Review*. Stanford. Vol. 14, No. 3, pp. 218-219.

Maynard, C., 1928. *The Murmansk Venture*. London.

Military Intelligence to FO, 1918 (Oct. 9th). National Archives, London. PRO FO 371/3342/170305.

Moore, Derry and Pick, Michael, 1985. *The English Room*. New York and London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.

Neggo to Piip, 1918 (Nov. 1st). Eesti Riigiarhiiv (Estonian State Archive) 1583/1/47 [b].

Noulens, Joseph. 1933. *Mon Ambassade en Russia Soviétique 1917-1919*. Paris. Vol. 2.

Piip to Archangel, 1918 (Nov. 12th). Eesti Riigiarhiiv (Estonian State Archive) 1583/1/47 [a].

Piip's report, undated. Eesti Riigiarhiiv (Estonian State Archive) 1619/1/1 [b].

Schmidt to Estonian Literary Society. 1923 (Dec. 4th). Eesti Kirjandusmuuseum (Estonian Literary Museum) EKLA 193/41/22.

Schmidt to Laidoner, 1919 (June 23rd). Eesti Riigiarhiiv (Estonian State Archive) 495/10/21 [c].

Schmidt to Laidoner, 1919 (March 20th). Eesti Riigiarhiiv (Estonian State Archive) 495/10/9 [a].

Schmidt to London, undated. Eesti Riigiarhiiv (Estonian State Archive) 495/10/9 [b].

Schmidt to London, undated. Eesti Riigiarhiiv (Estonian State Archive) 957/1/1070 [b].

Schmidt to Neggo, 1918 (Dec. 25th). Eesti Riigiarhiiv (Estonian State Archive) 1583/1/47 [c].

Schmidt to Soots, 1919 (July 18th). Eesti Riigiarhiiv (Estonian State Archive) 495/10/65 [e].

Schmidt to Soots, 1919 (Sept. 10th). Eesti Riigiarhiiv (Estonian State Archive) 495/10/21 [b].

Schmidt to Tallinn via London, 1919 (April 12th). Eesti Riigiarhiiv (Estonian State Archive) 957/8/33 [a].

Schmidt to Tallinn, 1934 (Dec. 13th). Eesti Riigiarhiiv (Estonian State Archive) 957/14/7.

Schmidt's foreign service record, undated. Eesti Riigiarhiiv (Estonian State Archive) 957/8/1999.

Schmidt's military service record, undated. Eesti Riigiarhiiv (Estonian State Archive) 495/7/5497 [a].

Semper, Johannes, 1917 (Sept. 22nd). Sõjameeste organiseerimine ja elu (Organisation and life of soldiers). *Eesti Sõjamees.* Tallinn.

Sir R. Paget in Copenhagen to London, 1918 (Aug. 9th). National Archives, London. PRO FO 371/3308/137968.

Soots to Minister of War, 1919 (March 9th). Eesti Riigiarhiiv (Estonian State Archive) 957/8/92.

Thornhill to Laidoner, 1919 (March 2nd). Eesti Riigiarhiiv (Estonian State Archive) 495/10/65 [d].

Torma, Schmidt, August Johannes, 2000. *Eesti Entsüklopeedia. Eesti elulood, Vol. 14.* Tallinn: Eesti Entsüklopeediakirjastus.

Unsigned letter. 1918 (May 14th). Estonian Foreign Ministry Archive. VM Torma Collection Misc.

Vahtra, Jaan, 1936. *Minu noorusmaalt III: autobiograafilisi pilte ja jutustusi.* Tartu.

van der Kiste, John and Hall, Coryne, 2002. *Once a Grand Duchess: Xenia, Sister of Nicholas II.* Stroud: Sutton.

Walter, Hannes, 1990. Johan Laidoner. *Ausalt ja avameelselt Eesti suurmeestest.* Tallinn: Perioodika.

Walter, Hannes, 1999. Rahvusväeosades ja Vabadussõjas. *Kindral Johan Laidoner – 115 aastat sunniest.* comp. by Mati Õun. Tallinn: Tammiskilp.

War Office to FO, 1918 (Nov. 5th). National Archives, London. PRO FO 371/3308/183979.

Webermann to Piip, 1918 (Dec. 26th). Eesti Riigiarhiiv (Estonian State Archive) 1583/1/47 [d].

Webermann to Piip, 1918 (Dec. 2nd). Eesti Riigiarhiiv (Estonian State Archive) 31/1/39 [b].

Webermann to Piip, 1918 (Nov. 10th). Eesti Riigiarhiiv (Estonian State Archive) 1619/1/1 [a].

Webermann, Ernst, 1923. Mälestusi 1918. aastast. *Iseseisvuse tuleku päivilt*, Tartu.

Wellner to Ironside, 1918 (Oct. 16th). Eesti Riigiarhiiv (Estonian State Archive) 495/10/21 [a].

History, the Myth, and the Staff Ride: A New Look at the Development of Subordinate Leaders

By Andrew M. Del Gaudio*

It must be stated that the highest virtue ascribed to a military professional is his character and the cultivation of character of the subordinates that he leads. Indeed, history is replete with examples of units that have adapted the ways and mannerism**s** of their leaders, right down to the most minor detail. We understand character as that inner strength that is guided by a sense of right and wrong while rooted in solid intellect. The physical manifestation of our character is displayed through our will to accomplish our assigned tasks. The most solemn duty of the senior is, in fact, to teach the subordinate. But what is he supposed to teach? In these days, the relevant answer is what they need to learn in order to survive in combat for the next seven or more months. It seems that time is the one thing that we never have enough of. Presently, in our time competitive environment, we are faced with the task, as leaders, to inculcate in our subordinates a character that will transcend the moral, the mental, and the physical aspects that compromise combat. The most appropriate answer is to examine how others have dealt with this same situation. Enter the study of history. We are going to explore the development of character and how we relate these lessons to our subordinates. The vehicle to explore these phenomena will be the past or what we commonly refer to as history. We will also explore the pitfalls of the study of history in relation to the military professional. Lastly, we will look at a technique for conducting the battlefield tour or "staff ride" for the development of subordinate unit leaders.

---

* Major Andrew M. Del Gaudio, USMC, is currently serving as the Executive Officer of the Infantry Training Battalion at the School of Infantry-East in Camp Lejeune, North Carolina. He earned a B.A. in History from Villanova University. Major Del Gaudio is a Commandant's List graduate of the United States Army's Armor Captain's Career Course. Major Del Gaudio has been an instructor of Student Officers at The Basic School in Quantico, Virginia. He has also been a guest lecturer at The Baltic Defence College in Tartu, Estonia, on various topics ranging from doctrine, theory, and to the employment of small unit leadership in combat.

1. Solid foundations

In order to have an effective unit, whether it is a combat arms unit or a support unit, it is imperative that everyone view these situations in a similar manner. Common values along with traditions are often asserted during entry level training to be maintained and developed throughout their career. At the centre of this development, we find character. What aspect of our character are we trying to develop? As stated, character is rooted in intellect and is governed by the will (Headquarters, Department of the Navy, United States Marine Corps, 1989:40). The development of intellect can not be overstated. Intellect must not only be developed in subordinates through the course of professional military studies, but also in areas less familiar and certainly less comfortable to the military professional. A German philosopher of the early twentieth century named Dr. Meumann once wrote, "Man can not namely and solely attempt to answer the question of whether the will is decided by intelligence, but rather indeed are the willing of intelligence" (Meumann, 1913:4). A sincere appreciation for philosophy and other art forms will create leaders with a broader horizon who will be more capable of dealing with the wide variety of problems that are associated with operating in the contemporary operating environment of today. We are always looking to develop in our subordinates the initiative to accomplish an assigned task. But more importantly, we must develop in our subordinates the decision-making skills and judgment which is necessary to take the initiative in to address the mission as they see fit. We must afford them this latitude. If we have developed our subordinates correctly, they are going to do what is right. This is not an insubordination to your orders. Rather, it is a result of truly understanding their commander's intent in addition to what is happening around them. Developed judgment and decision-making skills foster the ability to critically analyze problems and develop detailed courses of action that will allow freedom of action to subordinates.

Developing a strong sense of character will allow for constructive criticism. More so then ever in this day and age, military professionals tend to get their egos bruised by the notion that there may be a more efficient or more correct technique for performing a task. The development of a "thick skin" is not just a nice to have, but a necessity for the military professional. If a unit is to become better, then it is necessary for them to be honest with themselves in recognizing their personal capabilities and limitations as well as that of the unit before somebody else does. While being a part of

that unit, your own opinion of your performance will always be subjective at best. The objective opinion of an individual not assigned to the unit will always provide the best form of evaluation on your performance. As many of us have heard in our personal or professional education, "you will likely see this again."

2. The Role of History in the Development of Subordinates

In today's American military organizations, combat experience abounds. Once upon a time, young officers were told that reading was a way to gain valuable "vicarious experience" about any aspect of combat from human factors (such as the moral, mental, and physical strains due to combat), to easy lessons about leadership in order to learn from the mistakes of others. With young leaders now having valuable first hand experience from the horrors of war, it would only make sense that teaching lessons that are relative to their professional military development would be made easier right? Wrong! There are age old problems that still persist.

The origin of these problems exists in the difference between what is the past and what is history. As correctly stated by Antulio J. Echevarria, "The past, simply put is what happened. History, in contrast, is the historian's interpretation of what happened." (2005:78). Leopold von Ranke, who was the father of modern historiography, viewed history as "what really happened" (Howard, 2003:19) Allow us to return to the notion of being subjective verses being objective, but let's look at the problem through the lens of what Sir Michael Howard referred to as "myth making" (*Ibid.,* p. 18) First and foremost it is of the highest importance to remember that the side who typically writes the history of any engagement, whether battle or war, is the side that wins. "Myth making" rears its ugly head for a few prominent reasons. Here are but a few of those reasons:

2.1. Believe in the subculture

It is important for us as military professionals to never forget that our military services are a reflection of the society from which they came. Each military service has a unique subculture from the nation for which it serves. Every Military Occupational Specialty or (MOS) and every unit also have their own unique story to tell as well. The importance of the subculture to members of a unit is that it allows for its members to identify with each other under the common bond of members that have gone before them.

The lore of such tales is the thing that keeps the young soldiers from falling asleep at their post or officers from surrendering their positions. The healthy believes that the man on the right or on the left will sustain the subculture and provide the moral backbone in order to continue under tough times. This belief in the subculture is what propels healthy and sometimes unhealthy competition among the Armed Services. The danger of the subculture is when current members feel that new members must be initiated into the group in order to prove their worthiness and to pay their dues. Enter the fraternity style hazing that has been common in military organizations for generations. By acknowledging the root causes of the desire to belong to something bigger then an individual's identity, the military organizations will only then come up with solutions to their unique problem.

3. "The military way or militarism" (Vagts, 1959:13)

A method of sustaining the subculture and building or adding to the common "myth" is through memoirs. Whether they are written by the victorious or the defeated is relative to whether or not the object of study was won or lost. Successful as well as unsuccessful military officers write memoirs. What is their purpose? More often than not, it is to recount their version of what happened in a manner that they would like for you to believe. Perhaps it is a need to explain their experiences for the sake of posterity, or to preserve their name and reputation because they simply would prefer for us to remember their interpretation instead. The reasoning lies in the outcome of the event and is governed by the character of the man that wrote it. The self-account of any memoir is far from being an objective version of the story. The untrained eye must proceed with caution when reading memoirs. A student of the past must search far and wide to find an objective history of the event for which they are studying. Memoirs are only for use to explore the reasons that surround why certain decisions were made at particular times. As Alfred Vagts suggested in the title of this segment "the military way or militarism," from his all important work *A History of Militarism*, the author of the memoir is wishing to contribute good for the "military way," but may unwillingly contribute to militarism and the furtherance of the popular "myth." A tradition that existed during the time of the Prussian Kingdom prior to 1870 was that Prussians were forbidden from writing memoirs. As expressed by Alfred Vagts, "If confession is one test of truthfulness, then there is little of reality in the military memoirs. The Prussian General Constantin von

Alvensleben, an upright and conservative man, laid down the rule that "a Prussian general dies but does not leave any memoirs." Prussian tradition long forbade the public appearance of the individual officer in his lifetime or posthumously" (Vagts, 1959:25).

With these two thoughts in mind, how can we train our subordinates using history as a vehicle to learn? The age old adage of "buyers beware" applies. The leader wishing to educate his subordinates using history must have a full grasp of the subject that he is teaching and recognize the pitfalls of the subject matter. Remembering that we are reflections of the society from which we come, Americans tend to want the "bottom line up front," in order to match our fast paced lifestyle. In order for you to use military history properly, it is going to require you to do some homework on the topic that you are going to teach. Thorough preparation and an intelligent lesson plan for the topics that you want to teach your subordinates will enhance and leave an indelible memory of the exercise. If done properly this is an excellent opportunity to "train the trainer." Getting subordinates excited to do this sort of work requires truly skilled leadership. You are not going to get the best results if you plan on doing your battle study at 1630 on a Friday afternoon, unless of course you are deployed and there is no leave or liberty in sight. Like everything in life, timing and location are everything.

4. The crawl, walk, and run of military history and making it useful

As with all good military operations, you must have a clearly defined objective to your training and you must have a culminating point where it can all come together for your subordinates. For the purpose of this example, the culminating point of our exercise will be to conduct a battle field tour or "staff ride." Depending on where you are physically located in the world will ultimately determine how far you will have to go and what time period you will be studying. Generally, being along the East Coast of the United States or any country in Europe will allow for the study of a battle. A common misconception that exists among trainers is that it needs to be a large battle in the scope and size of Gettysburg, Waterloo, or Iwo Jima in order for a student to gain an understanding of the events. This is false. Locations where belligerents have been enjoined in armed conflict will avail opportunities to learn something. You only need to relate the battle or engagement in terms of the tactical, operational, or strategic levels of war. You also have the obligation to relate the moral, mental, and

physical aspects as well. No matter what common rank the group is, the natural tendency is for that group to digress to what is comfortable. This generally refers to things that are tactical. You have to fight that urge and force subordinates to see the bigger picture. Here are some useful thoughts to maintain when building your battle study:

•   A director for the exercise (Waldron, 1918:6). One person that knows what points need to be drawn out of the subordinates about the historical fight and somebody that is capable of making subordinates think about how or if they would fight the same fight today using today's weapons and technology.

•   Knowing your target audience. This allows you to reinforce what they should already know and allows you to develop what they need to know for their future development.

•   Comparing and contrasting the Art and the Science of War. Naturally you are going to spend considerable time on the art of war by discussing the tactics that were used during that time. You will also find that your subordinates will naturally gravitate toward it. Take the time to understand the science of war and the contribution of technology to the fight that you are studying.

•   Study of the personalities that fought the battle. Avoid assigning your subordinates historical personalities. Give them pieces of the battle and emphasize decisions that were made. Make them explain why certain decisions were made relative to that personality's character that made them. This is the best way to learn from somebody else's mistakes.

•   Study the terrain. Recent experience has shown me that young leaders with only combat experience from Iraq tend to view all future combat in terms of a featureless desert or urban terrain. They forget that they might fight somewhere that has vegetation or hills. Get 1:50000 maps of the area that you are going to. Have subordinates draw overlays that explain the historical fight, but also how they would fight the battle today.

•   Gather the proper tools. Have your subordinates bring digital cameras, compasses, Global Positioning Systems (GPS), and note-taking materials along with their maps of the area. They can always use the gathered information for reference in future professional papers that will likely be written for a school.

•   Return to core competencies. This is perhaps the most important point. Talk about basic offensive and defensive operations relative to the audience that you are trying to teach. Whether you talk about building a

convention defence and the seven steps of engagement area development or a simple movement to contact, you will be able to talk about engineering or the use of pre-planned fires. The manner in which subordinates use to communicate instructions to their subordinates in the form of a five paragraph order still applies.

4.1. The crawl

If you choose to be the director of your battle study, then you will be doing the crawling. The amount of time that you will spend in preparing the material for the study is the most important piece of the study. You must gather the appropriate level reading material for your audience. On your shoulders rest the responsibility of reading the material and detecting potential pitfalls for your subordinates. Once you have a good knowledge of the material, begin to pose questions that will allow you to achieve your learning objectives. A simple way to create learning objectives is to use the U.S. Army's Battlefield Operating Systems or BOSs. They are as follows:

- Intelligence
- Manoeuvre
- Fire Support
- Air Defence
- Mobility and Survivability
- Combat Service Support
- Command and Control

By using these seven simple concepts you will be able to arrive at questions that pertain to each "area expert" that you assign.

Give your subordinate unit leaders a package with all of the material that they will need to accomplish their assigned tasks. Also provide them with other recommended reading material; suggestions that you don't provide to them. You will immediately notice who applies the extra time and effort because you will more than likely guess which of your subordinates will do this prior to you stepping off on the tour. This is an excellent way to see which of your subordinates are taking the work seriously. Your subordinates may decide to get together on their own over a beer and work on the project together. Encourage this! You are truly fortunate as a leader if your subordinates will take things that serious.

4.2. The walk

This is the time that you take to walk the battlefield on your staff ride. Take the time to think about parts of the field that will maximize the best learning objectives for the amount of time that you are allotted to do the tour. If you are studying a battle with a traditional offence and defence, then start out in the defensive engagement area and look at the terrain from the perspective of the offence. This will enable you to talk about the terrain in terms of where you could be seen by the defence and what terrain features would provide protection from enemy observation and enemy fire. Note terrain that you would call "key terrain". Make sure that your subordinates understand if the offence would want a position for a support by fire position, then the enemy would probably have an observation post on that piece of terrain. Talk about the offensive reconnaissance effort and the defensive patrolling effort. What assets were available then, and what would you want today? Take the time to talk about the vegetation and the effects it would have on your operations and fires. The whole time that you are having the guided discussion, make your subordinates answer the "why". Here you will experience your greatest joy when your subordinates can respond to their own questions faster then you were able to ask. You then know that "learning has occurred". Once you have completed the historical perspective of the area, then talk about it in terms of how you would offensively operate in that particular area today. Take into consideration how you would move to the objective, be it mounted or dismounted. How would you set up a potential support by fire, and finally, how you would bring together your direct and indirect fire support plans to ensure correct geometries of fire to accomplish your mission. Make sure that your subordinates highlight the differences technologically and they relate it to the science of war. As you continue to walk toward the objective, pick an area that was a historical engagement area and ask why did the area achieve or fail to achieve the desired effect. This will enable you to talk about how you would do it today with the assets that you would have available to you. The key to this part of the exercise is to remind your subordinates about their troop to task and the amount of time required to achieve the desired engineer effect. Ensure that you tie this to your defensive fires plan for both direct as well as indirect weapons. Finally, as you reach the objective, talk about the human factors affecting the offence. Would the offence have reached its culminating point at this stage? How would the defence and the offence re-supply? Did

their communication assets allow them to talk to one another effectively? For the defence, did the positions that they chose make sense in relation to the terrain that they were on and the effects that they were able to achieve with their weapons? Does the terrain allow for you to employ a reverse slope defence? Could you employ a defence in depth to better accomplish the mission? Was there a better way to array forces based on their capabilities and limitations and how would you do it today?

4.3. The run

This is the unfortunate part that you will likely never see. This is when your subordinates get promoted and reassigned to later lead their own staff rides in the excellent example that you provided to them years before. The immediate short term effects you will likely see when your subordinates begin to apply the things that they learned in their next training operation. You will also likely see these lessons manifest themselves when your subordinates teach their own subordinates. If you are a company commander, have a conversation with one of your squad leaders and see what he has learned. The answers are sometimes shocking.

Conclusion

History is still the viable tool that it has always been for the military professional to learn from. The question is whether your subordinates are getting the right message from what you have them reading. As long as you understand the pitfalls associated with reading history, then you will be able to read it with a sense of objectivity and get something from it. Unemotional objectivity is often very difficult for anybody to achieve, but the rewards are great if we wish to pursue it. Recognize history for what it is and don't contribute to the "myth" that isn't. There is an undeniable link between success on the current battlefield and the time spent by leaders in study of past conflicts. The tangible benefits of developing decision-making skills and good judgment are obvious. The intangible benefit of developing a subordinate's character will be far reaching and life long. Returning a better American to society is our ultimate goal, whether it takes only four years or forty years. While the man is in our uniform, it is our charter to make him better then when he came into the service.

References:

Echevarria, Antulio J., Summer, 2005. The Trouble with History, *Parameters*. Vol. 35, Issue 2.

Headquarters, Department of the Navy, United States Marine Corps, FMFM-1 (MCPD-1), 1989. *Warfighting*. Chapter III.

Howard, Michael, 2003, The Use and Abuse of Military History, *The Army Doctrine and Training Bulletin* (Canadian Defense Force). Summer, Vol. 3, Issue 2.

Meumann, Ernst, 1913. *Intelligenz und Wille*. Leipzig: Verlag Von Quelle & Meyer.

Vagts, Alfred, 1959. *The History of Militarism*. New York: The Free Press.

Waldron, William H., 1918. *Tactical Walks*. New York: George U Harvey Publishing.

A Review Essay: An Atlantic Chase to a Struggle in the Arctic

By Mark R. Condeno[*]

William Shirer, *The Sinking of the Bismarck: The Deadly Hunt* (New York: Sterling, 2006)

Theodore Taylor, *Battle in the Arctic Seas* (New York: Sterling, 2007)

From an ardent pursuit in the Atlantic to a fatal arctic seas battle, two notable episodes of the Second World War are again brought to light by two prominent authors of military and naval history.

Leading the duo is the momentous seek and destroy encounter between the ships of the British Royal Navy against the pride of the German Fleet, the 42800 ton Battleship *Bismarck*. Authored by reporter-historian William Shirer (*The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich, The Collapse of the Third Republic*), this updated edition which was first published in 1962 captures in full this significant Battle of Denmark Strait and the sinking of the *Bismarck*.

The book is divided into eleven chapters, commencing with the sortie of the German battleship from its anchorage, its subsequent tracking by reconnaissance aircraft and two Royal Navy's cruisers namely HMS *Norfolk (C78)* and HMS *Suffolk (C55)* with the former making the first contact. It then takes readers through the gun battle between the Bismarck and the battleship HMS *Prince of Wales (53)* and the flagship of the Royal Navy HMS *Hood (51)* with the disastrous result that ended in the destruction and sinking of the British battle-cruiser with a heavy loss of life. After the debacle the *Bismarck* would again escape the shadowing allied force. The succeeding section of the book covers the search for the warship and the mistaken attack by Swordfish biplanes on the cruiser HMS *Sheffield (C24)*. The author then narrates the plans made on both sides as they reassessed the situation.

---

[*] Mark R. Condeno is a Philippine Coast Guard Auxiliary Officer with the rank of Commander and currently designated as Liaison Officer, Foreign Armed Forces Attache Corps, International Affairs Directorate, Philippine Coast Guard Auxiliary.

The penultimate chapters chronicle the opening of a persistent British attack as more forces were rallied against the German capital ship on all fronts. These included the aerial torpedo strike and a torpedo attack by British destroyers that sealed the fate of the battleship.

The sinking of *Bismarck* had been a primary allied objective as it would be a tremendous threat to Allied convoys and merchant shipping travelling to the British Isles. The leadership, bravery and patriotism exhibited by both sides are developed, as well as the importance of intelligence and decision making in the battle.

From the Atlantic, readers are taken up north as we board the Steam Ship *Troubadour* on its voyage to Russia as part of Convoy PQ 17. The ordeal of the convoy is well told in a number of books. In *Battle in the Arctic Seas*, award winning author and convoy veteran Theodore Taylor (*The Cay*) captures the gauntlet in the *Troubadour's* view. The book details the wartime experience and accounts of US Naval Reserve Ensign Howard Carraway, commanding officer of an armed guard crew aboard the merchant ship.

The book is composed of eighteen chapters. The first six segments take us to the formation of the convoy in Iceland, stepping aboard the *Troubadour*. Then there is a brief look in the battleship *Tirpitz*, whose mission is the destruction of the convoy. The reader then visits the super secret Citadel where vital intelligence notes are sorted out and passed on to the fleet. A few pages further, the ships haul anchor to take a hundred thousand tons of urgently needed military equipment ranging from tanks to fighter aircraft to the Soviet forces fighting German army.

The sections that followed chronicle the conference on board the convoy's flagship, the threat of icebergs, and an air and u-boat attack on July 2nd,1942. The movement of the *Tirpitz* and its escorts and the sighting of Admiral Louis Hamilton's force by German aircraft raise strategic questions on both sides as to the outcome of their movements. The remaining chapters cover events such as the recall order for the escorting force, the scattering of the convoy, the continuous voyage of the *Troubadour*, and finally the story of the remaining ships of PQ 17 under an ASW escort trawler and their arrival in the port of Archangel, Russia. Afterwards, the Allied headquarters involved in the debacle discussed the lessons learned.

Leadership, determination, innovativeness and ingenuity are well laid out in the book. Vignettes of information on the overall view of the conflict are well embedded on various pages.

The two books are exquisitely written and well researched. *The Sinking of the Bismarck* is well illustrated with 14 photographs and 5 maps. Notes on sources and an index supplement the book. On the other hand, *Battle in the Arctic Seas* comes with a map, a photograph, a layout plan of a merchant ship, composition of the convoy and escorting force, an author's note and a bibliography. A photograph of the *Troubadour*, Ensign Carraway and his crew, key officers of the convoy, and of the Royal and German Navies would be of significant value should an updated edition be planned.

Both books are a paramount addition in the literature of World War Two naval history specifically and of Military History in general. The books will be a valuable gift for the younger generation and for veterans. The books are highly recommended.

Special Feature: Historical Document, Operations Order for German Navy for Invasion of Saaremaa, Sept. 1917

*By German Navy General Staff**

Fleet Detachment for Special Operations (RM 28-56)

25 September 1917

TOP SECRET

Copy Number 8

Operations Plan

    A.   <u>The mission and assigned forces</u>

    1.   The primary objective is to occupy the islands of Oesel and Moon and to close the greater Moon sound for the sea transit of enemy forces by means of a combined attack by your sea and land forces.

The Mission of the Sea Forces:
    a.   Provide secure transit of army troop transports

    b.   Advance to secure the Gulf of Riga as soon as possible. By means of securing the right flank of the landing corps and attack against the bridgehead at Orissar and the Moon Island, and to support the attack with all available forces.

    c.   1. The command of the whole operation will be the responsibility of the 8th Army.

    2.   The assigned naval forces includes the tactical organization of the fleet units for special operations.

    3.   The Army will provide the XXIII Army Corps under General of Infanterie von Kathen. This force includes the 42nd Infantry

---

* translated by Dr. James Corum, Dean of Baltic Defence College

Division (Lt. Gen von Estorff) with approximately 19,000 men, 4,800 horses, 1139 vehicles (munitions wagons, supply wagons, autos and other vehicles); approximately 150 machine guns, 24 76mm field cannons, 12 105 mm light howitzers, 4 100mm long cannons, 12 150mm heavy field howitzers, 4 21cm mortars, 72 mortars (7 to 20 cm) and ammunition and supplies for 30 days. The troop force will include 666 pioneers as well as 350 landing pioneers spread among the landing force. Pioneers from Braila will be transported on two steamers. 500 reserve pioneers will be transported from Harburg with material for construction of temporary landing wharves.

Debarkation Point: Libau. Troops travelling with the IIIrd Squadron will be brought forward by torpedo boats to the Putziger Wik. Transport orders for embarking the force will follow.

4. the transport fleet will consist of 17 steamers (Nrs. 1-16 and P) and is divided into three groups each with four ships and one group with 5 streamers. The size of the ships is generally 6-7,000 gross registered tons, with the largest 11,515 tons and the smallest 1753 tons.

Commander of the /Transport Fleet (F.d. Trans) Kapitän zur See Fuchs, who will sail on the SS. Bahia Castillo, along with Lt. General von Estorff. General of Infanterie von Kathen will sail on the "Moltke" (cruiser).

In addition to these 17 steamers there will be 2 steamers of approximately 1,000 tons (Castor and Equity—called Lithuanian steamers) which are assigned to supporting the first wave forces.

The steamer group is not large enough to ship the entire landing force with all supplies in one transit. The division will be divided, therefore, into two groups. The first group will consist of the forces immediately necessary for combat and the second group the necessary support forces. Therefore, the first group must be unloaded and the force turned around as quickly as possible.

B. Plan for the Operation

6.   The two missions of the sea forces—the safe transport of the army forces and the advance as soon as possible into the Gulf of Riga – are only practical if a passage into the gulf of Riga is cleared for the heavy battle vessels and the rest of the preparatory work is completed as quickly as possible thereafter. If this is not executed, then it will not be possible for the naval forces to provide adequate support to the troop landings and the seizure of Arensburg and the attack on Moon.

Thus, the start of the operation is dependent on the mine search and clearance operations through the passage in the Gulf of Riga.

The operation will be divided into the following phases;

1st Phase: Assembly, loading and departure of the landing division. Cover for the Loeshung of the transports.

At the same time we will carry out a demonstration against the fortifications at Zerel on the day of the landing and afterwards. On the order of the XXIII Army Corps, as it advances on Zerel the firing will be repeated.

2nd Phase: As soon as Zerel falls the force will push into the Gulf of Riga in the direction of Arensburg and will support the army through the conquest of Arensburg.

Third Phase: The Moon Sound will be closed and the force will support the attack on the bridgehead at Orissar and the causeway over the Small Sund.

8. Preparations Required
a) The aviators have the order to, as soon as the operation begins, to bomb the fortifications on Sworbe, to carry out aerial reconnaissance over the Gulf of Riga, to observe the roads between Orissar and Arensburg. It is absolutely necessary to obtain the latest aerial photos from the Tagga Bay.

On no account should air operations draw attention to Tagga Bay.

b. The airships will conduct reconnaissance from the beginning of the operation over the Gulf of Riga and will carry out bombing attacks on the fortifications at Sworbe.

c. B.d.A.d.O – (Naval Operations Branch) will employ U-boats to keep the Tagga Bay under constant observation, and will determine whether the torpedo boats of the II Minesweeping flotilla can traverse at night and make a course through the (mine) barriers west of Hundsort to the Tagga Bay and then be able to employ their full force to support a breakthrough to the Gulf of Riga.

9. First Operational Phase

a. The transport of the Landing Corps on the first day of operations. In the morning the force will leave the departure ports and travel north.

First Group: The reconnaissance flotilla with special equipment will place marking buoys in the night to mark the ships passages through the minefields west of Hundsort.

Second Group: the II Minesweeping Flotilla, with its special equipment and the II Torpedo Flotilla, accompanied by the II Minesweeping Division, Castor and Equity.

Third Group: The major force consists of the flagship Battle Cruiser *Moltke* and flagship, the IIIrd Squadron, the IVth Squadron, the I.F.d. T on the cruiser "*Emden*", VIth Torpedo Flotilla, 13th and 14th Torpedo Half-Flotillas.

On the second day of the operation the Main Force should be approximately 7 KNM north of the Tagga Bay four hours before dawn.

The first rendezvous of the IVth Squadron with the 15th Torpedo Half-Flotilla will take place on the first day of operations at sunset as that force is detached for a demonstration against Zerel.

Fourth Group: The II Barrier Breaching Group , the transport fleet, the security boats, the Aircraft mother ship *Santa Elena* (seaplane tender) the repair steamer *Stinnes*, 2 coal carriers and 3 hospital ships are all under the command of the Commander of the IInd A.G. Every group will be led by a light cruiser, and the whole force will be guarded by the boats of the 7 and 19th Torpedo Half-Flotillas. Under the direction

of the I.E.d.T will be the 13th Torpedo Half Flotilla which will consist of 16 boats and supporting aircraft. The Transport fleet will arrive at the landing point on the second day of operations one hour before dawn and stand to approximately 10 sea miles northwest by north of Cape Hundsort.

      b.   The Landing at Oesel will then take place in the Tagga Bay.

It has been determined that the first wave of the landing should be in regimental strength in order to establish a beachhead and to occupy the coastal defense batteries. This must be done to allow the transport fleet to embark the men, equipment and supplies undisturbed. The first wave will be landed in three groups, to be landed as simultaneously as possible.
First Wave Group I: About 420 men carried on the naval vessels of the IIIrd Naval Group – to be landed by means of 10 motor launches.
First Wave Group 2: About 700 men transported on the boats of the IInd torpedo flotilla, to be landed by the ships boats of the IInd Torpedo flotilla and motor boats of the IInd Mine Clearance Division.

First Wave Group 3: About 2000 men transported on the Lithuanian Steamers *Borissa* (?) and *Equity*, to be landed by means of the motor boats of the IInd Mine Clearance Division and the motor launches of the First Wave.

The landing points of the First Wave will be under the control of the chief of the IInd Torpedo Flotilla, Korvettenkapitän Heinecke.

      c.   The concept and goal is to land the first wave in half dawn, so that the enemy land forces can be taken by surprise. At the same time of the landing the IIIrd Group at Cape Ninnanst, and the IVth Group at Cape Hundsort, as well as the torpedo boars and the soldiers of the first wave will put the enemy field fortifications in the Tagga Bay under the strongest destructive fire possible.

d. After the first wave reaches land, consolidates the beachhead in the bay and suppresses the enemy fortifications, the transport fleet will move in and immediately begin disembarkation operations, to begin with all ships unloading as simultaneously as possible. For the disembarkation of the soldiers and the necessary horses, we estimate three days. For the heavy equipment and supplies, we estimate five days.

e. E. Approximately 7 steamers of the I. Squadron, after they unload, will return to Libau to return with the IInd Squadron. The unloading of the IInd Squadron will be conducted about 10 days after the unloading of the I. Squadron – the location to be determined by the progress of the operations—either in the Tagga Bay or in Arensburg.

f. The Loeschen of the Transport steamers are controlled by the Commander of the Transport Fleet. The commander of the IInd naval group will support him with all means with the cruisers and will control the return trips of the steamers and provide escort via the cruisers and torpedo boats.

g. For the protection of the Transport Fleet by Loeschen the force will lay an anti submarine net as quickly as possible from Cape Ninnast to Cape Hundsort.

The reconnaissance flotilla will be reinforced by fishing vessels to make sure that the Bay between Dagerort and Hundsort can be security ear the same time by means of anti-submarine/mine nets – the reconnaissance group will secure the Soelo sound. If the force is brought under fire by guns on Pamerort or near Cape Toffri (on Dagö) the ships of the IIIrd naval group and the I.F.d.T are directed to provide support.

H. The responsibility for securing the transport flotilla and the minesweeping flotilla will be given to the cruisers of the IInd Squadron with the torpedo boats of the 7th and 19th Half-flotillas as well as any heavy ships of the IVth Naval squadron

and VIth Torpedo Boat Flotilla and the 13th Torpedo Boat Half-Flotilla that will remain behind in the Tagga Bay. The rest of the naval forces will sail to the south during the might to top up their coal supplies off the Kurland coast. The large battleships will coal off of Reede, supported by the transport commander, along with the IInd Torpedo flotillas, and IInd Minesweeper Group in Libau, and the IInd Minesweeper Flotilla in Windau.

The two coal carriers supporting the transport force will remain in the Tagga Bay with the transports.

I.   At the same time that the main landing will be carried out units of the IVth Squadron, led by the cruisers Friedrich der Grosse and König Albert will make a demonstration to the Northwest to threaten Sworbe. They will be accompanied by the 15th Torpedo Half-Flotilla to protect the vessels against mines and U-boats.

Their mission: Bring the fortifications near Zerel and on Sworbe under fire, and divert the attention of the enemy to the landing that will be taking place in the North.

After completing of this mission the force will rendezvous in the Tagga Bay and the 15th Torpedo boat Half-Flotilla will be detached to Windau and assigned to the command of the B.d. A.d. O (Naval Operations Branch).

The VIth Torpedo Boat Flotilla and the 13th Torpedo Boat Half-Flotilla will top up their fuel from the battleships and cruisers. The commander of the IVth Naval Squadron will take responsibility for defense of Tagga Bay and will hold ready to carry out a further bombardment of Zerel on the order of the Fleet commander.

K. During this period the Naval operations Branch strongly insists that the clearance operations for penetrating the Gulf of Riga be pushed energetically. Before Zerel falls the effort will be along the coast of

Kurland to the East, and as soon as Zerel falls the effort will be directed on Arensburg.

10. After the army is successfully landed and established ashore the army will march with all speed in the direction of the Fettel Bay, to capture the Arensburg-Orissar Road northeast of Arensburg as quickly as possible and, with the same rapid pace, to more the troops forward against Schwolbe. The army estimates that Arensburg and Zerel can be taken by the fifth of sixth days of the operation.

10. Second and third Phases of the Operation

a. Deployment of the naval forces at the beginning of the second phase of the operation.: In the area of Tagga Bay: Commander of the IVth Squadron with the IVth Squadron, VIth Torpedo Boat Flotilla, 13the Torpedo Half-Flotilla, commander II Group with IInd Squadron and the motor launches of the IIIrd Squadron, Transport fleet, 7 and 19th Torpedo Boat Half- Flotillas, Search flotilla Rosenberg and Net Protection Detachment (Kaulhausen).

The last named unit will return to Libau with all possible speed after completion of its mission. orders will be issued through the commander IInd Squadron.

Off the Kurland Coast
The chief of the signals detachment with be stationed with the "Moltke." The IIIrd Squadron and a torpedo boat flotilla (will be determined by orders) as act as security.

In Libau
Commander of the I.F.d.T (Transport Group) with the IInd Torpedo Flotilla, "*Nautilus*," Blockships, IInd blocking detachment

In Windau

Naval Operations Branch (B.d. A d.O.) with the cruisers of the Naval operations Branch, VIIIth Torpedo Flotilla, 20th Torpedo Boat Half-Flotilla, IInd Minesweeping Flotilla.

In the Entry to the Gulf of Riga

The IInd, IIIrd and IVth Mine Clearance Divisions and the 3rd Search Half- Flotilla will carry out their work . If needed, they will be protected by the forces of the Naval operations Branch B.d.A.d.O.

b. Intent: To penetrate the Gulf of Riga with all forces, excepting those in the Tagga Bay, to support the Army in its attack on Arenburg and later to establish a beachhead at Orissar. To block the Eastern Part of the flank approach to the Moon Sound. To clear a lane for the transports of the IInd Squadron on their sailing route from Libau to Arenburg.

c. Entry into the Gulf of Riga
Will be probably carried out with the mine search and barrier breaching detachments in the lead.

The attack on Arenburg will be supported by detached cruisers of the naval Operations Branch.

d. The large ship force will press forward through Moon Sound will all possible speed in order to secure the right flank of the army, to secure the Moon Sound to the enemy and to threaten the enemy forces on Moon from the rear.

e. The army estimates that the Russians stationed West of the small by will try to occupy and hold a strong beachhead at Orissar. As a means of supporting the Army attack on this position, the A II boats of the Search Flotilla Rosenberg, along with the motor launches will transit through the Soelo Sound in the rear of Orissar. The army will occupy Pamerort as soon as possible and bring artillery ashore at Rannakull (Johanniskirche). Special instructions for the movement of the AII boats through the Soelo Sound will be issued.

f. The commander of the IInd Naval Group will deploy the forces under him (IInd Naval Group, 7th and 19th Half-flotillas) to

support the movement of the IInd Transport Squadron to Arensburg.

g. After the completion of its mission, the IVth Squadron in the Tagga Bay will top up its fuel. The location of the resupply will follow.

C. GENERAL

12. This operations plan is to be Top Secret.

13. Fuel will be used and controlled by all units with the utmost care. Steaming miles are to be limited to only those deemed necessary to complete the mission.

All forces will begin the operation with full fuel supplies and reserves. Whenever possible the Torpedo boat flotillas will be employed to top up the fuel supplies of the fleet.

The priority of fuel oil supplies carried by the cruisers and battleships is to supply the torpedo boat forces. All battleships and cruisers will carry additional sacked coal supplies for resupply.

14. The operation will not be begun before 30 September.

Signed Ehrhardt Schmidt

References:

Flottenverband   für   Sonderunternehmung,   1917   (25th   Sept.). Bundesarchiv/Militärarchiv RM 28-56.