UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Even before Hitler's army invaded the Soviet Union on June 22nd, 1941, the state of Joseph Stalin's "Red Army" could be compared to that of a man staggered by multiple wounds. Before it could tend to any of these properly, it was faced with a battle, the outcome of which would literally mean its life or death. First, there was the fact that, during the previous three years, it had expanded by over three hundred percent. To this must be added the fact that during the same period, its basic structure and doctrine had undergone considerable change, primarily as a result of experience gained in the Spanish Civil War and the Russo-Finnish "Winter" War. To this must be added the "Great Purge", a political and military upheaval so violent that it resulted in the dismissal, imprisonment, or execution of hundreds of general officers, not to mention thousands of lesser officers and other officials. Finally, there is much evidence that the invasion itself came as a total surprise to Stalin and nearly his entire staff. In light of these facts, the question is not so much how the Red Army was able to cope with early disaster and emerge victorious, as it is how the Nazi's managed to fail! The epic struggle between the Nazis and Soviets has been the subject of literally thousands of volumes, many of which have been written by better scholars than I will ever be, so I will not dwell on this topic overlong. Suffice it to say that the Red Army did recover and did achieve an overwhelming victory in 1945, but at a most terrible and crippling cost.

The "Post-War" Red Army

The "Red Army of Workers and Peasants" disappeared quickly after the utter destruction of the Nazi Reich. Its replacement, the "Soviet Ground Forces" was to be a force organized and tailored to the expansion of Soviet control across the European continent. When Joseph Stalin rose from his chair at a Kremlin dinner party in 1944, hitched up his trousers like a man ready to pick a fight, and said to his staff, "The war will soon be over. We'll recover in another fifteen or twenty years and have another go at it"; it was not a matter of bravura but a statement of the most cold-blooded realism. Unlike the United States or United Kingdom whose citizens and politicians couldn't wait to dismantle the huge military machines required to fight a global conflict, the Soviet Army immediately plunged into a program of reorganization, regeneration, and growth. It would be four decades before the fatal flaws inherent in the development of this new "Soviet Army" would be made manifest. The application of rigid central authority, the deliberate mummification of critical thought, and the exaltation of political reliability over intellectual innovation were to led directly to disaster in the mountains of Afghanistan and the eventual collapse of the whole rotten Soviet edifice.

Between 1945 and 1955, the basic division structure, tactics, and operational doctrine of the Red Army remained basically unchanged. The necessity of occupying all of Eastern Europe meant that many of its divisions would remain active, requiring an enormous expenditure in manpower and material. Some portion of this would, of course, be provided by the nations being occupied. But the devastation wrought by six years of war had so weakened these nations that, at least at first, they could provide little in the way of support for their new masters. The answer was the complete subordination of all aspects of East European political and economic life to the needs of the Soviet Union. East Germany, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Rumania, and Bulgaria became, in varying degrees, vast labor camps whose sole purpose was to provide food, manpower, and industrial raw materials to the Soviets.

Basic human rights, ethnic and cultural identities, even national sovereignty itself, were cast aside in the service of Stalin's program for making his nation "...First in all the world, strong, secure, confident, feared, and respected." And it might have happened this way, except for Stalin's death in 1953, various political machinations within the Soviet leadership, and the policies of a little known "aparatchik" named Nikita Khruschev.

The Khruschev "Reforms"

The year 1958 marked the beginning of a schizophrenic period for the Soviet Ground Forces. In this year, a series of general staff seminars was convened whose mission was to predict the nature of future wars and to prepare the Soviet Union to fight these wars successfully. The overriding conclusion reached during these seminars was that the advent of the "Nuclear Missile" had wrought a total revolution in the nature of military affairs. The senior staff study ordered by Premier Nikita Khruschev resulted in a book by Marshal V.D. Sokolovsikii entitled, "Soviet Military Strategy". This book was to dominate Soviet military thought. In fact, the doctrine advocated by Sokolovsikii and promoted by Khruschev was to survive Khruschev's overthrow in 1964 and continue to stifle tactical innovation for nearly twenty years. In short, the doctrine advocated was this: "The firepower of nuclear weapons has replaced the power of massed armies.

The mission assigned to the ground forces had become one of "Prolonging" the effects of a nuclear "First Strike". The prestige of the Strategic Rocket Forces now completely overshadowed that of the ground forces. From now on, the military policy of the Soviet Union was to be dedicated to "short" war, and the consequences of this policy were to be devastating to the training, equipment, and especially the size of the Soviet Army. Between 1955 and 1957 over 1,800,000 Soviet soldiers were demobilized. Another 300,000 were cut in 1958. Again in 1960, 600,000 were turned out. Of the 2,750,000 men cut from the rolls, 1,600,000 were taken from the Ground Forces. Understandably enough, the army felt betrayed by this cavalier treatment. The scars left by it would have a chilling effect on the relationship between the Soviet Army and the Soviet State down to the very end of communist rule in Russia.

The other side of this love/hate relationship between army and state would be the final achievement of Marshal Tukachevsky's 1930's dream of a fully mechanized military establishment. The Soviet Army would be the first army in the history of the world in which every soldier would ride into battle in armored vehicles. Beginning in 1957, every Soviet division would be fully equipped with either wheeled or tracked armored personnel carriers. Although some of the lower echelon divisions would depend on truck transport until the 1980s, this program would be completed in first echelon units by the mid-1960s. The basic division structure remained unchanged, except for the gradual absorption of new weapon types, from approximately 1960 through 1984.

There's A Dragon At The Door!

March, 1969 saw two bloody Sino-Soviet clashes along the Black Dragon River (Hei Lung Jiang) between Manchuria and Siberia. This was followed by a limited but bloody Soviet thrust several miles into Xin Jiang, China's far Northwest province. Western military analysts were stunned by these events but have since pieced together the rationale behind them. The answer seems to lie with Soviet concern over the chaos brought about by the "Cultural Revolution" at this time.

The Kremlin ordered the attacks with the aim of "snapping" Chinese attention away from what seemed to them to be pointless, self-destructive, political infighting and back to practical reality. This act was in keeping with traditional Soviet foreign policy. Political instability along the Soviet frontier would simply <u>not</u> be tolerated. It seemed to them that the Chinese either could not, or would not, put their own political house in order. Should this be true, the Soviets wished to make the consequences clear and unambiguous. China got

the message. Premier Zhou En Lai met with Soviet Premier Aleksey Kosygin at the Beijing airport in early September. The two men agreed to hold formal talks. The fighting stopped!

The Empire Declines

A survey of "Experts" on such things in 1985 would have unearthed no clue to the revolutionary changes that were about to occur. There had been so little change in the old East-West relationship for so long that those who are paid large sums of money to predict the very changes that were occurring simply couldn't (or wouldn't) see them. NATO was still NATO. The Warsaw Pact "ditto". Various client states were still loyal to their faction. Arab still fought Israeli. Pakistan and India still seethed with deep hatred and distrust of one another. Vietnam and China still bared their teeth at one another. Nothing had changed. There was the gradual development of weapons and training for the great military showdown that was envisaged by both sides somewhere around the clean and attractive "West" German city of Fulda.

Three Great and bloody conflicts were just petering out in the late 1980's. Iran and Iraq had beaten each other senseless for most of a decade, and their brutal border war was ending with both armies pretty much back where they started. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan had proven the truth of the old axiom, "You can't fight a prolonged foreign war successfully with an army composed primarily of unwilling conscripts". An appalling number Afghans and Russians had been killed and maimed, with nothing to show for it. In the far East, after ten fruitless years, the Vietnamese communists finally gave up trying to annex Cambodia.

These three conflicts accomplished practically nothing, aside from reducing populations in the Middle East and Asia by several million souls. Then, without warning, a vast and complex international apparatus, that had been clanking along for over forty years simply came apart. The very fabric of the old order unraveled just as the old-line "Cold Warriors" had predicted. Once the "keystone" of international confrontationalism, the USSR, began to crumble, a shock wave spread across the planet. Nothing would ever be the same.

The rise of Mikhail Gorbachev was the catalyst that started the process moving. Communism had failed, utterly and unmistakably. The Soviet Union found itself incapable of convincing even its own priesthood that it could ever bring a decent standard of living to more than a small, hereditary, communist aristocracy. The only people in the world among whom communism had any influence at all anymore were the chronically poor and the chronically pampered. Its support base had consisted of an odd alliance of the self-involved children of the wealthy West, ever in a desperate search for ways to mortify their parents, and the abused citizenry of post colonial dictatorships, where thirteenth-century politics had made a marriage of convenience with eighteenth-century economics. Gorbachev's reforms led to the financial and military abandonment of Russia's East European colonies (especially East Germany). The despised "Berlin Wall" came down in short order. The mission, composition, and doctrine of nearly every army in the world changed practically overnight.

What Happened?

Unless you are one of those who followed the history of the USSR with diligence and dedication, it will probably be impossible to impress you with the kind of shock and disbelief engendered by the sudden and total collapse of the vast and powerful Soviet Army. Here was a military edifice that had cast its shadow over the entire planet for half a century. The Soviet government had invested a large percentage of its considerable wealth in its maintenance. Its political survival was guaranteed as one of the three institutions with real power in the Soviet State along with the communist party and the KGB. Yet, in Afghanistan, it found itself unable to get untangled from a protracted campaign in which it was pitted against the primitive tribal forces of a penniless medieval culture. It found that the industrial and manpower base upon which it depended for its very existence was crumbling beneath its feet. It found that no matter how much technology it could steal from the West, it couldn't make that technology work to its advantage. It hovered momentarily over the abyss like some sort of pathetic cartoon character who has just run off a cliff and who, defying gravity for a fleeting instant, becomes pitifully aware of his plight before plunging inexorably to his doom.

The first clear sign that the end was near appeared in 1987, when Gorbachev announced a new "Defensive" doctrine that completely overthrew all previous Soviet military policy going back fifty years. It has been claimed, with some convincing evidence, that this was done in the vain hope that the Western press, always sympathetic to the USSR and its problems, could convince America to abandon its own military buildup. It was hoped this would allow the Soviets sufficient time to recover and reorganize after their Afghan debacle. But Reagan's crusade to put an end to the "Cold War" once and for all was not to be denied or diluted with victory in sight.

In 1989, in a speech before the UN, Gorbachev gave it all up. He announced sweeping reductions in military strength. 500,000 men, 10,000 tanks, 9,000 guns, and over 800 aircraft were to be eliminated with a single stroke of the pen. The Soviet State had "Mugged" the Soviet Army one last time. By 1991 the total Soviet arsenal had shrunk by approximately fifty percent! In a desperate attempt to breathe life into the corpse of their military establishment on the very eve of its final demise, the Soviets organized their own "OPFOR" training center and were actually exploring new "tactics". The effort came forty years too late. Events simply overtook them. The last nineteenth century utopian political movement and the last nineteenth century colonial empire were dead.

TABLES OF ORGANIZATION AND EQUIPMENT SOVIET TANK DIVISION: 1945-1955

Generation: II, Air Superiority Rating: 90, Class: Conscripts, Base Determination Factor: 40%

Motor Infantry Company: $3x\overline{LL}$ Infantry(A)/Truck Engineer Company: $3x\overline{LL}$ Engineer(A)

Recon Infantry Company: $3x\underline{\mathsf{TL1}}$ Motorcycle Infantry(A)[\mathbf{R}] Machinegun Company: $2x\underline{\mathsf{TL1}}$ Infantry Support(A)/Truck

Tank Company: 3xMedium Tank

Multiple Rocket Launcher Company: 1xBM-14(8) or BM-24(8)

Anti-Aircraft Machinegun Company: 3xTL1 Infantry Support(A)/Truck

Motorized Infantry Battalion: 1xInfantry (HQ)/Truck, 3xMotor Infantry Company, 1xMachinegun Company, 1x57mm M43/Truck,

1x82mm M37 Mortar(3)/Truck

Recon Battalion: 1xTL1 Infantry(A) HQ/Truck, 3xRecon Infantry Company, 1x82mm M37 Mortar(3)/Truck,

1x57mm M43/Truck,

Engineer Battalion: 3xEngineer Company

Medium Tank Battalion: 1xMedium Tank (HQ), 3xTank Company, 1xMedium Tank[R]

Heavy Tank Battalion: 4xIS-III

Light Artillery Battalion: 3x76mm M42(2)/Truck
Artillery Battalion: 3x122m M38(2)/Truck

Mortar Battalion: 4x120mm M43 Mortar(3)/Truck
Assault Gun Battalion: 4xAssault Gun, 1xGAZ (Jeep)[R]
Rocket Battalion: 3xBM-13(8), 1x37mm M39/Truck

Anti-Aircraft Battalion: 3x37mm M39/Truck

Tank Regiment: 1xMedium Tank (GHQ), 3xMedium Tank Battalion, 1xMotor Rifle Battalion, 2xBa-64[R],

1xAssault Gun Battalion,1x120mm M43 Mortar(3)/Truck, 1xAnti-Aircraft Machinegun Company

Heavy Tank Regiment: 1xHeavy Tank (GHQ), 2xHeavy Tank Battalion, 1xAssault Gun Battalion, 1x120mm M43 Mortar(3)/Truck,

1xBa-64[R]

Motor Rifle Regiment: 1xTL1 Infantry(A) GHQ/BTR-152, 3xMotorized Infantry Battalion, 1x MediumTank Battalion, 1xBa-64[R],

1x82mm M37 Mortar(4)/Truck, 1xLight Artillery Battalion, 1xAnti-Aircraft Machinegun Company

Artillery Regiment: 3xArtillery Battalion
Mortar Regiment: 3xMortar Battalion

Tank Division: 3xTank Regiment, 1xHeavy Tank Regiment, 1xMotorized Rifle Regiment, 1xMortar Regiment, 1xArtillery Regiment,

1xEngineer Battalion, 1xRecon Battalion, 1xAnti-Aircraft Battalion, 1xRocket Battalion

Notes: 1) Available Medium Tanks include T-34/76s, T-34/85s, and T-54s.

2) Assault Guns include SU-100s, SU-122s, and ISU-152s.

3) Any quantity or combination of available combat aircraft is permissable.

SOVIET MECHANIZED DIVISION: 1945-1955

Generation: II, Air Superiority Rating: 90, Class: Conscripts, Base Determination Factor: 40%

Motor Rifle Company: 3xTL1 Infantry(A)/Truck

Submachinegun Company:

Machinegun Company:

2x<u>TL1</u> Infantry Support(A)/Truck
Recon Company:

3xSubmachinegun Infantry(A)/BTR-152

2x<u>TL1</u> Infantry Support(A)/Truck

3x<u>TL1</u> Motorcycle Infantry(A)[**R**]

Engineer Company: 3xTL1 Engineer(A)
Tank Company: 3xMedium Tank
Heavy Tank Company: 3xHeavy Tank

Anti-Aircraft Machinegun Co: 3xTL1 Infantry Support(A)/Truck

Motor Rifle/SMG Battalion: 1xTL1 Infantry(A) HQ/BTR-152, 3xMotor Rifle or SMG Company, 1xMachinegun Company,

1x82mm M37 Mortar(3), 1x57mm M43/Truck

Recon Battalion: 1xTL1 Infantry(A) HQ/Truck, 2xRecon Company, 2xBa-64[R], 1x82mm M37 Mortar(3)/Truck

Engineer Battalion: 3xEngineer Company

Tank Battalion: 1xMedium Tank (HQ), 3xTank Company, 1xMedium Tank[R]

Heavy Tank Battalion: 4xT10M or 4xJS-III

Assault Gun Battalion: 4xSU-100, 1xGAZ (Jeep)[R]

Heavy Assault Gun Battalion: 4xHeavy Assault Gun, 1xGAZ (Jeep)[R]

Light Artillery Battalion: 3x76mm M42(2)/Truck

Artillery Battalion: 3x122mm M38 or M42(2)/Truck
Mortar Battalion: 4x120mm M43 Mortar(3)/Truck
Rocket Battalion: 3xBM-13(8), 1x37mm M39/Truck

Anti-Aircraft Battalion: 3x37mm M39/Truck

 $\begin{tabular}{ll} Motor Rifle Regiment: & 1x\underline{TL1} \ Infantry(A) \ GHQ/BTR-152, \ 3xMotor \ Rifle B attalion, \ 1xTank \ B attalion, \ 1xLight \ Artillery \ B attalion,$

1xAnti-Aircraft Machinegun Company, 1x82mm M37 Mortar(4)/Truck, 1xBa-64[R]

Tank Regiment: 1xMedium Tank (GHQ), 3xTank Battalion, 1xSubmachinegun Battalion, 1x120mm Mortar(3)/Truck,

2xBa64[R], 1xAnti-Aircraft Machinegun Company

Heavy Tank Regiment: 1xMedium Tank (GHQ), 1xHeavy Tank Battalion, 2xAssault Gun Battalion, 1xSubmachinegun Battalion,

1xAnti-Aircraft Machinegun Company

Mortar Regiment: 3xMortar Battalion Artillery Regiment: 3xArtillery Battalion

Mechanized Division: 3xMotor Rifle Regiment, 1xTank Regiment, 1xHeavy Tank Regiment, 1xHeavy Assault Gun Battalion,

1xMortar Regiment, 1xRecon Battalion, 1xArtillery Regiment, 1xEngineer Battalion, 1xAnti-Aircraft Battalion,

1xRocket Battalion,

Notes: 1) Available Medium Tanks include T-34/76s, T-34/85s, and T-54s.

2) Heavy Assault Guns include SU-122s, and ISU-152s.

3) Any quantity or combination of available combat aircraft is permissable.

SOVIET RIFLE DIVISION: 1945-1955

Generation: II, Air Superiority Rating: 90, Class: Conscripts, Base Determination Factor: 40%

Rifle Company: 2xTL1 Infantry(B), 1x82mm B-10 RcR, 1xTL1 Infantry Support(A)

Machinegun Company: 3xTL1 Infantry Support(A)

Recon Company: 2xMotorcycle Infantry(A)[R], 1xTL1 Infantry(R)/BTR-40

Engineer Company: 3xTL1 Engineer(A)
Tank Company: 3xMedium Tank

Rifle Battalion: 1xTL1 Infantry(B) HQ, 3xRifle Company, 1xMachinegun Company, 1x82mm M37 Mortar(4),

1xTL1 Infantry Support(A)/Truck, 1x57mm M43/Truck

Recon Battalion: 1xTL1 Infantry(B) HQ/M3 Halftrack, 1xTank Company, 3xRecon Company

Engineer Battalion: 3xEngineer Company

Tank Battalion: 1xMedium Tank (HQ), 4xTank Company

Anti-Tank Battalion: 4xSU-100, 2x100mm M44/Truck

Light Artillery Battalion: 3x76mm M42(2)/Truck
Artillery Battalion: 3x122mm M42(2)/Truck

Mortar Battalion: 2x160mm M160 Mortar(3)/Truck

Anti-Aircraft Battalion: 3x37mm M39/Truck

Rifle Regiment: 1xTL1 Infantry(A) GHQ/Truck, 1xBa-64[R], 3xRifle Battalion, 1x57mm M43/BTR-40, 1xSU-76,

1xLight Artillery Battalion, 1x120mm M43 Mortar(3)/Truck

Artillery Regiment: 3xArtillery Battalion

Rifle Division: 3xMotor Rifle Regiment, 1xTank Battalion, 1xArtillery Regiment, 1xRecon Battalion, 1xAnti-Tank Battalion,

1xMortar Battalion, 1xEngineer Battalion, 1xAnti-Aircraft Battalion

Notes: 1) One stand in each Infantry Company may contain an attached 82mm B-10 RcR team (MP).

2) The 57mm M43/BTR-40 ATG stand at regimental level may be replaced with an 85mm D-48/Truck.

3) Any quantity or combination of available combat aircraft is permissable.

SOVIET TANK AND MOTORIZED RIFLE DIVISIONS: 1961-1970

Generation: II, Air Superiority Rating: 90, Class: Conscripts, Base Determination Factor: 30%

Motorized Rifle Company(BTR): 3x<u>TL2</u> Infantry(A)/BTR Motorized Rifle Company (BMP): 3xTL2 Infantry(A)/BMP-1

Engineer Company: 1xTL2 Engineer/BTR-50, 1xMobile Bridge "TMM", 1xMobile Bridge "MTU"

Tank Company: 3xMedium Tank

Anti-Tank Missile Battery: 3xBRDM-1/AT-2 or BRDM-2/AT-3

Recon Company: 2xBRDM-2[**R**]
Anti-Aircraft Battery: 2xAnti-Aircraft Guns

Motorized Rifle Battalion(BTR): 1xTL2 Infantry(A) HQ/BTR, 3xMotorized Rifle Company, 1x120mm M43 Mortar(3)/Truck,

1xTL2 Support, 1xSPG-9, 1xBTR

Motorized Rifle Battalion(BMP): 1xTL2 Infantry(A) HQ/BMP-1, 3xMotorized Rifle Company, 1x120mm M43 Mortar(3)/Truck,

2xTL2 Support/1xBMP-1

Engineer Battalion: 1xTL2 Engineer (HQ)/BTR-50, 3xEngineer Company, 3xPTSM

Tank Battalion: 1xMedium Tank (HQ), 3xTank Company Anti-Tank Battalion: 2x100mm T12/MTLB, 3xBRDM-2/AT-3

Anti-Aircraft Battalion: 3xAnti-Aircraft Battery
Recon Battalion[R]: 2xBMP-1, 1xPT-76, 3xBRDM
Artillery Battalion: 3x122mm D30(3)/Truck
Heavy Artillery Battalion: 3x152mm D20(3)/Truck
Multiple Rocket Launcher Battalion: 3xBM-21(12) or 3xBM-24(8)

Helicopter Squadron: 2xMi-2, 2xMi-8

Motorized Rifle Regiment(BTR): 1xTL2 Infantry(A) GHQ/BTR, 3xMotorized Rifle Battalion, 1xTank Battalion, 1xArtillery Battalion,

Anti-Aircraft Battery, 1xAnti-Tank Missile Battery, 1xRecon Company, 1xEngineer Company

Motorized Rifle Regiment(BMP): 1xTL2 Infantry(A) GHQ/BMP-1, 3xMotorized Rifle Battalion, 1xTank Battalion, 1xRecon Company

1xArtillery Battalion(SP), Anti-Aircraft Battery, 1xAnti-Tank Missile Battery,

1xEngineer Company

Tank Regiment: 1xMedium Tank (GHQ), 3xTank Battalion, 1xArtillery Battalion, Anti-Aircraft Battery,

1xRecon Company, 1xEngineer Company

Artillery Regiment: 2xArtillery Battalion, 1xHeavy Artillery Battalion, 1xMRL Battalion

Anti-Aircraft Regiment: 6x"SAM"

Motorized Rifle Division: 2xMotor Rifle Regiment(BTR), 1xMotorized Rifle Regiment(BMP), 1xTank Regiment, 1xArtillery Regiment,

1xAnti-Aircraft Regiment, 1xRecon Battalion, 1xEngineer Battalion, 1xAnti-Tank Battalion,

1xHelicopter Squadron

Tank Division: 3xTank Regiment, 1xMotorized Rifle Regiment(BMP), 1xArtillery Regiment, 1xAnti-Aircraft Regiment,

1xRecon Battalion, 1xEngineer Battalion

Note: 1) "BTR" units may contain any contemporary BTR-50 or BTR-60 variants with a sprinkling of BTR-152s.

- 2) One stand in each "BTR" Motorized Rifle Battalion may contain an attached AT-3 "Sagger" team (MP).
- 3) One stand in each Motorized Rifle Battalion may contain an attached SA-7 "Grail" team (MP).
- 4) Available Medium Tanks include T-54/55s, T-55As, T-62s, and a few T-34/85s.
- 5) Anti-Aircraft Guns may include 37mm M39s, 85mm KS-12s, 57mm S-60s, SU-57/2s and some ZSU-23/4s.
- 6) "SAM" units may contain any SAM weapon system available in this period.
- 7) Any quantity or combination of available combat aircraft or helicopters is permissable.

SOVIET TANK AND MOTORIZED RIFLE DIVISIONS: 1970-1984

Generation: II, Air Superiority Rating: 90, Class: Conscripts, Base Determination Factor: 30%

Motorized Rifle Company (BTR): 3xTL3 Infantry(A)/BTR Motorized Rifle Company (BMP): 3xTL3 Infantry(A)/BMP

Engineer Company: 1xTL3 Engineer/BTR-50, 1xMobile Bridge "TMM", 1xMobile Bridge "MTU"

Tank Company: 3xMedium Tank

Anti-Tank Missile Battery: 3xBRDM-2/AT-3 or BRDM-2/AT-5

Recon Company[R]: 1xBMP, 1xBRDM-2 Anti-Aircraft Battery: 1xSA-9, 1xZSU-23/4

Motorized Rifle Battalion(BTR): 1xTL3 Infantry(A) HQ/BTR, 3xMotorized Rifle Company, 1x120mm M1970 Mortar(3)/Truck,

1xABS-17, 1xSPG-9, 1xBTR

Motorized Rifle Battalion(BMP): 1xTL3 Infantry(A) HQ/BMP, 3xMotorized Rifle Company, 1x120mm M1970 Mortar(3)/Truck,

1-2xABS-17/BMP

Engineer Battalion: 1xTL3 Engineer(A) HQ/BTR-50, 3xEngineer Company, 3xPTSM

Tank Battalion: 1xMedium Tank (HQ), 3xTank Company

Anti-Tank Battalion: 2x100mm T-12/MTLB, 3xBRDM-2/AT-3 or BRDM-2/AT-5

Anti-Aircraft Battalion: 3xAnti-Aircraft Battery
Recon Battalion[R]: 2xBMP, 1xPT-76, 3xBRDM-2
Artillery Battalion: 3x122mm D30(3)/Truck

Artillery Battalion(SP): 3xSAU-122(3)
Heavy Artillery Battalion(SP): 3xSAU-152(3)

F.R.O.G. Battalion: 4xF.R.O.G. Launcher

Multiple Rocket Battalion: 3xBM-21(8)

Motorized Rifle Regiment(BMP):

Helicopter Squadron: 2xMi-2, 2xMi-8, 2xMi-24

Motorized Rifle Regiment(BTR): 1xInfantry(GHQ)/BTR, 3xMotorized Rifle Battalion, 1xTank Battalion, 1xArtillery Battalion,

Anti-Aircraft Battery, 1xAnti-Tank Missile Battery, 1xRecon Company, 1xEngineer Company 1xInfantry(GHQ)/BMP, 3xMotorized Rifle Battalion, 1xTank Battalion, 1xRecon Company

1xArtillery Battalion(SP), Anti-Aircraft Battery, 1xAnti-Tank Missile Battery, 1xEngineer Company

Tank Regiment: 1xMedium Tank (GHQ), 3xTank Battalion, 1xArtillery Battalion(SP), Anti-Aircraft Battery,

1xRecon Company, 1xEngineer Company

Artillery Regiment: 2xArtillery Battalion(SP), 1xHeavy Artillery Battalion(SP), 1xMRL Battalion

SAM Regiment: 6xSAM Systems

Motorized Rifle Division: 2xMotor Rifle Regiment(BTR), 1xMotorized Rifle Regiment(BMP), 1xTank Regiment, 1xArtillery Regiment,

1xSAM Regiment, 1xRecon Battalion, 1xEngineer Battalion, 1xAnti-Aircraft Battalion, 1xAnti-Tank Battalion,

1xF.R.O.G. Battalion, 1xHelicopter Squadron

Tank Division: 3xTank Regiment, 1xMotorized Rifle Regiment(BMP), 1xArtillery Regiment, 1xSAM Regiment,

1xRecon Battalion, 1xEngineer Battalion, 1xF.R.O.G. Battalion

Note: 1) "BTR" units may contain any contemporary BTR-50 or BTR-60 variants.

- 2) "BMP" units may contain either BMP-1s or BMP-2s.
- 3) Available Medium Tanks include T55, T-62, T-64, T-72, T-74, and early T-80 variants.
- 4) One stand in each "BTR" Motorized Rifle Company may contain one attached AT-5 team (MP).
- 5) One stand in each "BTR" Motorized Rifle Battalion may contain one attached AT-3 team and one SA-7 team (MP).
- 6) One stand in each "BMP" Motorized Rifle Company may contain one attached SA-7 team (MP).
- 7) "SAM" units may contain any SAM weapon system available in this period.
- 8) Any quantity or combination of available combat aircraft or helicopters is permissable.
- 9) The Soviet Army gradually went from a "Generation-II" to a "Generation-III" force during this period.

SOVIET MOTORIZED RIFLE DIVISION: 1985-1991

Generation: III, Air Superiority Rating: 90, Class: Conscripts, Base Determination Factor: 30%

Motorized Rifle Company (BTR): 3x<u>TL3</u> Infantry(A)/BTR, 1x<u>TL3</u> Infantry Support/BTR

Motorized Rifle Company (BMP): 3xTL3 Infantry(A)/BMP, 1xTL3 Infantry Support/BMP

Engineer Company: 1xMT-20 AVLB, 1xEngineer/BTR-70, 1xMobile Bridge "TMM"

Tank Company: 3xMedium Tank
Anti-Tank Company: 3xBRDM-2/AT-5
Recon Company: 1xBMP[R], 2xBRDM[R]
Anti-Aircraft Company: 1xSA-13, 1xZSU-23/4

Motorized Rifle Battalion(BTR): 1xTL3 Infantry(A) HQ/BTR, 3xMotorized Rifle Company, 1x120mm M1970 Mortar(3)/MTLB,

1xABS-17, 1xSPG-9, 1xBTR

Motorized Rifle Battalion(BMP): 1xTL3 Infantry(A) HQ/BMP, 3xMotorized Rifle Company, 1x82mm Auto-Mortar(3)/Truck,

1-2xABS-17/BMP

Engineer Battalion: 1xTL3 Engineer (HQ)/BTR-50, 3xEngineer Company, 3xPTSM

Tank Battalion: 1xMedium Tank (HQ), 3xTank Company Divisional Tank Battalion: 1xMedium Tank (HQ), 5xTank Company

Anti-Tank Battalion: 2x100mm T-12/MTLB Anti-Aircraft Battalion: 3xAnti-Aircraft Company

Recon Battalion: 6xBMP[R], 3xTL3 Infantry(R)BRDM

Artillery Battalion: 3x122mm D30(3)/MTLB

Artillery Battalion(SP): 3xSAU-122(3) Heavy Artillery Battalion(SP): 3xSAU-152(3)

F.R.O.G. Battalion: 4xF.R.O.G. Launcher

Multiple Rocket Launcher Battalion: 3xBM-21(8)

Helicopter Squadron: 2xMi-2, 2xMi-8, 2xMi-24

Motorized Rifle Regiment(BTR): 1xTL3 Infantry(A) GHQ/BTR, 3xMotorized Rifle Battalion(BTR), 1xTank Battalion,

1xArtillery Battalion, 1xAnti-Aircraft Company, 1xAnti-Tank Company, 1xRecon Company,

1xEngineer Company

Motorized Rifle Regiment(BMP): 1xTL3 Infantry(A) GHQ/BMP, 3xMotorized Rifle Battalion(BMP), 1xTank Battalion,

1xRecon Company, 1xArtillery Battalion, 1xAnti-Aircraft Company, 1xAnti-Tank Company,

1xEngineer Company

Tank Regiment: 1xTL3 Infantry(A) GHQ/BMP, 3xTank Battalion, 1xMotorized Rifle Battalion(BMP),

1xArtillery Battalion(SP), 1xAnti-Aircraft Company, 1xRecon Company, 1xEngineer Company

Artillery Regiment: 2xArtillery Battalion(SP), 1xHeavy Artillery Battalion(SP), 1xMRL Battalion

SAM Regiment: 6xSA-13

Motorized Rifle Division: 2xMotor Rifle Regiment(BTR), 1xMotorized Rifle Regiment(BMP), 1xTank Regiment, 1xArtillery Regiment,

1xSAM Regiment, 1xRecon Battalion, 1xEngineer Battalion, 1xAnti-Aircraft Battalion,

1xDivisional Tank Battalion, 1xAnti-Tank Battalion, 1xF.R.O.G. Battalion, 1xHelicopter Squadron

Motorized Rifle Division: 3xMotor Rifle Regiment(BMP), 1xTank Regiment, 1xArtillery Regiment, 1xSAM Regiment,

1xRecon Battalion, 1xEngineer Battalion, 1xAnti-Aircraft Battalion, 1xDivisional Tank Battalion,

1xAnti-Tank Battalion, 1xF.R.O.G. Battalion, 1xHelicopter Squadron

Notes: 1) "BTR" units may contain any of the BTR-70 or BTR-80 variants.

2) BRDM-2s may be replaced with BRDM-3s.

- 3) T-64, T-72, and T-80 medium tanks make up the majority of first-echelon tank forces by this time.
- 4) One stand in each "BTR" Motorized Rifle Company may contain an attached AT-5 team (MP).
- 5) One stand in each Motorized Rifle Battalion may contain an attached SA-14 team (MP).
- 6) Artillery batteries may contain three (3) or four (4) sections.
- 7) You may use the SO-120 Mortar(3) to replace 120mm M1970 mortars in Motorized Rifle Battalions if you wish.
- 8) All SAU-122s may be replaced with SAU-152s after 1987.
- 9) Any quantity or combination of available combat aircraft or helicopters is permissable.

SOVIET TANK DIVISION: 1985-1991

Generation: III, Air Superiority Rating: 90, Class: Conscripts, Base Determination Factor: 30%

Motorized Rifle Company (BMP): 3x<u>TL3</u> Infantry(A)/BMP, 1x<u>TL3</u> Infantry Support/BMP Motorized Rifle Company (BTR): 3x<u>TL3</u> Infantry(A)/BTR, 1x<u>TL3</u> Infantry Support/BTR

Engineer Company: 1xMT-20 AVLB, 1xTL3 Engineer/BTR-70, 1xMobile Bridge "TMM"

Tank Company: 3xMedium Tank
Anti-Tank Company: 3xBRDM-2/AT-5

Recon Company: 1xBMP[R], 2xBRDM-2[R] Anti-Aircraft Company: 1xSA-13, 1xZSU-23/4

Motorized Rifle Battalion(BMP): 1xTL3 Infantry(A) HQ/BMP, 3xMotorized Rifle Company, 1x82mm Auto-Mortar(3)/Truck,

1-2xABS-17/BMP

Motorized Rifle Battalion(BTR): 1xTL3 Infantry(A) HQ/BTR, 3xMotorized Rifle Company, 1x120mm M1970 Mortar(3)/MTLB,

1xABS-17, 1xSPG-9, 1xBTR

Engineer Battalion: 1xTL3 Engineer (HQ)/BTR-50, 3xEngineer Company, 3xPTSM

Tank Battalion: 1xMedium Tan k(HQ), 3xTank Company Recon Battalion: 6xBMP[R], 3xBRDM, 4xTL3 Infantry(R)

Artillery Battalion: 3xSAU-122(3) 3xSAU-152(3) Heavy Artillery Battalion:

F.R.O.G. Battalion: 4xF.R.O.G. Launcher

Multiple Rocket Battalion: 3xBM-21(8)

Motorized Rifle Regiment: 1xTL3 Infantry(A) GHQ/BMP, 1xTank Battalion, 2xMotorized Rifle Battalion(BMP), 1xRecon Company,

1xMotorized Rifle Battalion(BTR), 1xArtillery Battalion, 1xAnti-Aircraft Company, 1xAnti-Tank Company,

1xEngineer Company

Tank Regiment: 1xInfantry(GHQ)/BMP, 3xTank Battalion, 1xMotorized Rifle Battalion(BMP), 1xArtillery Battalion,

1xAnti-Aircraft Company, 1xRecon Company, 1xEngineer Company

2xArtillery Battalion, 1xHeavy Artillery Battalion(SP), 1xMultiple Rocket Battalion **Artillery Regiment:**

SAM Regiment: 6xSA-13

Division: 3xTank Regiment, 1xMotorized Rifle Regiment, 1xRecon Battalion, 1xArtillery Regiment, 1xSAM Regiment,

1xEngineer Battalion, 1xF.R.O.G. Battalion

1) "BTR" units may contain any of the BTR-70 or BTR-80 variants. Notes:

2) BRDM-2s may be replaced by BRDM-3s.

- 3) First echelon tank divisions were primarily equipped with T-72, and T-80 tanks by this time.
- 4) One stand in each "BTR" Motorized Rifle Company may contain one attached AT-5 team (MP).
- 5) One stand in each Motorized Rifle Battalion may contain an attached SA-14 team (MP).
- 6) Artillery batteries may contain three (3) or four (4) sections.
- 7) You may use the SO-120 Mortar(3) to replace 120mm M1970 mortars in Motorized Rifle Battalions if you wish.
- 8) All SAU-122s may be replaced with SAU-152s after 1987.
- 9) Any quantity or combination of available combat aircraft or helicopters is permissable.

SOVIET AIRBORNE DIVISION: 1975-1991

Generation: III, Air Superiority Rating: 90, Class: Conscripts, Base Determination Factor: 30%

Airborne Company: 3xTL3 Infantry(A)/BMD-2 **Engineer Company:** 2xTL3 Engineer/Truck 3xBRDM-2/AT-5 Anti-Tank Company: Recon Company: 3xBMD-2[**R**]

Anti-Aircraft Company: 1xSA-14/Truck, 1xZU-23/2(Truck)

Airborne Battalion: 1xTL3 Infantry(A) HQ/BMD-2, 3xAirborne Company, 1x82mm Auto-Mortar(3)/BMD-2, 1xABS-17/BMD-2

Engineer Battalion: 3xEngineer Company

9xASU-85 Assault Gun Battalion:

Artillery Battalion: 3x122mm D30(3)/Truck Anti-Aircraft Battalion: 3xAnti-Aircraft Company

Airborne Regiment: 1xTL3 Infantry(A) GHQ/BMD-2, 3xAirborne Battalion, 1xAnti-Aircraft Battery, 1xAnti-Tank Company,

1xRecon Company, 1x120mm Mortar(3)/MTLB, 1xEngineer Company

Airborne Division: 3xAirborne Regiment, 1xArtillery Battalion, 1xEngineer Battalion, 1xAnti-Aircraft Battalion, 1xAssault Gun Battalion

1) One stand in each Airborne Battalion may contain an attached SA-14 team (MP). Notes:

- 2) Any quantity or combination of available combat aircraft or helicopters is permissable.
- 3) These troops, deployed by helicopter, were the backbone of Soviet offensive operations in Afghanistan.

TACTICAL NOTES

It is impossible to chronicle all the subtle changes in organization and weapons technology that marked the evolution of the Soviet Army in the limited space that could be allocated here. This topic deserves a major study in several volumes at the very least. The changes applied were never immediate or instantaneous. This would be impossible in an organization so large and diverse. It is our hope that we have covered this important chapter in the military history of the twentieth century in sufficient depth to provide you with a framework adequate for your wargaming requirements.

There have been many depictions of "Cold War" turning "Hot" in the last forty years. The most common is the "Fulda Gap" scenario, where a powerful Soviet armored thrust smashes across the Fulda River and roars through the rolling hills around the towns of Bad-Hersfeld and Eisenach-Hunfeld. The main interest here seems to derive from seeing how various Soviet and American weapons interact. I've never understood the attraction of this scenario. Soviet armored forces pour into the "Fulda Gap". The Americans shoot them down as they come. In the end, all things being equal, either American technology or Soviet numbers prevail.

I've always found games simulating more fluid actions far more exciting. An American/Soviet confrontation in Iran (circa. 1970) for instance, or Iraq (circa. 1980), an American expeditionary force coming to the assistance of Yugoslavia in the event of a Soviet invasion (circa. 1977), Soviet Naval Infantry and American Marines fighting it out over the "North Cape" of Norway as part of a larger WWIII campaign. A few divisions on either side, spread out over a large area, would allow the strengths and weaknesses of both

systems to be explored in detail. Whatever your taste, a shooting war involving the Soviets and Americans was <u>the</u> nightmare of the last half of the twentieth century. No comprehensive study of this era would be complete without paying significant attention to it.

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan that raged throughout the 1980s was the only long-term conflict undertaken by the Red Army since WWII. Combat actions during this conflict can make for good wargame scenarios if you are careful to "balance" them. The most common engagements would be Afghan attacks on Soviet base camps, ambushes of Soviet truck convoys, and Soviet attacks on Afghan strongholds. Interesting scenarios can be produced by combining an attack on such a base camp with a Soviet air-mobile attack to relieve the defenders (a situation familiar to any Vietnam veteran). Time and space limitations have prevented us from covering the various Soviet brigades and special purpose units used in the Afghan War. However, we believe the information above will provide the basic information necessary for you to simulate these if you wish.

But if I were to choose a favorite wargame environment for the Red Army, it would be a Sino-Soviet war set in the 1970s. Actual Soviet incursions into Chinese territory in 1969 showed them to be in top form, ready to do battle! Their Chinese opponents were equally determined. Since both armies had large numbers of tank units on hand, any combat operations would have been large and costly. Maneuvers would have been fluid with great sweeping offensives, the kind of stuff that great wargames are made of.

FINAL DEVELOPMENTS

The Soviet Union possessed the world's most powerful army for much of the twentieth century. The "Cold War", with which it will forever be linked, lasted from shortly after the end of WWII until the Soviet collapse in 1991, a conflict that consumed a considerable portion of the world's wealth for nearly three generations. In terms of sheer labor, talent wasted, productive capacity diverted, treasure squandered, and resources consumed, was the costliest conflict in the history of mankind. Even if you ignore the lives lost and human suffering generated, the social and psychological cost alone were catastrophic.

Even a casual glance at the final "Soviet Arsenal" below clearly illustrates one of the root causes of the Soviets' ultimate failure. For decades they had been maintaining an enormous military machine, far beyond any conceivable need for mere defense. Simply maintaining this gargangantuan military inventory constituted nothing less than deliberate fiscal suicide. According to International Monetary Fund figures, in its final year, the Soviet GNP was less than half that of the US. Yet, Soviet military expenditures exceeded those of the US by more than twenty-three percent in that year. International communism was literally driving itself "Out of Business"!

Epilogue

The legacy of the Soviet Army, if it can be said to have one, is this. The resources of a nation, even a <u>great</u> one, are finite. To place these resources at the unquestioned disposal of an "ideology" (any ideology) is not only irresponsible, it is intrinsically self-destructive. The rigidity of Soviet doctrine and the sheer enormity of the Soviet forces did not result from runaway military adventurism or the megalomania of a single political strongman given a free hand to tap the nation's resources unchecked. It was the result of an unquestioning, almost religious, obedience to a deeply flawed political and economic ideology and the pervasive intellectual lethargy that an uncontrolled ideology imposes on <u>any</u> institution. The World War for which the Soviets planned was not to be the cause of their downfall. It was the consequences of the severe political, social, and professional punishment visited upon anyone who showed the slightest tendency toward independent or innovative thought. These consequences were evident not only in the army but throughout Soviet society, and created a deadly entropy. In the end, this entropy caused the Soviet regime to consume itself.

The magnificent "Red Army" that had ground Hitler and his gangsters into the dirt in 1945 had one last moment of dignity and perhaps even glory before it gave up the ghost. When the communists attempted a desperate coup in 1991, in the vain hope of saving themselves and their ideology. Soviet troops were called in and ordered to fire into crowds of local citizens gathered in Moscow to protect the new Russian parliament led by President Yeltsin. Their refusal to do so, in direct disobedience of their oath as Soviet soldiers, will go down in history as an example of courage, humanity, and the common decency of which ordinary men are capable, even in a dictatorship.

FINAL SOVIET ARSENAL: 1991

Personnel: Army - 1,200,000, Navy - 400,000 (including 65,000 Naval Air, 15,000 Marine, 7,000 Coastal Artillery/Rocket Troops),

Strategic Rocket Force - 250,000, Air Force - 410,000, Air-Defense Force - 470,000, Reserves - 2,370,000 (Total)

Vehicles: 4,000xT-80, 9,500xT-64, 10,000xT-72, 10,000xT-62, & 18,000xT-54/55 Tanks, 1,000xPT-76 Light Tanks,

3,000+BRDM Scout Vehicles, 25,000xBMP-1/-2 & 2,000xBMD-1/-2 IFVs, 40,000 BTR-50/-60/-70/-80/-152 &

4,000xMTLB APCs,

AT Weapons: 8,000+Anti-Tank Guns (57mm, 76mm, 85mm, 100mm Towed & ASU-57/-85 SP Types), AT-2 "Swatter", AT-3

"Sagger", AT-4 "Spigot", AT-5 "Spandrel, AT-6 "Spiral" ATGMs, & 73mm SPG-9 RcRs

Artillery: 40,000+Guns & Howitzers (122mm, 130mm, 152mm Towed, 122mm & 152mm SP), 7,500x122mm, 140mm, 240mm,

& 300mm MRLs, 14,000xMortars (82mm, 120mm 160mm, & 240mm)

Anti-Aircraft: "Mobile" SAMs included 40,000+SA-4, SA-6, SA-7, SA-8, SA-9, SA-10, SA-11, SA-12, SA-13, & SA-14 systems.

SSMs: 1,700 Launchers (including 950xF.R.O.G/SS21 & 650x"SCUD" B/C)

Combat Aircraft: 600xMiG-29, 450xSu-27, 150xSu-7, 800xMiG-27, 2,550+MiG-23, 740+MiG-21, 980xSu-17, 50xMiG-31, 300xSu-24,

310xYak-28, 920xMig-25, 220xSu-25, 595xSu-15, 40xSu-11, 20xMiG-15, 60xMiG-17, 50xTu-28

Helicopters: 300xMi-1, 600xMi-2, 50xMi-4, 300xMi-6, 1,900xMi-8, 300xMi-17, 1,200xMi-24, 50xMi-26, 60xMi-28

Notes: 1) After 1988, all tactical helicopters (Mi-2, Mi-4, Mi-6, Mi-8, Mi-24, & MI-26) were transferred from Air Force to Army control.

- 2) There were thirty-three ABM-1 "Galosh" anti-missile-missiles deployed in four sites around Moscow in 1991.
- 3) Soviet SAMs in 1991 included 10,000 obsolescent SA-1, SA-2, SA-3, and SA-5 launchers in fixed sites around the country.

THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

Who Are They, Anyway?

The Russian Federation is comprised of twelve republics that were formerly part of the Soviet Union. It was formed on December 8th, 1991, when elected leaders from Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus (Byelorussia) signed an agreement forming a new

association to replace the defunct "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" (USSR). These three were subsequently joined by the Central Asian republics of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan, by the Transcaucasian republics of Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia, and by Moldova. (Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia opted out.) The Federation formally came into being on December 21st, and began operations the following month with the city of Minsk designated as its administrative center.

The Federation coordinates its members' policies regarding economics, foreign relations, defense, immigration, environmental protection, and law enforcement. Its top governmental body is a council composed of the member republics' leaders (presidents and prime ministers), who are assisted by committees of republic cabinet ministers in key areas such as economics and defense. In theory, the Federation's members were to keep both their armed forces and the former Soviet nuclear weapons in their possession under a single unified command. In practice, this proved impossible, as did the members' efforts to coordinate the introduction of free-market mechanisms and private ownership.

From the end of WWII through 1989, the countries of eastern Europe were ruled by various national Communist parties (sometimes in disguise). After the fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989, however, these parties were entirely transformed. By 1990, each country held relatively free elections that shattered the old Soviet colonial empire. In most cases, power was transferred to those with few connections to previous leaders or who represented dissident Communist movements. Most of the former Communist parties soon disbanded and reformed under different names to compete for votes and political influence.

The first wave of elections tended to go heavily against Communist candidates. In Poland, for example, Lech Walesa's labor-based Solidarity movement swept nearly all the offices it contested in 1989. In Czechoslovakia, Václav Havel's Civic Forum (and its Slovak counterpart) decisively defeated Communist candidates in the assembly elections of 1990. Old-line Communist rulers were also ousted that year in Hungary and East Germany. Although Communist governments were reelected in Albania and Bulgaria, even these hard-line regimes were defeated by opposition forces in a second round of elections--Bulgaria in 1991 and Albania in 1992. In Russia, the Communist Party was the only political institution allowed to participate in the 1990 elections. Nevertheless, many candidates were backed by popular fronts, interest groups, and political clubs that had arisen under "glasnost" (openness).

In Russia's historic popular election for president of the republic in 1991, Boris Yeltsin won fifty-seven percent of the vote against five other candidates, some of whom were backed by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Only in Romania did voters keep former Communists in power through 1992, although old-line Communists also won power in most of the former Soviet republics. This was particularly true in the Asian republics, whose elections were less free and marked by a high turnout of government-mobilized voters, but old-line Communists also won elections in Ukraine, the largest republic after Russia.

Relations With The West

The federation's foreign relations began on an auspicious note. At the beginning of 1992, Boris Yeltsin toured western Europe and signed friendship treaties with Britain and France in return for aid and foreign exchange credits. On January 3rd, 1993, Presidents Bush and Yeltsin signed the "START II" pact, promising to slash their long-range nuclear arsenals by two-thirds over the next ten years. The US Congress voted to help Russia with the cost of dismantling its nuclear weapons. On April 4th, 1993, President Clinton pledged an additional US\$1.6 billion in aid. Nagging questions remained, however. Would outside assistance speed the shift to capitalism, or simply subsidize the survival of a corrupt communist industrial plant? Should Yeltsin move quickly or should reforms be implemented more slowly? What about NATO? What role should the old anti-communist alliance take?

These questions became much more pressing after a coalition of Yeltsin's opponents challenged his reforms and emergency powers in September 1993 and called for his resignation. On September 21st, he <u>dissolved</u> parliament. Violence erupted. Internal security units fought it out with mobs of disgruntled communists and angry nationalists. On October 4th, the army attacked the parliament building. There were one-hundred forty-two deaths. (Anyone remember the day the Red Army refused to fire on Soviet citizens?)

The next elections, in December 1993, found ex-communists and extreme nationalists led by Vladimir Zhirinovsky winning stunning victories. President Clinton called for increased support for Yeltsin and his economic policies. For his part, Yelstin dismissed his more liberal ministers and took a harder line in foreign policy. By doing this, he hoped to deflect criticism that he was too eager to please his Western benefactors. Yeltsin was turning out not to be the compliant vassal Clinton's foreign policy depended on. The "New World Order", in its own way, was going to be just as complicated as the "Old World Order"!

Moscow continued to push for closer integration between Russia and the other members of the Federation in 1996. In April, it signed an integration agreement with Belarus but steered clear of full union of the two countries, fearing Belarus' economic problems would weaken Russia's teetering economy. The dismissal of Russia's long-serving foreign minister, Andrey Kozyrev, and his replacement by Yevgeny Primakov was a source of concern for the West because Kozyrev was generally described as pro-Western. Everybody expected Primakov, who had directed Russia's foreign intelligence service (KGB "Light"?), would adopt a more anti-Western position.

In fact, Primakov turned out to be a practical man, ready to do business. Russia joined the Council of Europe (CE) in January, but Russian politicians reacted angrily when the CE and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) attacked Russia's human rights record in Chechnya, especially the large number of civilian casualties incurred fighting the rebels. Throughout the year Russian leaders raged against NATO expansion into Central and Eastern Europe. Russia wanted the OSCE--not NATO--to preside over European security. By year's end, however, Russian leaders grudgingly accepted an enlarged NATO and that Russia itself might actually become a part of it.

More Military Cutbacks

Militarily, Russia was plagued by a deepening conflict over its armed forces. There was concern that drastic cuts in the defense budget were undermining Russia's military capability and destroying its status as a great power. Military leaders charged that under-financing had humiliated the army to the point where armed mutiny was a real possibility. Military reform was hotly debated, the aim being a smaller army that would be cheaper to support, while maintaining a credible capacity for defense. The transition to an all-volunteer force, which Yeltsin pledged during his campaign would be completed by the year 2000, was postponed until 2005. There was strong military opposition to government plans for reducing the army from 1.7 million men in 1996 to 1.2 million by 1998.

Yeltsin Makes a Comeback

After being sidelined over health problems for eight months, Yeltsin jumped back into the political fray in March 1997. His first action was to reshuffle the Cabinet to include new ministers with strong reform credentials. Anatoly Chubais, Russia's most determined

reformer, was appointed first deputy prime minister and finance minister. Boris Nemtsov, one of Russia's youngest and most popular regional leaders, was appointed first deputy prime minister alongside Chubais. Together, the "young reformers" announced plans to overhaul taxation, housing, and welfare; restore central control over headstrong regional leaders; and curb the power of Russia's monopolies (natural gas, electricity, and railways). Stock markets and foreign investors were jubilant, confident that Russia was beginning a new round of economic liberalization. By year's end, however, many of the brave intentions of the new team were still only on paper, stalled by opposition from Russia's communist-dominated "Duma" (parliament) and vested interests in finance and industry.

The new government was determined to move Russia from the "crony capitalism" of the early Yeltsin years to a more liberal, transparent model brought it into conflict with the financiers who had bankrolled Yeltsin's 1996 reelection campaign. In return for services rendered, the bankers had been allowed to take their pick of influential government posts and companies being privatized. Chubais and Nemtsov argued that this relationship between government and big business was distorting the operation of Russia's fledgling "free" market, degrading the government in the eyes of the population, and discouraging foreign investors.

Debate over military reform continued throughout the year. Defense Minister Igor Rodionov was replaced in May by General Igor Sergeyev, but expectations that Sergeyev's appointment would accelerate reforms were unfulfilled. At the end of the year, Yeltsin approved a "National Security Concept" designed to orient Russian policy makers in the post-Cold War period. There were hopes that the new document, which concluded that Russia faced no immediate danger of large-scale external aggression, would allow resources to be directed away from defense.

The republic of Chechnya continued to assert that it was a sovereign state, whereas the federal government insisted it was part of the Russian Federation. In January former guerrilla leader Aslan Maskhadov was elected president of Chechnya, but the territory remained divided among local warlords, and it was questionable how much control Maskhadov exercised outside the capital. Yeltsin and Maskhadov signed a provisional peace treaty in May but left the question of Chechnya's eventual status undetermined.

Diplomatic Maneuvering

Tensions persisted throughout the year over NATO's potential enlargement to include former Soviet allies in Central and Eastern Europe in 1997. In the event, Russia did not carry out its early threat to abandon some of its arms control commitments if NATO went ahead with eastward expansion. Instead, Yeltsin signed the Russia-NATO "Founding Act" in May. This agreement established a consultative council and promised Russia "a voice but no veto" in the affairs of the alliance.

Russia worked hard throughout the year to cultivate relations with China, India, and Japan. Moscow's declared aim was to construct a "multipolar" system of international relations in contrast to the "unipolar," US-dominated system seen as having replaced the bipolar world of the Cold War. In addition, Moscow declared its intention to follow through on a nuclear construction project in Iran that aroused strong US opposition. Russia also announced a series of new oil deals with an old ally, Iraq. In May Russia and Ukraine finally resolved their five-year dispute over the division of the Black Sea Fleet and signed a long-awaited friendship treaty under which Russia formally acknowledged its neighbor's independence and territorial integrity.

TABLES OF ORGANIZATION AND EQUIPMENT RUSSIAN FEDERATION TANK AND MOTOR RIFLE DIVISIONS

Generation: III, Air Superiority Rating: 80, Class: Conscripts, Base Determination Factor: 25%

Motorized Rifle Company (BMP): 3x<u>TL3</u> Infantry(A)/BMP, 1x<u>TL3</u> Infantry Support/BMP Motorized Rifle Company (BTR): 3xTL3 Infantry(A)/BTR, 1xTL3 Infantry Support/BTR

Engineer Company: 1xMT-20 AVLB, 1xTL3 Engineer/BTR-70, 1xMobile Bridge "TMM"

Tank Company: 3xMedium Tank
Anti-Tank Company: 3xBRDM-2/AT-5

Recon Company: 1xBMP[R], 2xBRDM-2[R]
Anti-Aircraft Company: 1xSA-13, 1xZSU-23/4

Motorized Rifle Battalion(BMP): 1xTL3 Infantry(A) HQ/BMP, 3xMotorized Rifle Company, 1x82mm Auto-Mortar(3)/Truck,

1xABS-1/BMP

Motorized Rifle Battalion(BTR): 1xTL3 Infantry(A) HQ/BTR, 3xMotorized Rifle Company, 1x120mm M1970 Mortar(3)/MTLB,

1xABS-17, 1xSPG-9, 1xBTR

Engineer Battalion: 1x<u>TL3</u> Engineer (HQ)/BTR-50, 3xEngineer Company, 3xPTS-M

Tank Battalion: 1xMedium Tan k(HQ), 3xTank Company Recon Battalion: 6xBMP[**R**], 3xBRDM, 4x<u>TL3</u> Infantry(R)

Artillery Battalion: 3xSAU-122(3)
Heavy Artillery Battalion: 3xSAU-152(3)
F.R.O.G. Battalion: 4xF.R.O.G. Launcher

Multiple Rocket Battalion: 3xBM-21(8)

Motorized Rifle Regiment: 1xTL3 Infantry(A) GHQ/BTR, 1xTank Battalion, 3xMotorized Rifle Battalion(BTR), 1xRecon Company,

1xArtillery Battalion, 1xAnti-Aircraft Company, 1xAnti-Tank Company, 1xEngineer Company

Tank Regiment: 1xInfantry(GHQ)/BMP, 3xTank Battalion, 1xMotorized Rifle Battalion(BMP), 1xArtillery Battalion,

1xAnti-Aircraft Company, 1xRecon Company, 1xEngineer Company

Artillery Regiment: 2xArtillery Battalion, 1xHeavy Artillery Battalion (SP), 1xMultiple Rocket Battalion

SAM Regiment: 6xSA-13

Motorized Rifle Division: 2xMotorized Rifle Regiment(BMP), 1xTank Regiment, 1xArtillery Regiment, 1xSAM Regiment,

1xRecon Battalion, 1xEngineer Battalion, 1xAnti-Aircraft Battalion, 1xDivisional Tank Battalion,

1xAnti-Tank Battalion, 1xF.R.O.G. Battalion, 1xDivisional Motor Rifle Battalion(BTR), 1xHelicopter Squadron

Tank Division: 3xTank Regiment, 1xMotorized Rifle Regiment(BMP), 1xDivisional Tank Battalion, 1xRecon Battalion,

1xDivisional Motor Rifle Battalion(BTR), 1xArtillery Regiment, 1xSAM Regiment, 1xEngineer Battalion, 1xF.R.O.G. Battalion

Notes:

- 1) The Soviet divisional structure has been maintained whenever possible.
- 2) Older weapons may be replaced as more modern weapons become available, especially "SAM" and "AT" weapons.
- 3) The T-90 MBT becomes available in significant numbers by 1995.
- 4) BMP-3s become available in significant numbers in 1997.
- 5) BTR-90s become available in significant numbers after 1996.
- 6) The Divisional Motorized Infantry Battalion is trained in helicopter operations as an "air-mobile" unit.
- 7) Due to the country's severe economic problems, most units are at or below 75% of standard TO&E strength.
- 8) Combat aircraft and helicopter units are at approximately 50% strength due to shortages of parts and poor maintenance.

TACTICAL NOTES

The "new" Russian army inherited more than a rusted arsenal from the Soviet Union. Organization and tactics have changed little in the last twelve years. Recent combat operations in Chechnya and the Balkans have again exposed the rot the Soviets had been careful to keep quiet for decades (until Afghanistan blew the lid off all that). Future combat scenarios for this army include confrontation with the Peoples' Republic of China over Mongolia, war with one or more of its Muslim neighbors, or some sort of civil war over religious, ethnic, or political issues.

More likely, Russia will bide its time, rebuilding its military strength as opportunity allows until it can once again play the part of a world power. Russia possesses enormous untapped natural resources that can be placed at the disposal of an equally enormous industrial plant. Its population is large and well educated with a real hunger for prosperity and financial security. These factors will make themselves felt in the next twenty or so years. It is only a matter of time before the Russian Army makes its comeback. When it does, a new military era will begin.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

Since its founding in 1992, the Russian Federation Army has been in steady decline, particularly in the social status and standard of living enjoyed by the soldiers. As a result, public confidence in the army, and its ability to provide stability and security, has declined as well. However, this decline should not be construed to mean that it no longer exerts considerable influence over regional (if not world) politics. It still casts a long shadow over the Trans-Caucasus, Central Asia, and the Far East, not to mention the whole of Europe. It is an army that has risen from its own ashes more than once in the twentieth century alone, and can be expected to do so again.

A deep sense of anger and disappointment was expressed over the NATO mission to Yugoslavia in 1999, and the Russian army's poor showing there. But, the Russian seizure of Kosovo's Pristina Airport in June of that year improved their morale considerably. The Russian armed forces continue to be racked by scandals, numerous training accidents, and inadequate food and housing for the nation's conscript enlistees. In addition, there is a long standing tradition of bullying and outright extortion by NCO's and officers alike, going back to the "Red Army" years, that both saps the army's morale and drags down its effectiveness.

Dedovshchina

Nothing illustrates the pitiful depths to which the Russian Army has sunk better than the regular toll of desertions, beatings, rapes, and killings, which its soldiers endure. Ten years of war in Afghanistan cost the Soviets just over 15,000 casualties. Between accidents, suicides, and killings, the Russian army loses this many men every three years!

The tradition of "Dedovshchina" (grandfathering) was born in the Soviet Gulags in the 1930s, and spread to the Red Army by convict draftees during WWII. In practice, new recruits are forced to work for their seniors, are humiliated, beaten, and even raped. According to 1994 figures, one conscript in four was hospitalized by a beating sometime during his term of enlistment and one in twenty suffered homosexual rape! The Russian military leadership is appalled by "Dedovshchina" and claims to have had some success in defeating its destructive influence. How much of this success is real, and how much is wishful thinking, is a matter for conjecture. Stay tuned!

New Leadership

In October of 1999, a worn out Boris Yeltsin handed the office of president over to Prime Minister Vladimir Putin. Putin's career in the KGB and "Hawkish" attitude have been sited as handicaps. But, in spite of dire predictions, he has achieved remarkable success in both national and international affairs. His support for the allied invasion of Afghanistan and the close relationship he enjoys with President Bush have enhanced his reputation and strengthened his hand politically. However, the second Russian invasion of Chechnya in 1999 cannot help being a source of serious political and military problems for the foreseeable future.

Budgetary Constraints

Russia's 2002 defense budget was US\$9.01 billion, which for a military establishment as large as Russia's, is ridiculously small. According to General Puzanov, "There has been <u>no</u> proper combat training for ten years. This is the reason why aircraft crash, submarines sink, and armored personnel carriers hit mines in Chechnya... For the same reason, while the establishment of professional forces has the complete support of the armed services, the state will be unable to cope with forming a professional army in the immediate future."

The funding shortfall has been particularly painful for the Russian Air Force. According to an official spokesman, "The total number of flying hours in the Air Force comprised only fourteen percent of the planned number for the winter training period. Fighter pilots averaged only four hours, attack pilots six hours, bomber pilots nine hours, and transport pilots twelve hours. Many experienced pilots are being transferred to the reserve and there are none to replace them....Pilot graduates have no more than sixty hours in the air in total."

The cost of the Chechnya operation in 2001 alone was over US\$80 million. With this in mind, even the most optimistic projections are that adequate military funding will have to wait until at least 2004. By then, the Russian Army will have become a small, professional force centered around a core of lean armored, airmobile, and parachute formations, supported by a much larger force of

territorial militia. To an extent, this is already the case. Conscripts now serve in low-readiness reserve units, using the same (oftenrusted) equipment they were using ten years ago. Once the funds become available, the core units will be re-equipped and modernized, while the militia will need to be retrained, reorganized, and re-equipped as well. The Navy and Air Force will largely become purely defensive organizations, dedicated to denying enemy forces access to Russian airspace and coastal waters.

New Doctrine

The lion's share of Soviet military equipment fell into the hands of the Russian Federation, but taking this at face value would be a mistake. Most up-to-date Soviet gear had been issued to units serving in Warsaw Pact countries and was abandoned by the Russians when they pulled out of Eastern Europe. The remainder, the majority of equipment stationed on Russian soil, consists of old and often obsolete equipment. The situation is most critical in armored units where perhaps one tank in three receives even the most routine maintenance. There have been no major military procurement programs in Russia since the Soviet collapse. Political considerations have again become paramount, just as they were during the communist era. Russian military leaders know from bitter experience that when politicians begin slashing military spending, recovery can take decades. In the meantime, they are concentrating on developing light, quick reaction, primarily defensive forces in contrast to previous doctrine, that stressed heavy equipment designed for offensive operations against NATO forces in Western Europe.

The Second Chechen War

The latest figures from Chechnya put Russian losses there between 1999 and 2001 at 3,433 killed and 10,160 wounded. Russian Deputy Chief of Staff, Colonel General Valery Manilov has announced that Russian forces in Chechnya would be reduced from 80,000 to 50,000 men by the end of 2002. Although the reduction is considerable, it will still leave the Russians with a significant military presence there.

To achieve victory, the Chechens must force to Russians to leave. To do this, they must force some sort of military stalemate on the ground to encourage anti-war feeling in Russia. By continuing to inflict casualties and guaranteeing a steadily rising "body count", the rebels hope to break Russian morale and weaken their position politically, making withdrawal the only viable option. To critics who claim the likelihood of this is small, they point to the fact that America was in much the same position in Vietnam as the Russians in Chechnya. The Vietnamese communists were on the verge of collapse in 1967, and it was only by using every man and every rifle that they were able to stage the infamous "Tet Offensive" of 1968. Victory came for them through eroding Washington's political position; defeat in the field had almost no bearing on the final outcome.

The China Connection

Russian and Chinese officials have agreed to co-operate in joint research, development, and production projects. The Chinese economy is doing well, and the Russians see Chinese military purchases as a source of vital foreign credits. Formal negotiations are in progress concerning a Chinese desire to buy twenty Su-30 multi-role fighters. This is in addition to fifty Su-27 fighters purchased a few years ago and an agreement for China to manufacture two hundred Russian fighters on license. Beijing has shown enthusiasm for purchasing additional SA-10 Air Defense missile systems and has expressed an interest in acquiring the "Tunguska-M1" combination gun/missile system. It has been whispered that there are currently over one hundred Chinese/Russian joint defense projects. Over the next few, years China is expected to spend US\$1.3 billion in Russia on naval weapons projects alone. The Russians can be expected to work hard at maintaining good relations with their former communist rivals.

2002 RUSSIAN ARSENAL

Vehicles: 3,500xT-80, 9,000xT-72, 2,000xT-64 Tanks, 2,000 BRDM Scout Vehicles, 25,000xBMP-1/-2, 700xBMP-3,

25,000xBTR-50/-60/-70/-80/-152, 2,000xBMD, 4,000xMTLB APCs

AT Weapons: 8,000xAnti-Tank Guns (57mm, 76mm, 85mm, & 100mm Towed, ASU-57 & ASU-85 SP), AT-2, AT-3, AT-4, AT-5,

AT-6, AT-7, AT-8, AT-10, AT-11 ATGMs

Artillery: 40,000+Weapons (122mm, 130mm, & 152mm Towed, 122mm & 152mm SP), 7,500xMRLs (122mm, 140mm,

230mm, 240mm & 340mm), 14,000xMortars (82mm, 120mm, 160mm & 240mm), 1,100xGun/Mortars

Anti-Aircraft: 500xSA-4, 400xSA-6, 400xSA-8, 200xSA-9, 250xSA-11, 350xSA-13, 100xSA-15/-16/-18/-19 & 2,000 SA-10/-12.

SSMs: 600xSS-21

Combat Aircraft: 260xMiG-29, 340xSu-27, 220xMiG-31, 600xSu-24, 150xMiG-27, 180xSu-25, 50xMiG-25

Helicopters: 1,900xMi-8, 300xMi-17, 50xMi-26, 60xMi-28

Small Arms: 5.45mm PSM, 7.62mm Tokarev, & 9mm Makarov Pistols, 5.45mm AK-74, & AKSU-74, 7.62mm SKS, AKM, &

Dragunev Rifles, 5.45mm RPK-74, 7.62mm RPK/PKS, 12.7mm DShK, & 14.5mm KPV Machineguns, 30mm AGS-17

& 40mm BG-17 Auto-Grenade Launchers, 40,000+RPG (Various Marks) ATGLs

Notes: 1) About one hundred T-90 MBTs were in use at the end of 2001. They are replacing older tanks at the rate of fifty per year.

- 2) T-64 MBT numbers are declining as they are scrapped and replaced by more modern and reliable weapons.
- 3) Many T-62 and T-54/55 tanks remain in storage.
- 4) All MiG-27s are being withdrawn from service.
- 5) SA-10 and SA-12 SAMs are controlled by the Air Force.
- 6) The Su-34 and SA-30 "Multi-Role" aircraft have not yet entered series production as of 2002.
- 7) "Flight Time' for the average Russian combat pilot has been reduced to 20-30 hours.
- 8) Army Aviation helicopters include some nine hundred machines, mostly Mi-8s, Mi-10s, Mi-24s, & Mi-26s. A significant number of these are unserviceable due to parts shortages and poor maintenance.

POINTS OF CONTACT

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CHECHNYA

Chechnya is situated on the northern flank of the Caucasus Mountains. It is bordered by Russia proper on the north, Dagestan on the east and southeast, Georgia on the southwest, and Ingushetia on the west. Chechnya is divided into three physical regions from

south to north. First there is the fifteen-thousand-foot crest of the Caucasus, which forms the republic's southern boundary. The mountain slopes of the Caucasus are densely forested. This massif and the valley of the Argun River dominate the culture and economy of this part of the country. The second region consists of the broad valleys of the Terek and Sunzha rivers, which cross the republic from west to east. Third, in the north, are the level, rolling plains of the Nogay Steppe, which is largely semi-desert, with sagebrush vegetation and wide areas of sand dunes, giving way to feather-grass steppe and black-earth soil near the Terek.

The Chechen people are fiercely independent Muslims who, during the nineteenth century resisted the power of the Russian Czars for over twenty years. The Bolsheviks created a Chechen autonomous oblast (province) in November 1920. It was merged with the Ingush oblast to form the Checheno-Ingushtian Republic in 1936. When Stalin accused the Chechen and Ingush of collaboration with the Germans during World War II, they were deported to exile in Central Asia, and the republic of Checheno-Ingushetia was dissolved. The exiles were allowed to return to their homeland, and the republic was reestablished in 1957.

Secessionist sentiments emerged in 1991 as Soviet power declined. In August, Dzhozkhar Dudayev, a former Soviet air force general, staged a coup against the local communist government. He was elected president of Chechnya in October, and in November, he unilaterally declared Chechnya's independence from Russia. Dudayev's aggressively nationalistic, anti-Russian, policies soon undermined Chechnya's economy. This created internal conflict, which threatened his position. In 1993 he dissolved the Chechen parliament, effectively making himself dictator.

In 1994, armed opposition groups with Russian military backing tried repeatedly to depose Dudayev without success. On December 11th, Russian troops invaded Chechnya but failed to take Grozny (the capital), which was partly destroyed. 40,000 Russian troops managed to take Grozny in March 1995, inflicting heavy civilian casualties, but Chechen guerrilla resistance continued in other areas of the republic.

Grozny

Grozny lies along the Sunzha River at the foot of the Caucasus, and was founded in 1818 by the Russians who built a fortress there. Large-scale exploitation of local oil deposits began in 1893. Thereafter, Grozny grew rapidly as one of Russia's major oil centers. The growth of new Soviet oil fields reduced the relative importance of the area, but with new oil finds in the 1950s, it has remained a significant producer. Pipelines run from Grozny to the Caspian Sea, the Black Sea, and the Donets Basin. Aside from large-scale refining and gas processing, petrochemicals and machinery for the petroleum industry are manufactured here. As the capital of Chechnya, Grozny was the chief objective of the Russian invasion in 1994. Russian artillery and aerial bombardments destroyed much of the city by the time the last "holdouts" were driven out in March 1995. Thousands of civilians died in the fighting.

The Struggle Continues

Also in 1995, Chechen rebel leader Shamil Basayev and his fighters briefly took more than a thousand hostages in southern Russia and escaped back into Chechnya. More than one hundred people died in that operation. In a January 1996 raid on the southern Russian town of Kizlyar, rebels took hundreds of hostages at a local hospital. Seventy-eight were killed in that incident. Russian forces left Chechnya in 1996 after a disastrous two-year war, but returned in 1999 after rebels raided a neighboring region and Russian authorities blamed rebels for a series of apartment bombings in Russia that killed more than three hundred people.

Suicide Bombers

In June and July of 2000, there was a relatively small but surprisingly destructive rash of suicide attacks on Russian military positions in Chechnya. On July 2nd and 3rd in particular, five attacks resulted in thirty-three killed, eighty-four wounded, and six missing. A truck bomb detonated in a Russian military compound in Urus-Martan, killing several soldiers. Another Truck bomb detonated at the police hostel in Argun in which twenty-six police from the Chelyabinsk police unit were killed. The bomb and the truck are believed to have been transported to Argun in parts and assembled there, as there is no record of the vehicle having passed through any Russian checkpoint on the city's outskirts. The commandant's office and a block-post just outside Gudermes were attacked leaving five dead. In the last attack, the headquarters of the Russian 144th Regiment outside Suvorovka was bombed. Three police were killed there.

The Chechen foreign minister has said that the attacks were made by Chechens made desperate by years of suffering and that Chechen leaders cannot control the random acts of individuals. Considering the sophisticated techniques, expert timing, and large quantities of explosives used in the attacks, it is more plausible that they are part of a deliberate campaign to sow confusion among the Russians, leading to more conventional attacks later.

There are experts who point to the dominant role played by Muslim fundamentalists in Chechen forces, and that such "suicide" attacks bear a striking resemblance to those made by Hezbollah in Lebanon and Israel. This point of view has been confirmed by intelligence sources who claim that there are two suicide battalions, with some five hundred "foreign" personnel, currently active in Chechnya. Russian military spokesmen have repeatedly claimed that the recent fighting in Chechnya is not the same sort of "war of resistance" as the fighting in 1994 -96. The current fighting, they claim, is more of a "jihad", fought by no more than a few hundred foreign Islamic "Mujahideen".

TABLES OF ORGANIZATION AND EQUIPMENT CHECHEN INSURGENTS: 1994+

Generation: II, Air Superiority Rating: 05, Class: Conscripts, Base Determination Factor: 35%

Infantry Company: 2-3x<u>TL3</u> Infantry(B)
Assault Company: 2-3x<u>TL3</u> Infantry((A)
Mujahideen/Commando Company: 1-3x<u>TL3</u> Infantry(S)

Mortar Battery: 1x82mm M43(2)/Truck or 1x120mm M1970(2)/Truck

Infantry Battalion: 1x<u>TL3</u> Infantry(B) HQ, 1-3xInfantry Company, 0-2x<u>TL3</u> Infantry Support, 0-1xMortar Battery
Assault Battalion: 1x<u>TL3</u> Infantry(A) HQ, 123x Assault Company, 0-2x<u>TL3</u> Infantry Support, 0-1xMortar Battery

Available Support Units: (One or more of these units, or parts thereof, may appear in a particular action at your discretion.)

Tank Company: 3xT-55 or T-72 or T-80

Anti-Aircraft Battery: 1x ZSU-23/4 or ZU-23/2 (Truck)

SAM Battery: Multiple Rocket Battery: Artillery Battery: Transport Company: 1x SA-13 1x 122mm BM-21(12) 122mm 2S1(3) <u>or</u> 152mm 2S3(3)

Notes:

- 1) Forces may include Ukrainian "Nationalist" units.
- 2)Captured Russian weapons include BRDM-2s, BTR-70s, and 30mm AGS-17s.
- 3) Chechen vehicles are in short supply and difficult to maintain. They may be used, but at double normal point cost.
- 4) "Assault" units account for approximately 30% of total Chechen Forces.
- 5) Mujahideen Commandos are rare. They account for perhaps 10% of total Chechen forces.

TACTICAL NOTES

The Russian war in Chechnya is very different from the Soviet war in Afghanistan. For one thing, most of the heaviest fighting has taken place in an urban environment, with Russian and Chechen artillery being used in a direct-fire mode against troops holed up in ruined buildings, brutal hide-and seek combat patrols, and constant sniping.

The Soviet technical advantage so prominent in Afghanistan is largely gone, and the tactics used by both sides have devolved into small infantry actions with some (but not much) armored support and a few (badly directed) air strikes. Almost any combination of Russian weapons may be found in the Chechen forces, and there are few leaders with much experience of command above the company level. Therefore, scenarios will perforce be limited to infantry attacks by Chechens on Russian military outposts and police barracks, ambushes by both sides, and Russian assaults on Chechen strongholds.

Not a lot of tactical finesse will be required. Each player must simply try and out-fight his opponent. Troop quality will weigh much more heavily in the scale of victory than weapons technology. Of course, this kind of scenario, fought on a much more "human" scale, can be just as tense and exciting as the more mobile "high tech" variety. For historical "flavor", keep the objectives clear and unambiguous and give each player no more firepower than necessary to the job. This will force them to work with what they have and strive to get the most out of limited resources. Fun stuff!

CURRENT CHECHEN DEVELOPMENTS

Grozny remains the spiritual center of the Chechen independence movement. It is also a hotbed of Muslim fundamentalism and training ground for various Muslim terrorist movements. Many Chechens, serving in Taliban forces, were captured in Afghanistan when the US and its allies invaded that country. Chechen exiles also form a large portion of the Al-Qaida organization of the late Osama bin Laden and have been responsible for numerous terrorist acts over the last decade.

Target Moscow

On October 21st, 2002 a group of Chechen rebels, made up of both men and women, stormed a Moscow theater while an audience of approximately seven hundred-fifty people watched a popular musical. In a special broadcast the following day, the Qatar-based Al-Jazeera satellite television channel broadcast a videotaped statement by one of the hostage-takers. The text was as follows:

"I swear by God we are more keen on dying than you are keen on living. Each one of us is willing to sacrifice himself for the sake of God and the independence of Chechnya. Even if we are killed, thousands of brothers and sisters will come after us, ready to sacrifice themselves."

The gunmen then shot and killed one captive, warning that thousands more of their comrades were also "keen on dying." A blanket-shrouded body, identified only as a woman, was wheeled out of the theater later that afternoon, apparently killed in the early hours of the hostage drama. Sergei Ignachenko, a spokesman for the Russian "Federal Security Service", said the woman appeared to be in her twenties and had been shot in the chest after her fingers were broken.

Al-Jazeera did not explain how it obtained the video footage, but is known for having broadcast statements by Osama bin Laden and other members of his al-Qaida terrorist network in the past. Russian and US officials also have said some al-Qaida fighters may be in Chechnya. The insurgents, led by Movsar Barayev, the nephew of Chechen warlord Arbi Barayev, who reportedly died last year, gave Russia seven days to begin withdrawing from Chechnya or the theater would be blown up.

President Putin canceled his scheduled trip to the APEC summit in Mexico as the secessionist war that has bedeviled Russia for a decade came terrifyingly home to the nation's capital. Meeting with security officials, Putin said "freeing the hostages with the maximum assurance of their safety," was the main goal. He said the raid was planned "in one of the foreign terrorist centers" but did not name it. The dramatic siege was a bitter blow for Putin, who repeatedly has said Russia has the situation in Chechnya under control. While Putin's popularity remains high, opinion polls show public support for the war dropping.

In Washington, White House spokesman Sean McCormack said, "the American government and the American people stand with the people of Russia at this difficult moment. There are no causes or national aspirations that justify the taking of innocent hostages." US Ambassador Alexander Vershbow said three Americans were among the hostages, as well as people from the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Austria, Belarus, Bulgaria, Australia, Azerbaijan, Ukraine, and Germany.

The Siege Ends

On October 26th, after five days of negotiations, Russian "Special Forces" troops stormed the theater in the early morning hours, freeing most of the hostages and killing the Chechen commander of the operation and most, but not all, of his followers. Russian Deputy Interior Minister Vladimir Vasilyev said that nearly all of the estimated fifty hostage-takers had been killed, but that some apparently had managed to escape. Ninety of the seven hundred-fifty people taken hostage had been killed. In a statement to the press he said, "I would like to warn the bandits and society that we have all information about them and that if they give up, we will guarantee their lives." He added that by storming the building, government forces avoided greater casualties and the death of most of the hostages, including children."

The rescue raid was not launched until <u>after</u> a night of heavy explosions and repeated bursts of gunfire. "The rebels began executing captives," said Ignatchenko. The Chechens had reportedly mined the stage and aisles and placed a bomb in the center of the

theater. Some were seen in television footage wearing explosive belts and said they were ready for martyrdom. President Putin, speaking on nationwide television declared, "Russia cannot be forced to its knees," but acknowledged the heavy cost to victims' families: "We could not save everyone. Forgive us."

The main weapon used to break the siege was an unidentified gas aimed primarily at the twenty Chechen women, who sat among the hostages wrapped in explosives. "Had they been able to detonated these, the toll of innocents would have been much higher," Deputy Interior Minister Vasilyev said. The incapacitating agent was apparently introduced into the theater's ventilation system. Next, soldiers from the Alpha anti-terrorist squad burst in. Television footage showed them kicking in glass doors and opening fire, the thunder of their assault rifles setting off car alarms in the theater parking lot. Soon the hostages were brought out, some in the arms of soldiers, most loaded unconscious onto city buses.

Government film of the aftermath showed dead female hostage-takers sitting in red plush theater seats, in black robes and veils, heads thrown back or bent over, indicating they may have been shot while unconscious. Precisely placed bullet holes could be seen in their heads. One had a gas mask on her face. Besides the women's explosives, the attackers had rigged other bombs throughout the hall. Because only one Alpha trooper was reported wounded, some analysts believed the gas, which officials would not identify, was odorless and had so incapacitated or disoriented the gunmen that they were incapable of defending themselves. Beside the fifty Chechens reported killed at the theater, officials said three other gunmen were captured.

The precision and effectiveness of the operation belied often-repeated Kremlin claims that the nationalist rebels in Muslim Chechnya were on the verge of final defeat. A Federal Security Service official said the well-armed theater raiders had foreign links and contacts with unspecified embassies inside Moscow, with ITAR-Tass news raising the prospect of insurgents backed by international terrorists plotting further attacks. "We can't have any euphoria," Vladimir Lukin, deputy Parliament speaker, said after the raid. "I don't think we have broken their will after all."

Aftermath

President Vladimir Putin asked for forgiveness from the relatives of the dead. He declared a national day of mourning as dozens of sympathizers left flowers and cards on a low wall near the theater. "I would like to address primarily the relatives and friends of those killed. Looking exhausted, Putin called on Russians to rebuild their confidence in a country which had dealt with "armed scum." Chechnya's fugitive rebel president, Aslan Maskhadov, condemned the siege, saying he rejected "terror as a method of reaching any goals." A senior aide to Maskhadov said the drama meant Moscow had to choose between talking to gunmen or the man elected president of the breakaway North Caucasus republic in 1997. He warned there could be more such attacks.

What Next?

On January 5th, 2003, Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Chizhov stated that his country would welcome European and other international observers to monitor a constitutional referendum in Chechnya set to take place in March, as well as any subsequent elections. Chechnya's Moscow-appointed administration has pushed for the referendum to consolidate its grip on the warravaged region. The proposed constitution would be subordinate to Russian federal law and would ignore separatists' independence claims. Long facing Western pressure for a political solution to the Chechen conflict, the Kremlin has tried to present the referendum and the elections as elements of a peace process. At the same time, President Putin has firmly refused to negotiate with the rebels, calling them international terrorists who must be eliminated out of hand.

Despite officials' claim that they control the situation in Chechnya, the rebels continue to mount regular raids against federal servicemen and local pro-Moscow officials. Eighty-three people were killed in a suicide truck bombing of the Chechen administration's headquarters on December 27th. At least four pro-Moscow Chechen police officers were killed and another eight wounded on January 4th, in a police raid in the Chechen capital Grozny that left a suspected rebel dead. Another pro-Moscow policeman was killed in Grozny on January 5th in a separate clash, and three federal servicemen were shot dead in the southern Vedeno region.

This thing ain't over!