

World War II left the Soviet military with a vast reservoir of experience. From their analysis of lessons learned, Soviet researchers in deception have identified the following important requirements for effective deception:

- Evaluate enemy intelligence collection and devise counteractions.
- Develop deception expectations for operations, ensuring that operational deception measures conform to the friendly forces' ability to conduct them.
- Plan all deception measures in detail and centralize their execution.
- Systematize deception activities and maintain their credibility, continuity, and diversity.
- Use initiative and creativity in organizing and executing deception measures.<sup>80</sup>

While Red Army deception never totally eliminated all indicators of impending offensive operations, by cloaking its forces behind stringent concealment measures and deceptive maneuvers, it seriously skewed German intelligence estimates. The Soviets' depiction of false forces in false directions and activities, combined with concealed regroupings, confused the situation. This confusion often suspended or misdirected German actions. The Red Army's artful illusions surprised German commanders as to the intent, scale, and location of the operational battlefields. By the final stage of the war, the Red Army had achieved not only the physical but also the psychological initiative, which resulted in self-defeating German actions and reactions, smashed defensive lines, and catastrophic encirclements of major German forces—forces held spellbound by the red cloak of deception.

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# Notes

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1. Charles Cruickshank, *Deception in World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), covers very generally only strategic deception in support of Allied Western Front requirements for the Soviets. Earle F. Ziemke, "Stalingrad and Belorussia: Soviet Deception in World War II," in *Strategic Military Deception*, edited by Donald C. Daniel and Katherine L. Herbig (New York: Pergamon Press, 1982), 243–76, examines Red Army operational deception but only for the Stalingrad and Belorussian operations. The most comprehensive review has been Colonel David M. Glantz' "The Red Mask: The Nature and Legacy of Soviet Military Deception in the Second World War," *Intelligence and National Security* 2 (July 1987):175–259.
2. See V. A. Matsulenko, *Operativnaya maskirovka voisk* [Operational deception of force] (Moscow: Voenizdat, 1975), hereafter cited as Matsulenko, *OMV*; M. M. Kir'yan, *Vnezapnost' v nastupatel'nykh operatsiyakh velikoi otechestvennoi voyny* [Surprise in offensive operations of the Great Patriotic War] (Moscow: Nauka, 1986); V. A. Matsulenko, "Operativnaya maskirovka sovetskikh voisk v pervom i vtorom periodakh voyny" [Operational deception of Soviet forces in the first and second periods of the war], *Voyenno istoricheskii zhurnal* [Military history journal], January 1972:11–20; this journal is hereafter cited as *Vizh*. Also see V. A. Matsulenko, "Operativnaya maskirovka voisk v tret'em periode voyny" [Operational deception of forces in the third period of the war], *Vizh*, June 1972:29–40; Georgii Konstantinovich Zhukov, "Organizatsiya operativnoi maskirovka" [Organizing operational deception], *Vizh*, May 1977:48–56; Ya. Dashevskii, "Organizatsiya i provedenie operativnoi maskirovki" [Organizing and conducting operational deception], *Vizh*, April 1980:46–52; P. Mel'nikov, "Operativnaya maskirovka" [Operational deception], *Vizh*, April 1982:18–26. *Vizh* has a number of other articles on specific operations and services regarding operational deception.
3. V. A. Efimov and S. G. Chermashentsev, "maskirovka" [Deception], *Sovetskaya Voennaya Entsiklopediya* [Soviet military encyclopedia] (Moscow: Voenizdat, 1978), 5:175.
4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.
6. Zhukov, "Organizatsiya," 48.
7. Dashevskii, "Organizatsiya," 47.
8. I. S. Konev, *Sorok pyaty* [Forty-Five] (Moscow: Voenizdat, 1966), 106.
9. Soviet Union (1923– U.S.S.R.), Peoples Commissariat of Defense, *Field Service Regulations, Soviet Army, 1936 (Tentative)* (Moscow: Soviet Military Publications Division, Commissariat of Defense, 1937), translated by Staff Sergeant Charles Berman, Translation Section, U.S. Army War College, Washington, DC, September–October 1937.
10. Matsulenko, *OMV*, 2.
11. Georgii Konstantinovich Zhukov, *Reminiscences and Reflections* (Moscow: Progress, 1985), 1:187.
12. Japan, Kantogun [The Kwantung Army], Sanbobu [Headquarters], Dai-I Ka [1st Operations Section], "Nomonhan jiken kimitsu sakusen nisshi" [Nomonhan incident secret operations diary], vol. 1, prepared by Hattori Takushiro after the Nomonhan incident, quoted in Alvin D. Coox, *Nomonhan: Japan Against Russia, 1939* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1986), vol. 1.
13. Matsulenko, *OMV*, 8.
14. Matsulenko, "Operativnaya maskirovka sovetskikh," 12.
15. Soviet historiography of the Great Patriotic War divides the war into three periods: first, June 1941 to November 1942; second, November 1942 to December 1943; and third, January 1944 to May 1945 for Europe and August 1945 for Manchuria.
16. "Peregroupirovka voisk" [Regrouping forces], *Voennyi Entsiklopedicheskii Slovar'* [Military encyclopedic dictionary] (Moscow: Voenizdat, 1986), 546–47.
17. *Sbornik Materialov po Izucheniyu Opyta Voiny, No. 8, Avgust–Oktyabr' 1943* [Collection of materials for the study of war experience, no. 8, August–October 1943] (Moscow: Voenizdat, 1943), 64, translation by

Directorate of Military Intelligence, Army Headquarters, Ottawa, Canada.

18. *Sbornik Materialov po Izucheniyu Opyta Voiny, No. 6, April'-Mai 1943* [Collection of materials for the study of war experience, no. 6, April-May 1943] (Moscow: Voenizdat, 1943), 96-97, translated by the U.S. Department of the Army.
19. A. M. Zvartsev, *3-ya gvardeiskaya tankovaya* [3d Guards Tank] (Moscow: Voenizdat, 1982), 116.
20. Germany, Army, Eighth Army, Intelligence records, Situation maps, microfilm series T-312, roll 58, frame 7573794, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC.
21. *Ibid.*, frames 7573801-4.
22. Lieutenant Colonel David M. Glantz, "The Kiev Operation, an Overview," 19, in *1985 Art of War Symposium—From the Dnepr to the Vistula: Soviet Offensive Operations, November 1943–August 1944, Transcript of Proceedings [Held] 29 April–3 May 1985*, edited by Colonel David M. Glantz (Carlisle Barracks, PA: Center for Land Warfare, U.S. Army War College, August 1985). The symposium proceedings are cited hereafter as *1985 AWS*.
23. Erich von Manstein, *Lost Victories* (Novato, CA: Presidio Press, 1982), 481.
24. *Ibid.*, 486.
25. Matsulenko, *OMV*, 60.
26. Mel'nikov, "Operativnaya maskirovka," 21.
27. V. E. Yakubov, "Primenenie dymovykh sredstv v nastupatel'nykh operatsiyakh Velikoi Otechestvennoi voiny" [The application of smoke means in offensive operations of the Great Patriotic War], *Vizh*, May 1987:31.
28. P. I. Batov, *Forsirovaniye rek 1942–1945 gg.* [Forcing rivers 1942–1945], (Moscow: Voenizdat, 1986), 60.
29. Dashevskii, "Organizatsiya," 48.

30. Zhukov, "Organizatsiya," 54.
31. Matsulenko, *OMV*, 138.
32. Zhukov, "Organizatsiya," 54.
33. Ibid.
34. Colonel H. van Nes, "'BAGRATION': Study of the Destruction of Army Group Centre During the Summer of 1944 as Seen From the Point of View of Military Intelligence," 248, in *1985 AWS*.
35. Earl F. Ziemke, *Stalingrad to Berlin: The German Defeat in the East*, Army Historical Series (Washington, DC: Office of the Chief of Military History, United States Army, 1968), 313.
36. S. M. Shtemenko, *The Soviet General Staff at War, 1941–1945* (Moscow: Progress, 1975), 228.
37. Ziemke, *Stalingrad to Berlin*, 316.
38. U.S. Department of the Army, Pamphlet no. 20–201, *Military Improvisations During the Russian Campaign* (Washington, DC, August 1951), 32.
39. I. S. Konev, *Zapiski Komanduyushchego frontom* [Writings of a Front commander] (Moscow: Voenizdat, 1981), 224.
40. A. Grechko, "Nekotorye voprosy voennogo iskusstva v L'vovsko-Sandomirskoi operatsii" [A few lessons of military art in the Lvov-Sandomierz operation], *Vizh*, February 1960:29.
41. Matsulenko, *OMV*, 109.
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid., 110.
44. Ibid., 189.
45. Ibid., 110.
46. Ibid.

47. Zhukov, "Organizatsiya," 49; and Richard Armstrong, "The Enemy Will Tell Us When," *Military Intelligence* 7 (April–June 1981):47–48.
48. D. Paul Deichmann, *German Air Force Operations in Support of the Army*, USAF Historical Study 101–163 (Maxwell Air Force Base, AL: Research Studies Institute, U.S. Air Force Historical Division, Air University, 1984), 161.
49. Matsulenko, *OMV*, 112.
50. *Ibid.*, 116.
51. *Ibid.*, 117.
52. *Vosemnadtsataya v srasheniyakh za Rodiny* [Eighteenth in the fight for the Motherland] (Moscow: Voenizdat, 1982), 390.
53. Konev, *Zapiski*, 223.
54. Friedrich Wilhelm von Mellenthin, *Panzer Battles* (New York: Ballantine, 1980), 338.
55. Germany, Army, XXXXVIII Panzer Corps, Intelligence records, microfilm series T-314, roll 1187, frames 309 and 322, National Archives; the corps is hereafter cited as XXXXVIII Panzer Corps.
56. Germany, Army, Oberkommando des Heeres [Headquarters, German Army High Command], Situation maps, microfilm series T-78, roll 136, frames 6065297–303, National Archives; the headquarters is hereafter cited as OKH.
57. *Ibid.*, frame 6065300.
58. XXXXVIII Panzer Corps, Intelligence records, microfilm series T-314, roll 1187, frames 370–93.
59. XXXXVIII Panzer Corps, Operations records, Telephone log, microfilm series T-314, roll 1186, frame 159.
60. *Ibid.*, frame 175.
61. OKH, Situation maps, microfilm series T-78, roll 136, frames 6065295–304.

62. Ibid., frames 6065300–301.
63. Ibid.; and B. Pakov and S. Anov, “K voprosu o proryve na rava-russkom napravlenii” [On the question of the breakthrough on the Rava Russkaya direction], *Vizh*, February 1970:94–99.
64. A. L. Getman, *Tanki idut na Berlin* [Tanks going on Berlin] (Moscow, Nauka, 1973), 206.
65. OKH, Situation maps, microfilm series T-78, roll 136, frame 6065303. The maps after 10 July had the portion cut off that showed 1st GTA’s location. While 1st GTA was never shown in the north until 18 July, its exact location according to OKH maps from 10 to 13 July is undeveloped.
66. Zhukov, “Organizatsiya,” 56.
67. S. Petrov, “Dostizhenie vnezapnosti v L’vovsko-Sandomirskoi operatsii” [Achieving surprise in the Lvov-Sandomierz operation], *Vizh*, July 1974:33.
68. OKH, Situation maps, microfilm series T-78, roll 136, frame 6065298.
69. Germany, Army, Fourth Panzer Army, Kriegstagebucher [Daily war journal], Operations records, microfilm series T-313, roll 409, frame 8701771, National Archives, hereafter cited as Fourth Panzer Army War Journal.
70. Ibid., frame 8701773.
71. Ibid.
72. OKH, Situation maps, microfilm series T-78, roll 136, frames 6065295–301.
73. Fourth Panzer Army War Journal, microfilm series T-313, roll 409, frame 8701778.
74. OKH, Situation maps, microfilm series T-78, roll 136, frame 6065297.
75. Ibid., frame 6065296; on the 21 July situation map, elements of Baranov’s CMG are depicted behind Brody, northeast of Lvov, already linked with 3d GTA.

76. Ibid.
77. Fourth Panzer Army War Journal, microfilm series T-313, roll 409, frame 8701800.
78. OKH, Situation maps, microfilm series T-78, roll 136, frame 6065295; and Petrov, "Dostizhenie vnezapnosti," 36.
79. Fourth Panzer Army War Journal, microfilm series T-313, roll 409, frame 8701809.
80. Mel'nikov, "Operativnaya maskirovka," 26.



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## NOTES

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