THE RUSSIAN PACIFIC FLEET

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Abbreviations

ARF	Amur River Flotilla
ASCM	Anti-ship cruise missile
ASW	Anti-submarine warfare
CAPE	Command and post exercise
CG(N)	Guided missile cruiser (nuclear-powered)
CVBG	Carrier battlegroup
CV(N)	Aircraft carrier (nuclear-powered)
DDG	Guided-missile destroyer
EON	Ekspeditsiya Osobogo Naznacheniya (Special-Purpose Expedition – Soviet special abbreviation used to identify naval task groups deployed from one maritime theatre to another)
FFG	Guided-missile frigate
IJN	Imperial Japanese Navy
km	kilometre
LPD	Landing platform dock
LRA	Long-range aviation
MTVD	Morskoi Teatr Voennykh Deistviy (Maritime Theatre of Military Operations – Russia's military abbreviation)
nm	nautical mile
NSR	Northern sea route
PFNA	Pacific Fleet Naval Aviation
RBF	Russian Baltic Fleet
RBSF	Russian Black Sea Fleet
RN	Royal Navy
RNF	Russian Northern Fleet
ROF	Russian Okhotsk Flotilla
RPF	Russian Pacific Fleet

RSF	Russian Siberian Flotilla
SAR	Search and rescue
SBCM	Sea-based cruise missile
SIGINT	Signals intelligence
SLCM	Submarine-launched cruise missile
SLOC	Sea lines of communication
SNA	Soviet Naval Aviation
SNI	Soviet Naval Infantry
SOVINDRON	Soviet Indian Ocean Squadron
SOVMEDRON	Soviet Mediterranean Squadron
SOVPAC	Soviet Pacific Fleet
SSB(N)	Ballistic missile submarine (nuclear-powered)
SSG(N)	Cruise missile submarine (nuclear-powered)
UK	United Kingdom
ULCC	Ultra-large crude carrier
US	United States
USN	United States Navy
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
VLCC	Very large crude carrier
VTOL	Vertical take-off and landing
WWI	World War I
WWII	World War II

Introduction

In the modern world, the importance of the sea can hardly be underestimated. It occupies about 71 per cent of the entire earth's surface and is a most important geopolitical factor in global politics and military-strategic affairs. Because of its critical importance and the sheer geographic size, it is no surprise that the civilisational contest between the East and the West, between the Eurasian landmass and maritime periphery, to describe it in Mackinder's terms, embraced this physical sphere as well. The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate the reasons for this confrontation through critical analysis of the evolution of the strategic naval contest between Russia – as a historically perceived Eastern continental power whose maritime status and agenda were questioned by many – and traditional maritime nations in the Pacific and the Indian oceans, the largest areas of the global sea.

The history of East–West strategic naval confrontation in the Pacific and the Indian oceans is closely linked to the development of Russian naval power in the Pacific. A nation with maritime interests, whether a maritime power or a continental state with maritime access, has to develop naval capabilities, enabling it to exploit the benefits of its use of the sea. The development of naval power in the Pacific is an extreme case for Russia, since there are several factors that either favour its limited development or point to an almost absurd necessity for such development. They include the geographic isolation, by a distance of some 7000 km, of the Pacific maritime theatre from Russia's heartland and main centres of naval shipbuilding, traditionally located in the country's western and north-western regions. The harsh climate and underdeveloped economic and social infrastructure of the Russian Far East combined with its remoteness increase the costs of the development of naval power in the area, compared to other maritime theatres, or MTVDs.[1] Russia's geographic configuration called for the maintenance of a permanent naval presence in the other four maritime theatres: the Arctic, the Baltic, the Black Sea and the Caspian. Moreover, throughout the 300 years of the history of Russian naval power in the Pacific, changes in geopolitical environment in and around Russia precluded the organic, uninterrupted development of the Russian Pacific Fleet (RPF). Prospects for war in Europe in the second half of the 19th century and the early and mid 20th century forced the Russian Government to prioritise the strengthening of European fleets, creating the Russian Northern Fleet (RNF). At the same time, the geography of the Far East, which has resulted in Russia's exposure to primarily maritime threats, together with the largest area of responsibility assigned to any Russian fleet, dictated the need to maintain potent naval forces in the Pacific. Thus, despite a combination of geographic, economic and geopolitical obstacles and restraints, Russia continued to invest in its most remote fleet with a clear aim to have the most powerful and largest naval force in the Far East.

Russia's desire to have a powerful naval force in the Pacific fits into a framework of reasons why maritime powers with strong continental traditions favour the development of strong naval arms. Since Mahan and Mackinder, Western geopolitical theoreticians and strategists have tended to contrast, in a historical rather than strategic discourse, maritime power and continental power.[2] The principal difference between maritime and continental power is in the geographic position of the state in relation to the sea and its dependence on the latter. Maritime and continental powers exercise different political philosophies based on their historical interaction with the world. Allegedly, maritime powers tend to be more democratic and opportunistic, while continental powers are more conservative and autocratic.[3] Nations such as the United States (US), the United Kingdom (UK) and Japan are identified as traditional maritime powers.[4] Due to geographic location, their very survival as sovereign and independent states presumes the ability to use the sea for various purposes, since they are vulnerable to external pressures on their supplies of food, raw materials and other essentials.

Other powers, such as Russia, China and France, are perceived as continental powers. Since their formation, maritime and continental powers have been seen to engage in constant rivalry; in many instances, the Cold War confrontation between the USSR and the US was seen as the conflict between a maritime and a continental superpower.[5] The second part of the answer lies in the geopolitical and geostrategic sphere. Since maritime powers are so dependent on the freedom of the seas, the need to ensure this freedom dictates the necessity to have an offensive strategy. Where continental powers, such as Russia and China, do not share alliances with maritime powers,[6] there is a potential maritime threat to their security. This threat has been multiplied by the technological advances in naval warfare over the last 50 years. The matrix comprising the effects of advancements of naval technology and geographic factors creates pressure points of control to which most continental powers would feel vulnerable, as will be discussed later in this paper. The need to expand maritime activities to support the development of free-market economies, which will increasingly rely on overseas trade, combined with the necessity to offset a country's geographic vulnerability to possible maritime threats, inevitably leads to more active involvement in the use of the sea, thus bringing these countries into the maritime powers' 'club' and making them naval powers as well.

The Beginning of East-West Naval Confrontation in the Pacific Strategic Theatre 1731-1945

Establishing a Permanent Russian Naval Presence in the Far East 1731-1905

The history of Russian naval power in the Pacific can be traced as far back as the 1600s, when Russian explorers first reached Siberia's eastern coastline and founded a seaport at Okhotsk in 1647. The establishment of the settlement of Okhotsk marked a first significant step of Russia's long but persistent push eastward, which commenced as early as the 13th century and was led primarily by private initiative. During the reign of Tsar Ivan IV The Terrible (1533-84) and Regent Boris Godunov (1598-1605) the eastward expansion gained state support, as by then it was driven by clear economic and geopolitical considerations, such as the need to access areas rich with fine export commodities (fur, salt, fish and other) and the strategic desire to develop new maritime routes in support of trade with overseas countries.[7]

In an attempt to secure achieved gains, on 21 May 1731, Okhotsk was given the status of a naval port and the Russian Okhotsk Flotilla (ROF) – the first Russian naval formation in the Pacific – was formed under the command of Skornyakov-Pisarev, beginning Russia's naval presence in the area and laying the foundation for the future development of the fleet.[8] The need to have a permanent naval force in the Russian Far East was based on geopolitical and military-strategic considerations, which will be discussed later in this paper.

Russia's extensive explorations of the Far Eastern coastline and efforts to secure a presence in the Pacific came at a time of the country's overall effort to gain uninterrupted access to the sea, a strategic imperative that was clearly understood by Russia's first Emperor, Peter I The Great (1672-1725). He viewed naval power as an instrument of the nation's foreign policy in peacetime and war, as well as a key contributor to national security. Since the 17th century, Russian travellers and early settlers continuously explored territories east of Siberia, and the Far Eastern shores, in what is known today as the Russian Far East.[9] However, the prospect of Russia's emergence as a Pacific power caused some serious concern in the neighbouring China, which, by threat of military action, forced the Russians to sign the very disadvantageous Treaty of Nerchinsk in 1689.[10] In the face of overwhelming Chinese military superiority, Russia agreed to abandon its settlements along the Amur River.[11] The Treaty of Nerchinsk was a heavy blow to Russia's plans for further exploration of its Far Eastern territories. As Donald Mitchell stated in *A History of Russian and Soviet Sea Power*:

> This settlement [the Treaty of Nerchinsk] shut off from Russia the mouth
> of the Amur, severely damaged dawning Russian interests in the Pacific,
> and even threatened the food supply of eastern Siberia. It also interfered
> with a possible Russian opening of Japan, prevented any strong commercial
> relations with China, weakened Russia's military position in Siberia (since
> it left her no advantageous site for a naval base), and greatly decreased
> profits of Alaskan fur traders who subsequently were obliged to ship over
> hazardous land routes.[12]

Because of this setback, the Russian Government realised that gaining access to the
Pacific Ocean depended upon the deployment of powerful military and naval forces
to protect Russia's interests in the area. Further discoveries of new territories and
lands by Russian explorers only strengthened this need.[13] By the end of the 18th
century, Russian explorers and sailors had discovered and explored the Kamchatka
and Chukotka peninsulas; the Kuril, Aleut and Commandor islands; and parts of the
Pacific coastline of North America.[14] The establishment of a settlement on the shores
of Avachinskaya Bay (the Kamchatka Peninsula), which later led to the construction
of the seaport of Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy, had strategic significance for further
Russian maritime activities in the Pacific.

In 1784, the Russian entrepreneur Grigoriy Shelekhov established the Russia–American
Company for further exploration of the Far East and Russian America. By the beginning
of the 19th century, Russians had established relatively large settlements (including
commercial ports), not only on the Far Eastern coasts but also along the coastline
of modern California, with the southernmost settlement, Fort Ross, in the area of
present-day San Francisco.[15] Such explorations of the new Far Eastern regions and
the American west coast spoke to the necessity of establishing a permanent Russian
naval presence in the area that could protect maritime commerce lines between the
mainland and Russian America.

The rapid exploration of the Pacific was understood in Russia as a matter of strategic
significance. Explorations of the western coast of the American continent and the
creation of the Russia–American Company resulted in the emergence of a lucrative
new market for Russia. A famous Russian seaman and explorer, Vice Admiral
Vasiliy Golovnin, argued that Russia's access to the Pacific gave significant economic
benefits.[16] With the foundation of the strategically important seaport of Petropavlovsk-
Kamchatskiy, Russia gained direct access to the open ocean, thus emerging as a Pacific
naval power. Russia's regional naval force, though quite small, was pre-eminent in
the northern and western Pacific.[17] Even a nominal naval presence in the Far East
contributed to strengthening Russia's positions in the Asia-Pacific strategic theatre, a
fact that is still appreciated by Russian contemporary defence analysts:

> Primarily because of the navy, Russia reached the shores of the Pacific
> Ocean. By 1800, Alaska, Aleut and Kuril islands, the Sakhalin, and many
> islands in the Pacific Ocean were acknowledged as being under its control.
> The navy has become the paramount strategic instrument in the policy of
> the state.[18]

The expansion of Russia's strategic interests in the Pacific caused growing concerns among countries that viewed the area as a zone of their interests. For example, a special report in 1821 acknowledged the significant extent of Russia's maritime and trade activities in the area, and highlighted Russia's naval supremacy in the western Pacific. In particular, the report described the favourable geostrategic locations of Russia's major ports and settlements in the Far East, concluding that through exploration and active development of the area, the country was capable of penetrating China and Japan, thus posing a serious challenge to interests of other European powers acting in the area.[19]

The British Government, which did not want to see a strong competitor develop in a region it considered vital to its own interests, was particularly alarmed.[20] The British antipathy towards Russian naval developments in the Pacific was a reflection of the bitter power struggle between these two European powers in the sphere of international affairs, a struggle that increased because of Russia's desire to have uninterrupted access to the sea.[21] Russian naval historian Koryavko argued that Britain was Russia's main opponent in its struggle for maritime access. To deter Russia from using the sea, Britain developed and applied a comprehensive counter-strategy:

> Apart from confrontation at sea, the British elaborated a clever theory
> of the needlessness of a powerful navy for continental Russia. British
> diplomats were consistently trying to promote this idea among Russia's
> leadership.[22]

The power struggle of the Russian and British empires for dominance in European affairs extended into the Far East. In 1848, two British warships visited Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy. These visits alerted the Russian military-political leadership.[23] If Britain decided to deny Russia access to the Pacific Ocean by occupying or destroying Russian settlements and ports of the Okhotsk and Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy, it would be able to achieve these goals without facing any serious resistance, since in the mid 19th century Russian naval capabilities in the area were insignificant compared to the British Royal Navy (RN). The Russian Okhotsk Flotilla, established in May 1731, had only 11 ships in its order of battle, with little fighting capacity. While this force enabled Russia to maintain naval supremacy against other regional powers in the northern and western Pacific, the appearance of the British military expedition easily changed the regional naval balance.

This was a situation of great concern to the leaders of Russia's eastern territories. The Governor General of Eastern Siberia, Nikolai Muraviev, after his inspection of Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy in the late 1840s, wrote a special report to the Imperial Government in St Petersburg, in which he emphasised the strategic importance of this seaport for Russia and the danger of its capture by the British.[24] As a response to this alarming report, the ROF received some reinforcements: between 1845 and 1851, five warships were transferred from the Russian Baltic Fleet (RBF) to the Pacific, including the two potent 44-gun frigates *Aurora* and *Diana*.[25] Ground troops in the region also received reinforcements.[26] However, Russian regional military command still did not have enough forces to protect the vast Far Eastern territories. Russian naval activities were largely restricted to operations in summertime in the northern Pacific and expeditionary missions to the Kuril Islands, the Island of Sakhalin, the Hawaiian Islands and North America. An unfavourable geostrategic situation in the Pacific emerged when Turkey declared war on Russia in 1853, especially when this conflict later developed into the Crimean War (1853-55) between the Russian Empire and a coalition of major European powers, headed by Britain and France supporting the Turks.

From the point of view of naval warfare, the Crimean War was the first war in the history of Russia in which naval battles took place in all of Russia's maritime theatres simultaneously: the White, Baltic and Black seas, and the Pacific Ocean. With the concentration of the main operations of this war in the Black Sea, and the blockade of the RBF by the allied naval forces, the ROF could not be reinforced. As a result, by the time of the opening hostilities in the Pacific theatre, Russian military forces were inferior to the combined Franco-British forces.[27] Despite their obvious military superiority, however, the allies were not victorious. Their main objective – the occupation and destruction of Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy seaport and the destruction of Russian Pacific naval forces – was not achieved.

Despite tactical success of the Russians in the Far East, the overall outcome of the Crimean War was disastrous for Russia and its naval power. Russia suffered a defeat and signed the humiliating Paris Treaty of 1856, banning it from maintaining sizeable naval forces and coastal fortifications on the Black Sea.[28] Russia's positions in the Pacific were also seriously weakened. The signing of the Paris Treaty forced the Russian Government to finalise arrangements with the United States concerning the sale of Alaska and the Aleutian Islands.[29] Although the deal enabled Russia to secure strategic partnership with the US against Britain, the control over the north-western Pacific was lost.

Following the Crimean War, Russia went through a long and painful process of rebuilding its naval power. The RBF strength, in particular, was restored, with steam-powered combatants becoming the core of the order of battle. To compensate for the absence of Russian naval forces in the Black Sea, the Russian Government ordered the formation of a Mediterranean Squadron, an operational naval group tasked with

controlling approaches to the Turkish Straits. As a result of these and other urgent measures, the Russian Navy regained its fighting capacity and was ranked as third most potent force in Europe, thus making future hostile actions conducted by traditional maritime powers against Russia problematic.[30]

Russian naval power in the Pacific was also strengthened with the formation of two operational groups, the Russian Siberian Flotilla (RSF) and the 1st Pacific Squadron (later, the 1st Squadron), which provided an effective defence of Russia's Far Eastern regions. Pressure to increase Russia's naval presence in the Far East came from Admiral Likhachev, an adjutant to the Grand Duke Konstantin, then Russia's Maritime Minister. Likhachev favoured the build up of strong naval force in the area, as he believed that the Pacific seaports could give Russia unfettered access to the open ocean.[31] The Russian Government intended to confirm its control of Siberia, support Russian settlements in East Asia and develop a new trade flow across the Pacific to America, realising that control of the Pacific would stimulate the country's economic growth.

Military-political considerations also drove decisions to expand Russian naval power in the Pacific. Russia's strong naval presence in the north-eastern Pacific would help in its power struggle with Britain and counter possible maritime threats to the nation coming from its East Asian neighbours (a threat that materialised during the rise of the Japanese Empire at the turn of the 20th century). The fact that in the second half of the 19th century Britain was still the supreme maritime power in the world and Japan was emerging as a new maritime nation created a new geostrategic environment for Russia in the Pacific. Any possible military conflict between Russia and either Britain or Japan would probably be maritime in nature; therefore, dangers to Russian Far Eastern security would come from the sea. In order to cope with new security challenges, the Russian naval command wanted to expand the range of activities of its Pacific naval forces from coastal patrol and littoral defence to limited open-ocean sea denial operations.

However, owing to its geographical situation and its separated maritime theatres, Russia had to maintain three independent naval fleets: in the Baltic and Black seas and in the Pacific. Immediate security considerations of that time (the growing struggle to control the Balkans and the prospect of another major war in Europe) dictated the need to develop strong naval capabilities in the Baltic and Black seas, while the Far Eastern naval grouping was regarded as a supplementary force. Accordingly, in the late 19th century the RBF and, later, the Black Sea fleets (later, the Russian Black Sea Fleet – RBSF) received large, heavily armed steam-powered ships. It was hoped that the new steamship would give Russia naval superiority in those two theatres, while the warships deployed to the Pacific had lighter armaments and were capable of long-range deployments at high speed – a major advantage in successful attacks on enemy maritime communications, a key factor in Russia's Pacific strategy. The 1st Squadron, which was established to support 'blue water' operations in the area,

comprised corvettes, clippers and steam-boats, the primary naval combat platforms most used for sea denial operations at that time.[32]

Russia's regional diplomatic efforts helped the state to strengthen its position as a Pacific power. After the Treaties of Aigun (1858) and Beijing (1860), Russia finally gained access to warm sea ports on the Sea of Japan and began a concerted naval build-up. To support the operational activity of the growing Far Eastern naval force, the Russian military-political leadership developed a supporting shore infrastructure, which included the construction of new bases for Russian warships and shipbuilding and repair facilities. In June 1860, the military post of Vladivostok was founded on the shores of the Golden Horn Bay, becoming Russia's main naval base in the Pacific in 1871.[33] David Walder in the *Short Victorious War* described the establishment of a naval base in Vladivostok as the culminating stage of Russia's 'steady march to the Pacific'.[34] Russian naval forces in the Pacific now had a conveniently located homeport with all the necessary shore-support infrastructure, linked to European Russia by the strategic Trans-Siberian railway.

Meanwhile, the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 allowed the Russian Navy to transfer naval units from the RBSF to the Pacific. The distance and time of transfer between the naval base of Kronshtadt (Russia's main naval base in the Baltic Sea in the 19th century) and Vladivostok also became shorter and stimulated sea connections between European Russia and the Far East (see figure 1, p. 16), thus strengthening Russia's geostrategic positions in the Pacific.

A new shipbuilding program, adopted in the late 1870s, coincided with the new Russian naval strategy of open ocean sea denial, in which the Russian Navy was to have the capacity to engage enemy force in the high seas. Deteriorating relations between Russia and Britain, especially over control of the Turkish Straits, forced Russia to focus on upgrading the capabilities of the RBF and completing the restoration of its naval power in the Black Sea. Moreover, given a very considerable increase in expenditure on the European fleets, there was insufficient time to support the development of the significant naval capabilities in the Far East. By 1894, Russian Pacific naval forces consisted of six cruisers, four gunboats and seven destroyers/torpedo boats.[35] Under such circumstances, strategic war plans for the Far Eastern theatre provided for flexible response. In case of a serious political crisis or military conflict between Russia and a Pacific power (China or Japan, for example), Russia's Pacific naval forces would be reinforced with squadrons of the RBF and RBSF on the condition that the relations with European powers remained stable and non-hostile.[36] Since then, a practice of force manoeuvre between European and Pacific maritime theatres (a theatre-to-theatre manoeuvre) became one of the key elements of Russia's defence planning for the Far Eastern strategic theatre.

A serious deterioration of relations between Russia and Japan in the late 19th century associated with a strengthening relationship between the RN and the Imperial Japanese

Navy (IJN) forced the Russian Government to reconsider the significance and status of its Far Eastern naval forces. The prospect of a military conflict with a maritime power in the Pacific led to the establishment of a third (independent) naval fleet – the Pacific Fleet – in 1898. To implement the plan to establish an independent fleet in the Pacific, Russia undertook an unprecedented shipbuilding program, entitled 'For the Needs of the Far East'. Emergency budgetary allocations supported the program. The strategic objective was to build up the strength of the fleet to the level of its Baltic counterpart.[37]

Priority was given to the development of a powerful armoured fleet supported by significant light forces, thus emphasising the importance of blue water defence in the Pacific, aimed at driving the military threat away from the shore and challenging enemy forces beyond littoral waters. This approach was a shift in Russian Pacific naval strategy. The continuous emphasis on the blue water operations against enemy sea lines of communications (SLOC) gave way to a desire to win local sea control in the possible war with Japan.[38] In 1894-95, the fleet received three purpose-built battleships.[39] To accelerate the pace of construction, several battleships and cruisers were built in the US and France.[40]

Urgent measures were undertaken to improve Russia's geostrategic position in the Pacific theatre. In 1898, Russia leased from China the Liaotung Peninsula along with a seaport at Port Arthur for a period of 25 years.[41] The ice-free Port Arthur was quickly converted into Russia's main naval base in the Pacific, and thus complemented the growth of Russian naval forces in the Far East. The major build-up of the Russian naval forces at the turn of the 20th century strengthened Russia's positions and influence, alarming other major Pacific players, especially Britain, which saw Russia as a serious competitor for dominance of the region.[42] Port Arthur later became the main naval base of the fleet and a homeport of the 1st Squadron, with all battleships and half of its cruiser force based there. Vladivostok became the second Russian naval base, homeport of the RSF, which comprised one brigade of four cruisers and ten torpedo-boats. During the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05, the RSF was strengthened by thirteen submarines, which were transferred to the Pacific via railway and then assembled in Vladivostok. Although the RSF submarine force did not participate in the hostilities, its very presence in Vladivostok served as a major deterrent and prevented any substantial attacks of the Japanese Navy on that town and its naval base.[43]

The growth of Russian naval strength in the Far East throughout the second half of the 19th century and the first years of the 20th century was part of the overall restoration of Russian naval power after Russia's defeat in the Crimean War. The establishment of a formidable naval presence in the Pacific, in parallel with the strengthening of Russian fleets in the Baltic and Black seas, raised Russia's international profile as a world maritime power. Prior to the Russo-Japanese War, the Russian Navy ranked third in the world in terms of numerical strength and capabilities, inferior only to the

naval forces of Britain and France.[44] It was the first time that Russian naval power in the Pacific experienced ongoing development, supported by a long-term strategy. It was expected that by 1905 the fleet would have doubled its strength to become the strongest and largest Russian naval grouping, with at least 12 battleships as a key striking element in its order of battle, approaching its peak of combat potential for that time. However, when the Russo-Japanese War began in February 1904, these plans were interrupted.

Russian Diplomatic Naval Activity in the Pacific and Indian Oceans 1850s-1904

Russian naval forces in the Pacific first became involved in international activity only in the mid 19th century. Until that time, the relatively marginal political involvement of Russia in the region and the weaknesses of its regional naval forces precluded their use for anything other than military purposes. From the 1850s, Russia used its growing naval capabilities in the Pacific to enforce the country's foreign policy objectives in relation to several Pacific nations, primarily Japan and China. Adding to that, by demonstrating strategic ability to interdict maritime communications in the Pacific and Indian oceans, and by extending its naval presence into South East Asia, the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf, Russia was able to restrain British strategic and economic ambitions in the Asia-Pacific.

The first successful demonstration of Russian naval diplomacy in the Pacific occurred in 1855, when Vice Admiral Efim Putyatin sailed to Japan on board the frigate *Diana*, and successfully completed lengthy talks with the Japanese by signing the Simoda Treaty. Mitchell described this treaty as 'similar to that concluded by Commodore Perry, though the Russian treaty was somewhat more favourable'.[45] The *Diana*'s mission signalled to the region the increasing role of naval diplomacy in Russia's regional strategic policy. Russian warships pursued several objectives: they showed the flag, provided visible support to Russia's friends and clients, and exercised 'gunboat' diplomacy to enforce the nation's will upon regional states. This demonstration of naval strength supported Russia's overall diplomatic efforts in the region.

Growing Russian naval power in the Pacific helped the nation to expand its influence over neighbouring China and negotiate some significant concessions. In most cases, Russian warships were used as a means of coercion. For example, a squadron of 10 steam cruisers, under the command of Rear-Admiral Likhachev, forced the Chinese to sign the Aigun and Beijing treaties in 1858 and 1860 respectively. As Mitchell concludes, 'it was during this period that the Russians, making use of a combination of force and diplomacy, were able to gain from China regions north of the Amur and east of the Ussuri'.[46] The ratification of both treaties was a significant step toward a Russian naval build-up in the Pacific.

In 1880, Russia's relations with China deteriorated significantly because of a frontier dispute at Kuldzha. To put pressure on the Chinese Government, the Russian Navy sent to the Pacific a powerful battlegroup of 13 warships, including the new armoured frigates *Minin* and *Knyaz Pozharskiy*. The warning was successful, and the conflict was settled peacefully. The Afghan crisis of 1885 saw another deterioration of relations between the Russian and British empires.[47] In accordance with the adopted policy of flexible response, Russia massed its most powerful naval units in the Pacific to show its capability to disrupt British-controlled SLOC in the area.

In 1900-01 Russia, in alliance with Britain, Germany, France and Japan, helped suppress the Boxer Rebellion in China. During this campaign the RPF performed well, especially during the operation in Taku Harbour where the gunboats *Koreets*, *Bobr* and *Gilyak* played a significant role in the bombardment of the Chinese coastal fortifications that guarded the harbour.[48]

In the Pacific, the navy was also used to support Russia's clients and friends. In 1863 a task force, consisting of five warships under the command of Admiral Aleksandr Popov, visited San Francisco, coinciding with a similar visit of the RBF squadron to New York. The deployment of two Russian squadrons to the North American ports pursued two main strategic aims. In 1863 an anti-Russian uprising broke out in Poland. There was a possibility that Britain and France might open hostilities against Russia. The deployment of two Russian squadrons to the US ports sent a warning that, if war broke out, Russian warships in the Atlantic and the Pacific would pose a serious threat to the maritime communications of both colonial powers.[49] The second aim of this deployment was to show support to the US in its struggle against the Confederates (supported by the UK) during the American Civil War. Russia was keen to have the US as a counterweight to the British, thus explaining Russia's generally supportive attitude towards the US during the Civil War. In particular, the presence of a Russian Pacific Squadron in San Francisco probably helped to prevent attacks by the Confederate cruiser *Alabama.*[50]

Towards the end of the 19th century, Russian warships began making exploratory long-range deployments to the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf. This was part of a strategy of expanding Russian naval capabilities in the Pacific. At the end of 1878, the clipper *Vsadnik*, under the command of Lieutenant-Captain Andrei Novosil'skiy became involved in a diplomatic mission on its way to Kronshtadt. During *Vsadnik's* anchorage at the Penang Island in the Strait of Malacca, Captain Novosil'skiy had a secret meeting with official representatives of the sultans of Sumatra, who wished their country to become part of the Russian Empire. The main motive behind this decision was the attempt by indigenous Malays to stop further colonisation of their land by the Dutch.[51] In July 1879, a petition was submitted by the Malays to Emperor Aleksandr II. Although Russia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs rejected the petition on the grounds that Sumatra's admission into the Russian Empire would seriously complicate relations

between Russia and the Netherlands, this event suggests that the Russian naval presence in the Pacific and Indian oceans increased Russia's international prestige and helped to strengthen the country's authority in those regions.

Between 1899 and 1903, Russian warships and auxiliaries regularly visited the Persian Gulf. In 1900, the gunboat *Gilyak* became the first Russian warship to visit the Gulf on exploratory deployment. In November–December 1901 the protected cruiser *Varyag*, on her way to the Pacific, paid official visits to several ports of the Persian Gulf states.[52] Cruisers of the 1st Squadron *Askold* and *Boyarin* were deployed to the Persian Gulf in 1902 and 1903 respectively.[53] The main purpose of these periodic deployments to the Gulf was to counter British expansion into the region and to position Russia to become part of the growing power struggle between Europe's imperial powers for influence in the Near and Middle East. The Russian Government objected to Britain's desire to establish monopolist control over the strategically important Persian Gulf. Russian naval deployments to the Gulf demonstrated Russia's interests in the area. Moreover, the presence of Russian warships was vital to the successful realisation of Russian policy in the Gulf.[54] Apparently, local political regimes welcomed deployments of Russian warships, seeing in Russia a counter-force to British expansionism. The Russian naval command even considered establishing a permanent naval presence in the Persian Gulf.[55] However, the growing confrontation with Japan and the Russo-Japanese War interfered with the realisation of these plans.

Until the mid 1890s, the geopolitical situation and the balance of power in the Far East was influenced by European powers involved in regional affairs; then Japan declared itself to be an active Pacific player. In its short but successful war against China in 1894-95, the Japanese won a decisive victory and demanded a number of territories from the Chinese Empire, including the Liaotung Peninsula, on which Port Arthur was located. Russia, France and Germany protested at the expansion of Japan, but Russia was the only nation willing to express its opposition by military means. As a demonstration of force, the Russian Navy redeployed its warships from the Mediterranean Sea to the Pacific. By early May 1895, the reinforced 1st Squadron was massed in proximity to Port Arthur. The might of the Russian fleet made a significant impression on the Japanese, who renounced their territorial claims on the continent. Russia gained access to Port Arthur and the seaport Dalny on the Liaotung Peninsula. However, the ruling Mikado Government in Japan could not reconcile itself to the loss of Korea and the Liaotung. Considering its main opponent to be gaining superior position and influence in East Asia, Japan began preparing for war with Russia. The Japanese were supported by the British and the US who did not want to see Russian expansion in the Asia-Pacific and the threat of Russian regional naval supremacy.[56] On 27 January 1904, hostilities were opened with a sudden attack by the Japanese fleet on Russian warships in Port Arthur.[57]

The Decline of Russian Naval Power in the Pacific 1905-32

Just like the Crimean campaign, the war with Japan was a catastrophe for Russia, which suffered significant defeats on land and sea. As the result of the surrender at Port Arthur and the Tsushima disaster, the 1st Squadron and a significant portion of the RBF were eliminated.[58] The Portsmouth Peace Treaty of 1905 seriously weakened Russia's geostrategic position in the Pacific and thus their capacity to contest with maritime powers in the region. Not only had Russia suffered terrible losses of ships and personnel but the country also lost ice-free Port Arthur. With the occupation of the southern part of the Sakhalin Island by Japan, the country's unrestricted access to the Pacific Ocean was almost denied.[59] While Russian naval officers and sailors showed unprecedented examples of individual courage and heroism, poor management and some technical inferiority in the Russian Navy led to an unexpected defeat. The surrender of Port Arthur forced the Russians to sink the remaining units of the 1st Squadron, while the Tsushima battle saw the destruction of the 2nd and 3rd Pacific squadrons, sent from the RBF to reinforce the 1st Squadron. The Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05 became one of the darkest episodes in the history of the Russian Navy, and had adverse political consequences for the empire.

The renewed prospect of another war in Europe caused Russia to concentrate its efforts on the restoration of the capabilities of its European fleets (the so-called second restoration of Russian naval power), making the rebuilding of the Pacific naval forces a low priority.[60] Many prominent Russian naval experts also raised doubts about the necessity of maintaining substantial naval forces in the Far East at that particular time. In 1908, Captain 2nd Rank Aleksandr Kolchak wrote in *Morskoi Sbornik* that despite the strategic necessity for Russia to have access to the Pacific – in his words, 'this Great Mediterranean Sea of the future' – it was inexpedient to throw state resources into the rebuilding of the fleet at a time when Russia faced threats in the Black and Baltic seas.[61] Captain 2nd Rank M. Rimskiy-Korsakov, also in 1908, warned that the prospect of rebuilding Russia's naval power in the Pacific would likely cause another conflict with Japan, because the Japanese would not allow Russia to restore its naval strength in the Pacific.[62] Rimskiy-Korsakov nevertheless argued that substantial naval capabilities should be developed in the Far East, rather than relying on ground forces, since they were unable to restrain the Japanese offensive during the Russo-Japanese War. In his view, 'without the naval force … we will be unable to hold on to the shores of the Pacific Ocean!'[63]

The threat of a Japanese maritime attack against the Russian Far East was eased prior to World War I (WWI) when Russia joined the *Entente Cordiale*, an alliance that included the British and Japanese empires – Russia's principal naval rivals in the Pacific. Japan's supremacy in the western Pacific, combined with British and French regional naval presence, and the RSF, also ensured the Allies' superiority over Germany's Far Eastern naval forces.[64] Such a change in the balance of power prior to

the beginning of WWI allowed Russia to concentrate its efforts on the reconstruction and strengthening of its Baltic and Black Sea fleets without worrying too much about the Pacific. According to the special shipbuilding program, which was approved by the Emperor Nikolai II in 1911, Russian naval forces in the Far East were to consist of two light cruisers, eighteen destroyers, twelve submarines, three mine-laying ships and several support vessels.[65]

Although the Imperial Government undertook some reinforcing measures, Russian naval forces in the Pacific were still very moderate in numbers and with limited fighting capacity.[66] By the beginning of WWI, the RSF consisted of the two light cruisers *Askold* and *Zhemchug*, one brigade of destroyers (twenty-four units), one gunboat, thirteen torpedo-boats, and some minor craft.[67] Russia continued to support naval operations in the region, albeit a much smaller and mostly coastal-oriented presence. The RSF was capable of patrolling littoral waters and sustaining limited sea denial operations in nearby areas. Despite the disastrous outcome of the Russo-Japanese War, Russian naval forces in the Pacific continued sporadic international activity, thus reminding the international community of the nation's continuous interest in the region. In particular, in 1911, the RBF cruiser *Aurora* successfully completed a diplomatic mission to Bangkok, where it participated in the celebrations of the coronation of the new King of Siam.[68]

With the opening of hostilities in 1914 in Europe, the RSF became the navy's strategic reserve and a supplier of ships and trained personnel to the Russian naval forces in the Baltic and Black seas and in the Arctic.[69] The participation of two Pacific cruisers in actions of the combined allied squadron in Pacific and Indian ocean waters helped Russia maintain some semblance of being a Pacific power. However, the civil war that erupted in Russia in 1918 and the intervention of the allied forces of the *Entente Coalition* (1918-22) led to the almost complete elimination of the Russian naval force in the Pacific.

The Restoration 1932-45

As soon as the Bolsheviks gained control over Russia's Far Eastern regions, they formally reactivated a regional naval presence. At the end of 1922, the Soviet Government declared the creation of the Naval Forces of the Far East (*Morskie Sily Dal'nego Vostoka*), comprising a small naval detachment stationed in Vladivostok and the Amur River Flotilla (ARF). However, this formal step did little to protect the maritime approaches of the Soviet state, since the number of operational ships in the Far East was limited and their capabilities were so insignificant that they could not even protect Vladivostok from a sea attack. By 1923, the Vladivostok detachment comprised three ageing destroyers, a gunboat and several support ships. The ARF had three river monitors, three gunboats and four armed steam-boats.[70] Still, the government showed the ability to use even this limited force effectively to protect the national interests

of the new state. In 1924, the Soviet authorities learned that some of Russia's remote territories had been seized by American entrepreneurs. After fruitless negotiations with the US Government, Moscow decided to use force and, in July 1924, dispatched the gunboat *Krasny Oktyabr'* on a three-month deployment to restore Soviet formal rule on the Vrangelya (Wrangel) Island. The 1924 mission was a complete success and helped the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) to retain its territories.[71] While the *Krasny Oktyabr'* deployment was one of few episodes demonstrating the use of regional naval power by the Soviets at that time, it showed once again the vital role that naval power plays in the nation's Pacific affairs.[72]

The rebirth of Russian naval power in the Pacific in the 20th century coincided with the general, third restoration of the Russian (then Soviet) Navy. On 21 April 1932, the Soviet naval forces of the Far East were re-established. As in Imperial Russia, the build-up of Russian naval strength in the Pacific was carried out primarily through the redeployment of naval units and personnel from the RBF and the RBSF. In particular, several dozen smaller *Maliutka* (M) class submarines were transported to the Far East via railway and then reassembled.[73] In 1936, the Baltic destroyers *Stalin* and *Voikov* (special task group EON-3), became the first combatants to be deployed to the Pacific MTVD via the Northern Sea Route (NSR), a strategically important seaway linking Russia's North with the Far East (figure 1).[74] Later, the *Shchuka* class submarine *Shch-423* was transferred to the Pacific via the NSR.[75]

In terms of their significance, Soviet naval transfers via the NSR in the 1930s can be compared with the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, since they utilised another strategic waterway for the deployment of additional naval assets to the Pacific theatre. However, the northern route had two strategic advantages. Firstly, it was shorter and more direct, offering greater operational flexibility to the Russian Navy, especially in naval transfers. Secondly, the entire NSR passes through Russia's territorial waters in hard-to-reach areas, making it less vulnerable to enemy interdiction and surveillance. The adoption of the practice of deploying warships to the Pacific via the NSR (and vice versa) contributed significantly to the realisation of a policy of flexible response (the theatre-to-theatre manoeuvre).

During a period of less than three years, Soviet naval forces in the Far East were substantially increased and, in January 1935, were reorganised into the Soviet Pacific Fleet (SOVPAC). The strategic value of the Soviet naval build-up in the Far East was demonstrated in the summer of 1938, when the Soviet and Japanese armed forces clashed near Lake Khasan in the Soviet Maritime Territory. Despite being defeated, the Japanese continued considering large-scale military intervention against the Soviet Far East and Siberia. The Soviet Government responded by sending military reinforcements to the Far Eastern theatre, including additional warships to increase the SOVPAC's fighting potential. In April 1939, eight minesweepers from the RBF and RBSF were sent to the Pacific, arriving at Vladivostok in late August.[76]
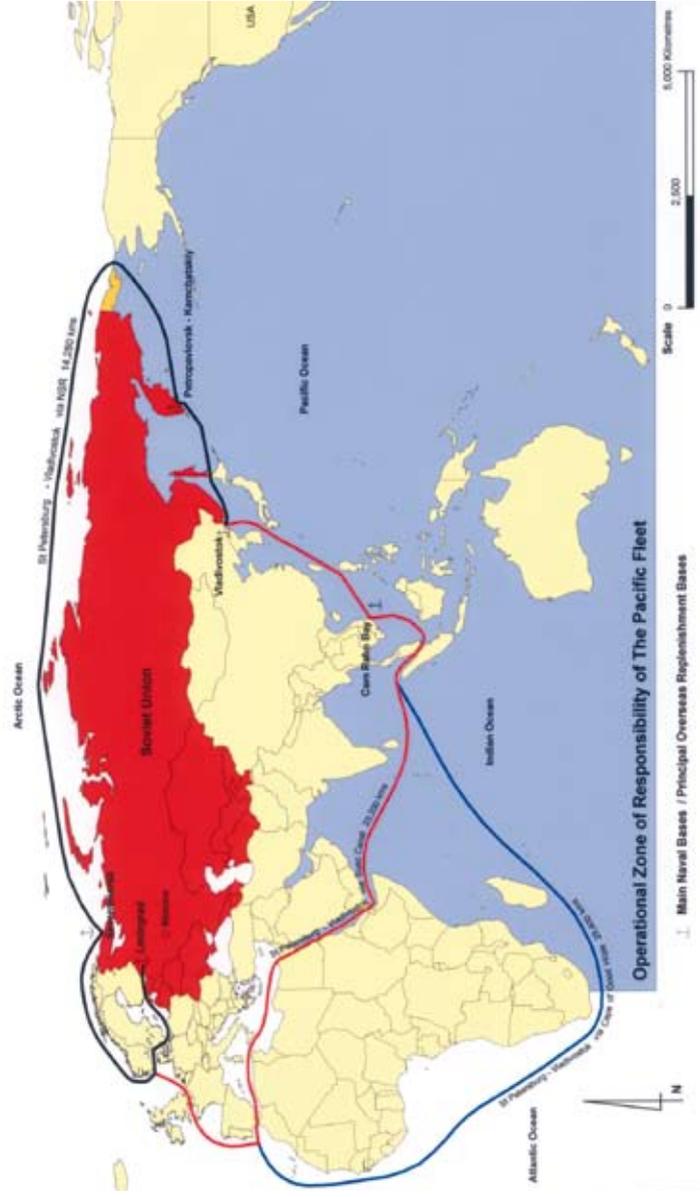
Figure 1. Operational Zone of Responsibility and Strategic Connecting Routes of the Russian Pacific Fleet

Besides the traditional transfers of naval units from European fleets to the Pacific, the Soviet leadership understood the importance of developing a local shipbuilding capability to serve the needs of a growing SOVPAC. In 1931, the decision was taken to build the inland naval shipyard N 199 (later known as the Leninskogo Komsomola shipyard) on the Amur River.[77] A new city, Komsomol'sk-na-Amure, was developed to support the shipyard.[78] Although the shipyard N 199 was not finished until after World War II (WWII), the construction of the *Leninets* (L) class submarines and destroyers began in the mid 1930s. The opening of this shipyard was an event of strategic significance for the Soviet Navy, and the conversion of the shipyard into a submarine production facility was a turning point in the post-war development of Soviet naval power in the Pacific.

Soviet diplomacy also supported efforts to increase the power and capabilities of the Soviet Navy, including SOVPAC. In July 1936, the Soviet Union signed the Montreux Convention, which regulated warship passage in the Turkish Straits. The convention set limits on the tonnage and type of warships allowed to pass through the straits, with advantages given to Black Sea riverine powers. The basic provisions of the convention secured the passage of Soviet warships through the straits, including large tonnage units (battleships, cruisers and, later, aircraft carriers) while denying it to all other non-Black Sea powers.[79] Given the Soviet Union's limited resources and its four widely separated fleets, it was necessary to maintain relatively free passage of its warships. This enabled the Soviet Union to use its well-developed Black Sea based shipbuilding infrastructure for the construction and refit of major surface combatants and submarines for Soviet fleets during the Cold War, thus providing the navy with additional flexibility to manoeuvre its forces between maritime theatres.[80]

Prior to June 1941, the SOVPAC order of battle consisted of 14 destroyers, 6 escorts (frigates), 30 mine warfare ships, 91 submarines, 140 various-purpose combat boats and up to 500 aircraft.[81] The growing strength of SOVPAC allowed the Soviet naval command to reassess how to use the fleet in the Pacific MTVD. Although littoral warfare and coastal patrol continued to remain primary ways of employing SOVPAC forces, the Soviet Naval Staff had more ambitious plans for the fleet: the expansion of its operations into the open ocean. The Soviet Navy planned to develop a capability in the Pacific enabling it to wage blue water sea denial operations against its potential adversaries, especially Japan. In January 1936, the submarine *Shch-117* staged its first long-range deployment, aiming to develop tactics for long-range submarine operations in the Pacific.[82] Later, in April 1940, Commissar of the Soviet Navy Nikolai Kuznetsov asked the government to allow long-range submarine patrols in the Pacific Ocean and the Yellow and East China seas, thus signalling that the Soviet Navy was entering a new qualitative stage of its development: the creation of an ocean-going navy.[83]

Despite improvements in Soviet naval capabilities in the Pacific MTVD and the expansion of their operations, SOVPAC's overall strength was inadequate for the size

and circumstances of the Pacific theatre. The Soviet Government, however, had plans to build an ocean-going navy, thus making the USSR one of the major maritime powers in the world and, in 1935, Iosif Stalin approved a program to construct a 'large sea- and ocean-going fleet'.[84] As prominent Russian naval historian Monakov emphasises:

> The motive for the accelerated construction of the ocean-going fleet was no doubt evidently expressed aspiration of the Soviet Union to play a more noticeable role among great powers–guarantees of the existing system of international relations. This tendency in the Soviet Union's foreign policy was constantly increasing, especially after it was invited in the League of Nations in 1934.[85]

The Soviet Union's inability to support its great power claims overseas through the application of naval force also convinced Stalin of the need for a powerful blue water navy.[86] For example, as Ranft and Till in *The Sea in Soviet Strategy* wrote, 'Stalin's perceptions of the importance of sea power were reinforced by realisation of his inability to intervene navally in the Spanish Civil War because of the Soviet Navy's weakness.'[87]

According to the program, the SOVPAC should have become the largest Soviet naval fleet.[88] The size and the circumstances of the MTVD, the growing strength of the IJN (a likely adversary in the Pacific), and a recognition of the Pacific seaways as important transport routes for the Soviet state were probably taken into account. To accelerate the SOVPAC build-up the Soviet Government planned to acquire some large surface combatants from foreign companies. In 1936, a Soviet delegation held talks with their American counterparts about the possible construction of two or three battleships in American shipyards for the SOVPAC.[89] However, Germany's invasion of the USSR in June 1941 forced the cancellation of this ambitious program.

SOVPAC was not engaged in combat operations against Nazi Germany; yet its contribution to the Soviet war effort was significant. As in WWI, the fleet supplied ships and personnel for the active Soviet fleets (Baltic, Black Sea and Northern), as well as for other fighting services. Between 1941 and 1945, approximately 147,000 SOVPAC personnel joined either active fleets or the field armies, and 15 submarines and 3 destroyers were transferred to the RNF.[90] The most significant were transfers to the RNF of the EON-18 task group (the destroyers *Razumny* and *Razyarenny* and the squadron leader *Baku*), via the NSR, and six submarines, via the Pacific Ocean, Panama Canal and the Atlantic Ocean in 1942-43.[91] The transfer of EON-18, in particular, demonstrated once again the strategic importance of the NSR for Russian naval power: in times of crisis or war, the navy was able to manoeuvre its forces between the two maritime theatres by redeploying ships from one 'open ocean' fleet to another.

At the same time, the possibility of attack by the Japanese kept the SOVPAC forces in constant combat readiness.[92] On 12 July 1941, the fleet began defensive minelaying

operations along Russia's Pacific coast.[93] After the commencement of hostilities at sea between Japan and the United States in December 1941, a major portion of the IJN was deployed to the southern sector of the Pacific, which allowed SOVPAC to share some of its resources with fleets and reinforce field armies.

During the war, the strength of SOVPAC continued to grow with the commissioning of two *Kirov* class light cruisers and five destroyers, built by shipyard N 199.[94] In addition to that, the fleet's light surface and amphibious capability was strengthened through the Lend-Lease supplies. By 9 August 1945, when the USSR entered the war with Japan, SOVPAC comprised approximately 600 units, including 2 cruisers, 13 destroyers, 78 submarines and 204 torpedo-boats. The Pacific Fleet Naval Aviation (PFNA) consisted of more than 1500 aircraft, and its superiority ensured the Japanese Navy did not engage the fleet. The ARF forces consisted of 169 units and over 70 aircraft, and were particularly active during Soviet offensive operations in northern Manchuria.[95] As a result of its participation in the war against Japan, the Soviet Union occupied Manchuria and North Korea (later, Soviet forces left these territories), returned the southern part of the Sakhalin Island, and gained complete control over the strategically important Kuril Islands. These territories improved the defences of the Russian coastline in the seas of Japan and Okhotsk. Adding to that, according to the Yalta Agreement of 1945, the USSR leased Port Arthur from China with the right to reopen a naval base there, thus creating more favourable operational environment for the SOVPAC in the area.

Soviet post-war territorial gains had not just considerably improved Soviet geostrategic positions in the Pacific theatre. They had concluded a 214-year history of the nation's long, and painful at times, but steady push eastwards that began as early as the 13th century, resulting in the establishment of Russia's presence in the north-western Pacific. They had also opened a new chapter of the East-West strategic confrontation at sea in the Pacific and Indian oceans, a confrontation that lasted for over 40 years at the time of the global Cold War rivalry.

The Peak of Strategic Naval Confrontation in the Pacific and Indian Oceans 1945-91

Post-War Naval Developments 1945-56

The end of WWII marked a significant shift in the global balance of naval forces. After 1945 – with the defeat of Germany, Italy and Japan – the two major maritime powers, the US and UK, established a global control of the seas. The Soviet Navy, with its orientation towards naval coastal defence and limited blue water capabilities, was unable to compete with these navies for supremacy on the high seas. Its principal operations were limited to the maritime defensive perimeter of some 150-200 km. With the beginning of the Cold War in the late 1940s, the US and its allies in Europe and the Pacific turned the sea into a global launch-pad for possible conventional and nuclear strikes against the Soviet mainland. This growing maritime threat forced the Soviet military-political leadership to respond, especially when its Cold War adversaries deployed new military technologies at sea, affecting the strategic and conventional military balance. The need to expand the strength of the Soviet Navy and to extend its operational activity into the high seas was understood as a matter of national importance.

In 1946, the Soviet Naval Staff proposed a 10-year development program, planning to build 4 battleships, 12 aircraft carriers, 10 heavy cruisers, 84 light cruisers, 358 destroyers and 495 submarines. The plan showed the desire of the Soviet naval command to build an ocean-going navy roughly comparable with the United States Navy (USN), and superior to the RN. On 16 October 1946, Stalin approved an amended shipbuilding program for the period of 1946-55, planning for 4 heavy cruisers, 30 light cruisers, 188 destroyers and 367 submarines. The program, which can be regarded as the first stage of the Soviet post-war naval development, aimed to strengthen all Soviet fleets substantially, especially SOVPAC.

The USSR's inability to put additional pressure on the US during the Korean War (1950-53) was due, in particular, to the limited capabilities of its Pacific Fleet. It demonstrated the unchallenged supremacy of the US and its allies at sea. Eric Morris emphasised this fact in his monograph *The Russian Navy: Myth and Reality*: 'The Korean War underlined the fact that the unchallenged naval power of the United States gave it complete access to any littoral state in the Pacific in which it might choose to intervene.'[96] The Korean hot spot made the Soviet leadership realise that in the mounting global Cold War confrontation with traditional maritime powers the Soviet maritime flanks were exposed to possible attacks due to limited Soviet naval capabilities. In this situation, the Soviet Government undertook urgent measures to

bolster capabilities of Russian naval forces in the four maritime theatres. The emphasis was given to surface fleet development programs, a weak point of the Soviet Navy in the 1930s-1950s. As David Winkler wrote in the *Cold War at Sea*:

> American naval actions off Korea at the start of the Korean War only reinforced Stalin's conviction that the USSR needed a large ocean-going navy. The Soviet leader pushed forward a large construction program that began producing cruisers and fast destroyers at about the time of his death in 1953.[97]

The new naval construction program addressed SOVPAC's needs, especially of its surface arm. Between 1947 and 1953, and from 1955 to 1958, shipyard N 199 built 29 destroyers of two different classes (*Skoryy* and *Kotlin* classes and their modifications).[98] In addition, by the mid 1950s, SOVPAC also received four *Sverdlov* class gun cruisers; for at least a decade, these were the most powerful naval units of its surface fleet.[99] Apart from increasing the number of hulls, the 1946 program was also aimed to enhance local shipbuilding potential to support future naval development. In the Far East in particular, the program planned to expand existing, and build new, shipbuilding and repair facilities in Komsomol'sk-na-Amure, Khabarovsk, Vladivostok and Sovetskaya Gavan.[100]

The outcome of Stalin's post-war shipbuilding program was the significant enhancement of Soviet naval power in all MTVDs.[101] This period of Soviet naval development was particularly significant as it occurred right after the end of WWII, when the Soviet economy was still suffering the devastating effects of the all-out war with Nazi Germany and its allies. However, the renewed strategic struggle with an international coalition led by traditional maritime powers (the US and UK) called for the need to bolster Soviet naval strength, even at the expense of withholding post-war reconstruction of the civilian sector. The 10-year race to offset the overwhelming naval supremacy of US-led coalitions did achieve results. By the end of the 1950s, the Soviet Navy's combined potential outmatched the RN, thus signalling a qualitative leap in Russian naval power development.

The Gorshkov Era: Restoration 1956-86

While the development of a capability for forward naval presence was underway by 1950s, the death of Stalin in 1953 appeared to mark the cancellation of the construction of large surface warships. After a bitter internal power struggle Nikita Khrushchev came to power in 1958 and brought with him new views on the use of naval power and the composition of the navy. In his view, the introduction of nuclear weapons and the large-scale development of combat missiles diminished the role of large surface combatants in modern naval warfare. The concept of developing a balanced fleet

capable of achieving command of the sea was replaced with a strategy of the expansion of littoral sea-based assets and of sea denial capabilities. After the dismissal of the then Commander in Chief of the Soviet Navy, Admiral Kuznetsov, this new concept of naval development was further elaborated.[102] Preference was given to the construction of conventional and nuclear-powered submarines, light surface warships − including missile craft − and the introduction of the missile-carrying naval aviation. In other words, the idea was to create a navy suitable for a global nuclear war, where nuclear-powered submarines and light surface forces would probably have greatest combat stability (*boyevaya ustoichivost*). Under Khrushchev, the submarine force became the most important and most developed combat arm of the Soviet Navy, followed by missile-carrying naval aviation.[103]

Khrushchev's views on the development of Soviet naval power had a negative impact on the development of the surface fleet.[104] Western analysts, for example, questioned Khrushchev's decisions. Mitchell writes:

> Krushchev himself never even remotely understood sea power. By 1955 Soviet naval thinking had largely reverted to a defensive strategy based on submarines. The Soviets failed to demand base rights in several overseas areas where they had given economic and military aid, and in 1956 they even gave up such rights at Porkkala in Finland and Port Arthur in Manchuria. … In 1957 the navy was decreased from about 600,000 men to less than 500,000, and 375 warships were mothballed − a then fairly uncommon practice in the Soviet Navy, where formerly almost everything available had been kept in commission.[105]

The situation began to change after Admiral Sergei Gorshkov was appointed as Commander in Chief of the Soviet Navy on 5 January 1956. A strong supporter of the concept of the 'blue water navy', Gorshkov had to implement Khrushchev's policies, but was able to moderate the more excessive demands regarding large surface combatants. By the end of the second stage of post-war development of Soviet naval power (1957-66), the Soviet Navy had commissioned 4 cruisers, 49 destroyers, 105 frigates, 56 nuclear-powered and 102 diesel-electric submarines. While the USN surface fleet was still superior to its Soviet counterpart, the USSR had more nuclear-powered and more conventional submarines, providing it with a powerful sea denial capability.

However, the Cuban missile crisis of 1962 showed the USSR's weaknesses in power projection and the lack development of its surface naval arm. These weaknesses were a major factor in the eventual withdrawal of Soviet missiles from Cuba and, thus, Soviet political defeat in its power struggle with the US.[106] Admiral Chernavin wrote in *Atomny Podvodny* that the Cuban crisis demonstrated the 'obvious loosening of the USSR from the possible enemy [the US] in the sphere of sea-based armaments'.[107] The naval imbalance was particularly evident in the Soviet surface fleet inferiority:

> Soviet leaders, considering the part played by US sea power in the Cuban crisis … and in the Korean War, became convinced that they could not attain national objectives while relying solely on submarines for naval power. To them recent events provided persuasive arguments for building a surface fleet.[108]

As in the 1930s, Soviet weaknesses on the high seas, where foreign policy initiatives could not be supported by military means, made the Soviet military-political elite reconsider its opposition to the construction of a balanced blue water navy.

Developments in the Pacific Under Gorshkov

The strategic task to expand Soviet naval capabilities that would allow the navy to project power globally led to its rapid growth between the 1960s and 1980s (the period of the fourth restoration of Russian naval power). When, in 1964, Leonid Brezhnev came to power after Khrushchev's dismissal, Gorshkov finally received a chance to implement his long-awaited dream to create a blue water navy. Contrary to Khrushchev, Brezhnev tended to listen to naval experts and did not interfere with naval development. In addition, the new Defence Minister, Marshal Grechko, strongly supported Gorshkov's efforts. The third stage of the post-war Soviet naval development (1967-86) began, leading to the creation of the strongest and most powerful naval fleet in the Pacific.

There were several crucial reasons for the Soviet naval build-up in the Pacific, many of them forming the main guidelines for the conduct of the SOVPAC operational activity in peacetime, the so-called 'combat service' (*boyevaya sluzhba*). A turning point came in 1964 when Soviet naval forces began combat patrols of distant maritime areas ('combat service' in forward areas) on a regular basis.[109] As Admiral Kasatonov argued, combat service was the most crucial form of Soviet naval operations in peacetime, and also demonstrated the high level of readiness of the navy for war.[110] It was part of routine operational activity of the Soviet Navy during the Cold War.

Soviet naval forces pursued several tasks as part of their combat service, including:

1. Combat patrol and combat duty of Soviet nuclear-powered ballistic missile submarines (SSBNs) and associated supplementary forces

2. Anti-submarine warfare (ASW) operations against SSBNs (strategic ASW) and attack submarines of the US and its allies (these operations included searching areas of enemy submarine patrols, establishing and maintaining acoustic and other contact with boats, the so-called seek-and-shadow operations)

3. Screening of the US carrier battlegroups (CVBGs)

4. Special counter-operations against foreign submarines and surface ships engaged in reconnaissance activities near or inside Soviet territorial waters, and

5. Maintaining a naval presence in the high seas.[111]

These tasks included the need to counter expanding naval capabilities of the US in forward areas; the need to have effective capabilities for monitoring and possible intervention in local or regional conflicts, or deterring the US forces from intervening in these conflicts militarily; and the shift of the deployment of Soviet sea-based strategic nuclear forces from the Arctic theatre to the Pacific. Coinciding with the overall growth of Soviet military power in the country's eastern regions was a growing recognition of the Far Eastern strategic zone in Soviet Cold War planning.[112] This Soviet naval build-up also provided a countermeasure to the growing might of China and Japan, then two of the USSR's primary (after the US) adversaries in East Asia.

Another important reason for this build-up was the growth of Soviet merchant marine activities, especially between 1950 and 1970, including intensification of the Soviet merchant marine traffic in the region and the expansion of operations of the Soviet fishing fleet.[113] In particular, the third edition of *Soviet Naval Developments* underlined:

> In just over three decades, the Soviet ocean-going merchant fleet has emerged from an insignificant, coastal oriented flotilla to rank fifth in the world in numbers of ships, and ninth in terms of deadweight (carrying) tonnage. … The Soviet merchant fleet is presently operating on over 70 different international trade routes, calling at over 125 countries throughout the world.[114]

The Soviet giant fishing fleet – which by the 1980s had approximately 4000 ocean-going vessels – had intensified its activities worldwide, including many areas of the Pacific and the Indian oceans.[115] The expansion of Soviet naval capabilities and their globalisation enabled the nation to maximise the exploration of the basic philosophy of maritime power.

The initial emphasis on the development of a strong submarine force, for both anti-ship and strategic deterrent roles, resulted in a great expansion of this SOVPAC primary combat arm. In particular, the first *Zulu V* class diesel-electric ballistic-missile submarine was commissioned in the fleet in 1959.[116] In 1963, for the first time in the history of the Russian Navy, a submarine (the *Hotel I* class SSBN K-45) was transferred from the RNF to the SOVPAC via NSR in a submerged position and joined the 26th Nuclear-Powered Submarine Division.[117] From 1963, nuclear-powered and diesel-electric missile and attack submarines were transferred to the Pacific via the NSR on a regular basis.[118] The expansion of the SOVPAC submarine force in the Pacific led to the creation of new, large combat naval formations, including the independent

flotilla of multi-purpose nuclear-powered submarines.[119] The emergence of the nuclear submarine flotilla in the Pacific signalled the special role of submarines in Soviet strategic naval plans.

Until the mid 1960s, Soviet strategic submarines were at sea only occasionally, but after 1966, they were constantly on combat patrols, including, after 1970, long-range patrols in the Pacific.[120] In the Far East, SSBN patrols made the SOVPAC a vital component of the Soviet strategic deterrent forces and therefore raised the profile of SOVPAC as a whole. Indeed, the SSBN combat patrol area in the Sea of Okhotsk (the Okhotsk SSBN Bastion) received preference from the Soviet Command over Russia's nuclear muscle in the Pacific-comparable area in the Arctic Ocean (the Arctic SSBN Bastion).[121] Since the Pacific MTVD was the preferred SSBN deployment area, Soviet strategic submarine forces in the Pacific increased:

> Downgrading the importance of the Arctic Ocean implied increasing the importance of the Far East, and the late 1970s saw the beginning of a new build up of the Pacific Fleet and a progressive shift in the disposition of SSBNs. Whereas formerly 70 per cent of SSBNs had been in the North and 30 per cent in the Pacific, by 1984 the proportion was closer to 55:45.[122]

The strengthening of the sea-based strategic deterrent component of the fleet in the late 1970s to early 1980s served as a clear indication of SOVPAC's strategic value, not only within the Soviet Navy but also within Soviet strategic deterrent forces.

With the growing emphasis on open ocean warfare towards the end of the 1960s, the SOVPAC surface component also underwent significant improvements, especially to its surface strike and ASW arms. The first noticeable sign was the transfer to the Pacific in the 1960s of two first-generation *Kynda* class guided-missile cruisers (CGs): *Admiral Fokin* and *Varyag*.[123]

The reintroduction of specialised amphibious forces in the late 1960s also expanded SOVPAC combat capabilities. Despite the relatively good performance of Soviet marines during WWII – especially in the Pacific theatre, where Soviet assault forces performed exceptionally well during the Soviet landing operations in Sakhalin, the Kuril Islands and Korea, after 1945 most naval infantry units were disbanded.[124] In early 1963, Gorshkov initiated the formation of new, specialised amphibious forces – the Soviet Naval Infantry (SNI). The first SNI units were formed in the Baltic and the Far East. In the Pacific, the 390th Infantry Regiment was reorganised to become a naval infantry regiment and, in 1968, SOVPAC SNI capabilities expanded considerably when the 310th Naval Infantry (Marine) Regiment was reorganised into the 55th Naval Infantry Division.[125] By 1982, the 55th Division consisted of two regiments with a numerical strength of 8000 personnel.[126]

Increasing Russia's Nuclear Muscle in the Pacific: *One of the most vivid examples of East-West strategic naval rivalry in the Pacific and the Indian oceans was the introduction of nuclear power at sea. By the late 1980s, the Soviet Navy deployed sufficient sub-strategic attack and strategic strike capabilities. In fact, in 1984 over 40 per cent of all Soviet SSBNs were concentrated in the Pacific MTVD. The quantitative build-up soon turned into the qualitative improvement of deployed capabilities through progressive introduction of potent* Victor *and* Akula *class attack and* Delta *class strategic strike platforms.*

The strength and capabilities of PFNA were also greatly improved and expanded during this period. The most significant improvements occurred in the 1970s. In 1976, a new long-range ASW regiment, equipped with Tu-142 Bear-F aircraft, was formed in the Pacific.[127] In the mid 1970s, PFNA received an additional regiment of Su-17M-2 ground-attack fighter aircraft.[128] With the deployment of the *Kiev* class carriers to the Pacific, the 331st ship-borne Regiment of the Yak-38 strike aircraft was formed.[129] Since the early 1980s, a multi-role regiment of PFNA has been deployed at the overseas Soviet naval facility at Cam Ranh Bay (later Cam Ranh) in Vietnam.

The 1980s saw continuous improvements of the SOVPAC capabilities, with emphasis on qualitative improvements rather than the simple build-up of numerical strength. Derek Da Cunha called that period a time of 'continued renaissance of Soviet naval power in the Pacific'.[130] Significant arrivals at that time were: two *Kiev* class aircraft-carrying heavy cruisers (vertical take-off and landing (VTOL) carriers), *Minsk* and *Novorossiysk* in 1979 and 1984 respectively; the *Kirov* class nuclear-powered heavy missile cruiser (CGN) *Frunze* in 1985; and the new ocean-going guided-missile destroyers (DDGs) in the *Sovremenny* and *Udaloy* classes.[131] To summarise, between 1976 and 1986 the strength of the fleet increased from 775 to 840 units (from 1.25 million to 1.85 million tonnes in total displacement).[132] Rapid enhancement of the surface arm capabilities, in particular, was one of the most noticeable achievements in the development of the Soviet naval strength in the Pacific during that period.

Warships/Country (Fleet)	USSR (SOVPAC)	US 7th & 3rd Fleets	Canada (Pacific)	Japan	South Korea
SSBNs	32	5	–	–	–
Attack submarines	88	45	–	14	–
Major surface combatants	85	102	10	49	25
TOTAL	**USSR**	**USA & PACIFIC ALLIES**			
SSBNs	32	5			
Attack submarines	88	59			

Table 1. Naval Balance in North-East and West Pacific in the mid 1980s[133]

By the second half of the 1980s, the Soviet Navy in the Pacific had nearly achieved naval parity with the US and its Pacific allies. While SOVPAC had fewer major surface combatants, its superiority in submarine capabilities, especially in multi-purpose nuclear-powered submarines, offset the USN and allied navies' advantages on the surface. In the Pacific, Soviet naval forces deployed in forward areas posed a serious threat to their primary opponents. However, even the increased capabilities of the

Growing Strength of Russia as a Pacific Naval Power during the Cold War:
The 1980s saw the beginning of the qualitative improvement of Russia's capacity to influence events at sea with the introduction of the new line of sub-strategic combat systems in the Pacific Fleet order of battle. In particular, the introduction of the Frunze *and* Oscar II *class nuclear-powered platforms in 1984 and 1990 correspondingly signalled serious intentions by the Soviets to contest for naval supremacy in the Pacific. Together with the quantitative growth of the 1960s and the 1970s, this enabled Russia to achieve strategic naval parity with traditional maritime powers by 1986.*

SOVPAC primary and secondary combat arms did not overcome the Soviet Navy's traditional inability to contest sea control in distant areas, and Soviet naval forces were only able to achieve control within an inner-defence perimeter (300 km from the shore). By contrast, SOVPAC's sea denial capability was as strong as ever. Soviet battlegroups and individual platforms (underwater and airborne) could effectively challenge enemy forces within the outer-defensive perimeter of some 2000–2500 km.

The deployment of new military technologies at sea and the lessons of the Korean War and the Caribbean crisis convinced the Soviet Naval Command and political leadership of the need to bring Soviet naval forces to the high seas. The USN's introduction of *Polaris* class SSBNs carrying Poseidon SLBMs – a primary weapon system to be used in the event of nuclear strategic strike against the Soviet Union (later replaced by the more potent *Ohio*-Trident strategic system) – called for a naval force capable of engaging these strategic platforms in their own zones of patrol; that is, blue water naval operations. David Winkler in *Cold War at Sea* wrote:

> The imminent threat posed by Polaris missiles on board American nuclear-powered submarines was one the Soviets were unprepared to handle. The new mobile undersea strategic missile bases were simply beyond the reach of the Soviet submarines, warships, and land based aviation that had been amassed to counter the nuclear threat from the new big-deck carriers being commissioned by the US Navy.[134]

It was important for the Soviet Naval Command to extend the traditional maritime defensive barrier well into the open ocean, away from home shores. To achieve this strategic objective, the Soviet Navy had to establish its permanent naval presence in the key maritime areas used as zones of combat patrol by the USN SSBNs and CVBGs. The turn towards prolonged blue water operations (combat service in forward areas) was reflected in the re-evaluation and expansion of the navy's tasks and missions during the Cold War years. As an illustration, in 1964 SOVPAC submarines conducted 15 combat deployments in the Pacific, while 80 combat deployments were performed by surface combatants; in 1965, the ratio was 35 to 58.[135] In 1966 alone, SOVPAC surface combatants and submarines conducted 265 combat deployments, while PFNA aircraft performed 518 combat sorties, all as part of 'combat service'.[136]

The intensification of Soviet naval operations and their expansion into distant seas called for the creation of special naval groupings with responsibilities for Soviet naval activity in key distant maritime areas. This resulted in the formation of operational squadrons (*operativnye eskadry*). For example, the 5th Operational (Mediterranean) Squadron (NATO classification SOVMEDRON) formed in June 1967, and the 8th Operational (Indian Ocean) Squadron (SOVINDRON) formed in 1968, were directly subordinate to the Commander in Chief of the Soviet Navy.[137] Additionally, operational squadrons were formed within two Soviet ocean fleets for area operations: the 7th in the RNF and the 10th in the Pacific.[138] The formation of the 10th Operational Squadron in February

1968 clearly demonstrated the growing strength of the SOVPAC surface combat arm and its ocean-going component, and signalled its enhanced ability to project power throughout the Asia-Pacific region (table 2).

Platform / type	Class	Name
Cruisers	*Kynda*	*Admiral Fokin, Varyag*
	Sverdlov	*Admiral Senyavin, Dmitriy Pozharskiy*
Destroyers	*Kashin*	*Odarenny, Steregushchiy*
	Krupny	*Gordy, Neuderzhymy, Uporny*

Table 2. Principal Strike Units of the 10th Operational Squadron (1960s–1970s)[139]

Overall, during the Cold War, Soviet operational naval activity in the Pacific was quite high. Between 1966 and 1991, SOVPAC surface combatants and submarines conducted 2304 combat deployments, while PFNA aircraft performed 21,220 combat sorties.[140] In particular, ships of the 10th Squadron staged more than 200 significant long-range deployments.[141] However, after the mid 1980s, the out-of-area activities of the fleet declined.[142] By 1991, littoral seas became main zones of Soviet naval activity in the Pacific, with the exception of the 8th and the 17th operational squadrons, which operated in the Indian Ocean and South China Sea respectively (figure 2).[143]

Platform / type	Maximum Deployments	Peak Year
Nuclear-powered submarines	21	1984
Conventional (diesel-electric) submarines	33	1968
Surface combatants	55	1970
Naval aviation	2281	1988

Table 3. Years of Most Intensive SOVPAC High Seas Operations

Naval Developments During the Chernavin Era 1986-91

After Admiral Vladimir Chernavin replaced Gorshkov as the Commander in Chief of the Navy in late December 1985, there was another shift in the development of Soviet naval power, which heralded the beginning of the fourth, and final, period of the post-war Soviet naval development (1986-91). The last Soviet shipbuilding program adopted in 1985 emphasised qualitative improvements of the Soviet naval force. While a growing number of older ships were sold off or scrapped, the construction of certain classes of new, advanced surface combatants, submarines, auxiliaries and naval aircraft continued the momentum launched by Gorshkov. Although Soviet shipyards continued

Transforming the Continental Power into the Naval Nation: *In the 1970s and 1980s, the Soviet Union made an unprecedented effort to increase its blue water capabilities in an attempt to offset the global naval supremacy of the United States and its allies in the European–Atlantic and Pacific strategic maritime theatres.*

to construct major surface combatants at a rate of at least five naval units each year, more funds were spent in the development and modernisation of the submarine force. Once again, submarines were the main striking element of the Soviet Navy, highlighting the reorientation from out-of-area sea control operations to littoral and limited blue water sea denial warfare. This was part of Mikhail Gorbachev's new threat-reduction policy, scaling down Soviet naval operations in forward areas.

For SOVPAC forces, this new approach meant further improvements in fighting capabilities through the deployment of fewer, but more capable units, paralleled by the decommissioning of obsolete ships. The most impressive improvement in the SOVPAC order of battle in the 1980s was the increase in number of cruisers – the core of the Soviet surface fleet. Between 1978 and 1989, the numbers of cruisers assigned to the SOVPAC increased by seven, leaving the fleet with sixteen ships of this type by the end of 1989, a situation quite different from other Soviet fleets.[144] Between 1989 and 1990, Russian naval power in the Pacific reached its peak at a strength of 126 operational submarines (including 25 SSBNs) and surface combatants (including two VTOL carriers and one nuclear-powered battlecruiser), and was getting closer to achieving its greatest combat potential level.[145] The transfers of the new *Slava* class CG *Chervona Ukraina* to Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy in October 1990 and *Udaloy* class DDG *Admiral Panteleev* in December 1991 were the last additions of major surface combatants to the fleet's order of battle under Soviet construction programs.[146]

The Gorshkov era was a remarkable time in the history of Russian naval power in the Pacific. At the time when Gorbachev introduced his revolutionary policies aimed at modernising the Soviet state, SOVPAC was possibly the strongest of the four Soviet naval fleets with only the RNF approximating its power. However, Russian naval forces in the Pacific had more large surface combatants, the largest concentration of strategic and strike submarines, 30 per cent of all naval aviation, more marines and the most potent amphibious lift. The fleet had a network of offshore logistic support facilities and was able to make calls to friendly ports across the Pacific and Indian oceans. All these factors enabled the Soviet Union to engage confidently in the Cold War strategic naval confrontation.

Soviet Naval Activity in the Pacific During the Cold War

One of the crucial elements of the combat service of the Soviet Navy was forward deployments. Apart from countering US and allied naval forces, these deployments included monitoring local and regional conflicts, with the possibility of intervention, and deterring the USN and its allied fleets from intervening in these conflicts. During the initial stages of the Cold War, Soviet naval capabilities in the Pacific, with the exception of ocean-going submarines, were too insignificant to pose a serious challenge to the USN. For example, in the period 1956-57, SOVPAC submarines conducted five long-

range patrols in the Pacific Ocean.[147] SOVPAC's ability to secure Soviet national interests in the Cold War was truly tested for the first time during the period 1950-62.

After the successful landing of US troops in Inchon, which changed the course of war in Korea, the North Korean leader, Kim Il Sung, asked Stalin for help. The leader of Communist China, Mao Zedong, alerted Stalin that the Chinese Army was ready to enter the war only if the USSR would provide the Chinese ground troops with air and naval support. Soviet Air Force units were sent into action. However, Stalin's fear that Soviet military interference would spark another world war led to the strict prohibition of any kind of Soviet naval assistance to North Korea.[148] The only measure that the Soviet leadership undertook was to keep the SOVPAC forces on high alert. Stalin's refusal to allow naval intervention in the conflict was also motivated by the state of SOVPAC. At the time of the conflict, the fleet was just entering another stage of reorganisation and reconstruction. Throughout the conflict, SOVPAC remained incapable of opposing the powerful USN even in waters close to its coasts, as was demonstrated repeatedly during the Korean War when US naval forces operated in the Japan and Yellow seas.[149]

SOVPAC also took part in the 1962 stand-off between the USSR and the US over the deployment of Soviet military contingents to Cuba. The RNF and SOVPAC deployed their conventionally-powered submarines to American shores to support the Soviet maritime transport operations that continued to send troops and supplies to Cuba, regardless of the US-imposed naval blockade around the island. With the absence of a powerful surface fleet at this time, submarines were the only option available. While five RNF submarines were sent directly to the Caribbean Sea, one Pacific submarine was sent to the area of the Pearl Harbor naval base, where it monitored the activities of the carrier USS *Constellation*.[150]

In the same year, a political crisis broke out in Indonesia. The new government appeared to favour a socialist system. To support this new potential client-state, or even future ally, and in an attempt to offset US naval supremacy in the region, the fleet deployed the 50th Separate Submarine Brigade (six submarines and a submarine floating base, the *Ayakhta*) to the Surabai naval base. The initial plan was to support the Sukarno regime, but the plans later changed; eventually these Soviet submarines were transferred to the Indonesian Navy.[151] Overall, the period of 1950-62 showed that, due to its limited capabilities, SOVPAC was not entirely ready to provide appropriate support to Soviet foreign efforts and effectively influence regional military-political situations.

In January 1968, relations between North Korea, the USSR and the US deteriorated dangerously after the 'Pueblo incident', when the intelligence-gathering vessel USS *Pueblo* was captured by the North Korean Navy. In response to the capture, the US 7th Fleet deployed a 32-ship CVBG, headed by the CVN USS *Enterprise*, to the Sea of Japan. If the American warships were allowed to strike the North Korean naval base at Vonsan and free the *Pueblo*, it would immediately start another war between the US and North Korea. By the time of the incident, SOVPAC forces were considerable,

allowing the Soviet military command to respond. As a reaction to the US naval build-up near North Korean waters, SOVPAC deployed its 16-ship operational squadron (including cruisers and missile destroyers), which spent more than 10 days in the area, screening the *Enterprise* group, ready to attack it. In the view of Russian naval experts, the presence of a Soviet task force in the area prevented further escalation of the crisis.[152]

During the Vietnam War, the Soviet Union provided valuable support to North Vietnam, including significant assistance to the North Vietnamese naval forces. During the war, SOVPAC used its combat capabilities to collect intelligence information and screen operations of the US 7th Fleet.[153] In 1979, the Sino-Vietnamese clash over Cambodia escalated into a war between the two nations. Hostile relations with China at that time did not lead to the USSR's open involvement in the conflict. However, the Soviet Union provided vital support to Vietnam. Moreover, the massing of US naval forces in the South East Asian region caused some serious concern in Moscow that the US might intervene in the conflict. In order to preclude US intervention and, at the same time, localise Chinese military actions, the Soviet Navy substantially increased its presence in South East Asia. In particular, SOVPAC's specially formed 20th Operational Squadron, which consisted of two battlegroups (about 30 units) headed by the *Kresta II* class CG and the *Sverdlov* class cruiser, were deployed in February 1979 to the East China and South China seas respectively.[154] In addition, the *Minsk* carrier group, during its transfer to the Pacific, conducted intensive exercises in the East China Sea as a show of support to Vietnam, which sparked hostile reactions in China.[155] Soviet warships visited several Vietnamese ports, possibly preventing Chinese attacks on those ports, and thereby limiting the scale of the conflict.[156]

Soviet support for Vietnam during the 1979 war with China significantly increased the USSR's authority and influence in Vietnam. One of the key benefits of the Soviet passive participation in the conflict was the 25-year lease of the strategically vital Cam Ranh naval and air base. The acquisition of the base in May 1979 as a Soviet naval logistic support facility was regarded in the USSR as a very important gain.[157] Cam Ranh was a forward staging post for SOVPAC, providing replenishment and refuelling capability for naval units on deployment in the South China Sea, the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf (figure 1). Moreover, the base provided intelligence-gathering services on the movement of shipping, both naval and commercial, through the South China Sea. The facility accommodated a signals intelligence (SIGINT) complex, described in 1982 by the US Pacific Commander in Chief as 'the [third] largest in the world outside the Soviet Union'.[158]

The Cam Ranh SIGINT complex enabled the Soviet military command to screen elements of the US 7th Fleet, based in the Philippines. The naval base was a homeport of the 17th Operational Squadron, formed for operations in South East Asian waters (figure 2).[159] By the end of 1985, 24 units of the 17th Squadron, including surface

combatants, submarines and auxiliaries, were stationed in the base. Cam Ranh airbase, with its nearly three kilometre-long single runway, accommodated a multi-role regiment of reconnaissance, maritime strike, ASW and fighter aircraft (30 Tu-16/-95/-142 and MiG-23 aircraft).[160] Overall, the acquisition of the Cam Ranh facility enhanced the Soviet Navy's capability to project its power and influence into South East Asia and the Indian Ocean region. Soviet warships no longer needed to travel to and from naval bases in the Russian Far East. The Soviet Navy was able to react more rapidly to crises in the Indian Ocean or Persian Gulf areas and in South East Asia. Soviet forces, operating from Cam Ranh, posed a new and more serious threat to American and Japanese commercial sea lines linking those countries with the Indian Ocean.

Operations in the Indian Ocean During the Cold War

Western analysts tend to link the build-up of Soviet naval power in the Pacific through the 1960s and 1970s with the desire of the Soviet military-political leadership to expand Soviet power-projection capabilities in the Asia-Pacific region. For example, Watson in *Red Navy at Sea* argued that the intensified SOVPAC out-of-area activities, especially in the Indian Ocean region, accelerated the strengthening of the fleet force in the 1970s:

> In the late 1960s, surface combatants were still being transferred from the west to the Pacific only when the ships could be spared from the western fleets. However, toward the end of the decade, the Soviets began to transfer some newer surface combatants and submarines to bolster the Pacific Fleet. The immediate reason for this change was probably that fleet's regular deployment of ships to the Indian Ocean. However, Soviet security and regional goals in the Pacific also played a role.[161]

The expansion of Soviet naval operations into the Indian Ocean was a logical continuation of the open ocean strategy initiated in 1964. In August 1967, the Soviet Navy initiated systematic operations in the Indian Ocean through the deployment of ships of the special 8th search-and-rescue (SAR) Squadron to the area.[162] In March 1968, a detachment of warships from the 10th Squadron entered the Indian Ocean and established the first permanently forward-deployed Soviet naval force in the region. This debut was carried out by a task group, comprising the cruiser *Dmitriy Pozharskiy* and the two destroyers *Gordy* and *Steregushchiy,* which spent nearly five months in the area. The second deployment occurred between October 1968 and May 1969 when another task group, comprising the cruiser *Admiral Fokin*, the destroyer *Vdokhnovlenny*, plus four escorts and auxiliaries spent nearly half a year in the Indian Ocean with the *Admiral Fokin* conducting missile-firing exercises.[163]

Figure 2. East-West Strategic Confrontation in the Pacific and Indian Ocean in the 1970s and the 1980s

In 1970, during the Soviet worldwide manoeuvres Okean, SOVPAC Command deployed to the Indian Ocean the destroyer *Odarenny* and one SSGN. This was the first deployment of a Soviet nuclear submarine to the Indian Ocean.[164] After 1968, Soviet warships were deployed to the Indian Ocean more often, with the number of ship days increasing from 1200 in 1968 to 11,800 in 1980.[165] The typical composition would be the 8th Squadron with around 20 warships and auxiliary vessels, headed by either a *Sverdlov* class or *Kynda* class cruiser. Altogether, between 1968 and 1990, warships of the 10th Squadron conducted over 80 long-range deployments to the Indian Ocean area.[166]

The first major appearance of Soviet sea power in the Indian Ocean came in 1971 during the war between India and Pakistan. That was the first opportunity taken by the Soviet Government to demonstrate its willingness to influence major events in the area by the use of military power. During that crisis, SOVPAC deployed two task groups, comprising the cruisers *Varyag* and *Vladivostok*, the destroyers *Vozbuzhdenny* and the *Strogiy*, six submarines (including two SSGNs), plus a number of support vessels.[167] A group of Il-38 ASW aircraft based at the Aden air base in Yemen provided support.[168] The initial mission of these forces was to monitor the activities of the RN (the carrier HMS *Eagle*, the commando carrier HMS *Albion*, several destroyers and other ships).[169] After the British force left the region, Soviet attention turned to USN Task Force 74, headed by the USS *Enterprise*. Since the Soviet Government seriously considered US intervention against India a possibility, Soviet task groups in the Indian Ocean were given orders to deter the Americans from engaging in the conflict by shadowing their activities and demonstrating aggressive intent. This demonstration of increased naval strength in the Pacific created a 'force multiplier effect' for the Soviet Union. Throughout the 1971 war the US naval forces remained largely uninvolved in the conflict, while Soviet-Indian relations further strengthened, particularly in the security sphere. Adding to that, the USSR was able to increase its political influence in India.

After the end of the conflict between India and Pakistan, the Soviet Navy participated in port-clearing operations in Bangladesh, where a 22-ship strong force commenced operations in April 1972. While the main objective of this action, gaining political influence in the country, was not achieved, it showed the capacity of the Soviet Navy to use non-coercive methods while employing naval power in influence-building activities.[170] In early 1974, the Egyptian Government asked for Soviet assistance in mine-clearing operations in the Suez Canal. In response, a specially formed SOVPAC mine-warfare detachment − comprising ten minesweepers and six support ships, together with a detachment of the RBSF − was deployed to the area, where it participated in the mine-clearing operations.[171] In 1984, the navy participated in similar activities in Yemen, with three minesweepers operating in the Bab-el-Mandeb Strait and around the port of Aden.[172] Mine-clearing operations conducted by the Soviet Navy helped to achieve several military-political objectives. As part of the Soviet naval activities in forward areas, mine-clearing operations helped to demonstrate the combat capabilities

of the navy, thus promoting the technological achievements of the USSR, and the quality of Soviet education (including military education), and contributed to strengthening relations between the USSR and third world nations in the Asia-Pacific and Indian Ocean regions.

During the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, warships of the 5th and 8th squadrons in the Mediterranean and Red seas, the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf played a role in offsetting possible countermeasures by the US. In particular, when the USN increased the number of marines in the Indian Ocean region, SOVPAC reinforced the 8th Squadron with several amphibious ships with naval infantry units on board. To demonstrate its expanded power-projection capabilities, the SNI conducted joint manoeuvres with Yemen's navy, including a combined amphibious and airborne landing operation at Sokotra Island.[173] In the opinion of Russian naval experts, these demonstrations were effective in helping to deter the US against any active operations in response to the occupation of Afghanistan.[174]

The war that erupted between Iran and Iraq in 1980 expanded into Gulf waters, posing an immediate and serious danger to international shipping.[175] After Soviet merchant vessels came under attack, SOVPAC sent its warships to the area. Between 1987 and 1990, warships of the specially formed 85th Operational Brigade were on combat patrol in the Persian Gulf and Red Sea areas, and escorted 178 convoys comprising 374 merchant ships.[176] However, the Soviet naval presence in the Persian Gulf was limited in terms of the scale of its deployment and the classes of combatants involved in operations. Towards the end of the 1980s, all available Soviet Navy resources were overstrained due to ongoing and exhausting naval confrontations with the US and its allies. The Soviet response to the conflict in the Gulf was another indication of a reduction of Soviet out-of-area deployments as part of new, broader Soviet military strategies, which, from the mid 1980s onwards, led to the substantial decrease of Soviet naval activities. This shift in the scale and intensity of Soviet blue water operational activity was noticed by Western experts. In particular, Joseph Alexander and Merrill Bartlett in *Sea Soldiers in the Cold War* provide their analysis of Soviet naval operations in the area during the 1980-88 and 1990-91 Gulf wars:

> In the last years of the USSR, the increasing toothlessness of the Soviet Navy became readily apparent. The Soviets fielded only a light force during the Tanker War in the Persian Gulf in the late 1980s. Even when raiding Iranian gunboats raked Soviet tankers with machine-gun fire, Moscow responded tepidly and cautiously. Two years later, as Operation Desert Shield and Desert Storm evolved in the Persian Gulf, the Soviet naval presence remained a mere shadow of its former self. In spite of a significant coalition war against a major arms client, the Soviet ships in the Red Sea and the Gulf of Oman were fewer and remained much less visible than many of the Third World navies that participated in the maritime quarantine operation.[177]

With the collapse of the USSR, the last Soviet warships left the Gulf and its nearby areas and abandoned their bases.

Soviet Naval Diplomacy During the Cold War

During the Cold War, the Soviet Government used naval capability to achieve multiple strategic objectives. One of them was to expand Soviet political influence in the Third World. With an operational zone of responsibility extending from Alaska to the Persian Gulf and the east coast of Africa, the fleet was actively involved in naval diplomacy, mainly through systematic long-range deployment of major surface combatants. Between 1956 and 1980, SOVPAC warships visited 31 ports in 22 countries in the Pacific.[178] The practice of visits to foreign ports reached its height between 1966 and 1972, when Soviet warships visited 20 countries in Europe, Asia and Africa.[179] Also, the periodic deployment of SOVPAC battlegroups to different parts of the Asia-Pacific region as a Soviet response to regional crises and wars, as discussed earlier, was also a form of naval diplomacy, pursuing not only military but also political objectives.

The first two significant post-war foreign visits of SOVPAC warships occurred in 1956 and 1959, when two task groups visited the ports of China and Indonesia. The first was the cruiser *Dmitriy Pozharskiy* and the destroyers *Vdumchivy* and *Vrazumitel'ny*; and the second was the cruiser *Admiral Senyavin* and the destroyers *Vyderzhanny* and *Vozbuzhdenny*.[180] However, the overall intensity of these operations was limited by the inadequate size of the fleet, some difficulties with providing logistic support during long-range deployments, and the limited number of major surface combatants capable of staging long-range operations. It became common practice that the port visit program of SOVPAC warships would coincide with their long-range deployments to particular regions.[181]

For example, during the first deployment of SOVPAC warships to the Indian Ocean in 1968, the Soviet task group visited nine ports in eight South Asian and African countries, comprising Sri Lanka, India, Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, Somalia, the People's Republic of Yemen and South Yemen. The task group spent almost five months at sea, and travelled more than 35,000 nautical miles. This deployment was considered to be one of the most successful missions of its kind, significantly increasing the political influence of the Soviet Union in South Asia, the Middle East and the African continent.[182] Later, during the 200-day deployment of the *Admiral Fokin* task group to the Indian Ocean (October 1968–May 1969), warships of the task group visited the ports of ten countries in Asia and Africa.[183] In 1973, a detachment of the fleet auxiliaries visited South American countries. During a 105-day deployment, the floating base *Ivan Kucherenko* and the tanker *Vishera* visited the ports of Peru and Ecuador, the only time Russian warships have visited these countries.[184] Between May 1973 and June 1974, the destroyer *Dal'nevostochny Komsomolets* accomplished the longest 'showing

the flag' deployment in the history of the 10th Squadron.[185] In 1983, the fleet carrier *Minsk* visited the Indian port of Bombay, one of the few occasions the Soviet carrier was used for naval diplomacy missions, showing that the Soviet Government was alert to the influence and impression that a large visiting warship could generate.[186] Similarly, the Soviet Navy retained the ageing but impressive-looking *Sverdlov* class gun cruisers for showing the flag in Third World ports.

In the late 1980s, foreign port visits by the fleet warships declined, except for visits to the seaports and naval bases of nations considered vital to the Soviet Union. They included such traditional Soviet allies and friends as India, North Korea and Vietnam.[187] However, in 1990, the destroyers *Admiral Vinogradov* and *Boyevoi* paid an official visit of friendship to the US Pacific Naval Base San Diego, marking the easing of naval tensions in the Pacific between the principal Cold War rivals, and the development of new relationships between the Russian and American navies.

Exercise Activity During the Cold War

SOVPAC's capability to engage in blue water sea denial operations and its increased power-projection capabilities were demonstrated in a number of large-scale exercises held by the fleet during the Cold War. Exercises conducted by SOVPAC forces reflected the nature and principles of the use of naval power by the Soviet Union in the Pacific MTVD. In the 1960s, the majority of the exercises were aimed at practising sea denial ocean operations and littoral sea control inside two principal maritime defensive perimeters (300 km deep inner zone and the 2500 km deep outer zone). In the 1970s and first half of the 1980s, combat training of SOVPAC forces shifted to mastering sea control operations in distant areas. The late 1980s saw another shift from sea control to sea denial. Submarines continued to be viewed by the Soviet Navy as the primary combat platforms at sea, and these exercises were quite intense and impressive in terms of scale and force involvement.

The first substantial exercise executed by SOVPAC in the 1960s occurred in September 1962. The fleet staged the large-scale command and post exercise (CAPE) codenamed Taifun (Typhoon) under the supervision and command of the Minister of Defence. The exercise involved more than 40 submarines.[188] Then, in 1967, SOVPAC held another CAPE codenamed Fakel (Flame). The main goal was to test the ability of the fleet's primary combat arms to track secretly the operations of foreign SSBNs and CVBGs in SOVPAC's areas of responsibility.[189] In July 1968, the fleet held a similar exercise codenamed Kamerton (Tuning Fork) under the leadership of Admiral Nikolai Amelko (at that time, Deputy Commander in Chief of the Soviet Navy). The area of operations for Kamerton was large, even including the Philippines Sea.[190] Naval exercises like Fakel and Kamerton were supposed to develop tactics for using SOVPAC's strike forces in wartime against USN SSBNs and CVBGs, since the destruction of the enemy forces

in the early hours of military conflict between two superpowers was one of the main objectives of the Soviet Navy. Units of the Long-Range Aviation (LRA) – the strategic bomber force – were usually involved in such exercises as well as complementing operations by PFNA missile-carrying strike aircraft.[191] These exercises demonstrated the leading role played by submarines in Soviet naval strategy in the Pacific.

In the fall of 1971, the fleet conducted its first deployment of a large force to the shores of the North American continent. A battlegroup consisting of the cruiser *Vladivostok*, the destroyers *Upornyy* and *Vdokhnovenny*, three submarines (including one nuclear-powered), a submarine floating base and a tanker crossed the North Pacific to the Gulf of Alaska, and then turned south to steam within 25 miles of Diamond Head, Hawaii, before returning to Far Eastern waters. During this deployment, the Soviet battlegroup staged several exercises. The deployment showed Soviet expanded ability to conduct large-scale power projection operations in the Pacific without lengthy preparations.[192]

Planning for large-scale amphibious operations in the Pacific theatre has played an important role in SOVPAC's exercise activity during the Cold War. Amphibious exercises were integral parts of the majority of Soviet naval war games, including the both Okeans. However, two exercises conducted by SOVPAC's forces in the first half of the 1980s are of particular interest.

In 1982, the fleet carried out a special large-scale amphibious exercise codenamed Luch (The Beakon). The exercise was staged in the area of the Soviet Far East and involved the 55th SNI Division and over 50 naval units, including the new *Rogov* class landing platform docks (LPDs) *Ivan Rogov* and *Aleksandr Nikolayev*. The uniqueness of the Luch exercise was that it was carried out at night with the use of infra-red night vision equipment only, which demonstrated a further significant growth in sophistication of Soviet naval operations.[193]

The capability of the Soviet Navy to conduct large-scale operations in forward areas was demonstrated during the worldwide Soviet naval exercises Okean (also known in the West as Ocean-70) and Okean-2 (Ocean-75). Both exercises involved more than 200 combatants (including a large number of submarines) and auxiliaries.[194] Shore-based units of the Soviet Naval Aviation (SNA), air defence forces and LRA also participated. These were the largest manoeuvres held in the Pacific by the Soviet Navy. In particular, Okean involved 28 SOVPAC submarines (9 of them nuclear-powered), while Okean-2 involved 24 SOVPAC submarines (10 of them nuclear-powered).[195]

During Okean, SOVPAC staged eight large-scale CAPEs. In comparison, the RNF conducted eleven CAPEs; the RBF and SBSF, only six.[196] The relative difference of the intensity of actions of SOVPAC and RNF during the manoeuvres of Okean can be explained by the fact that, despite its worldwide diversity, Soviet naval activity during these war games was most intense in the North Atlantic and the Norwegian Sea. In the

Pacific MTVD, Okean was staged in the north-western and western part of the Pacific, the seas of Okhotsk and Japan, the Philippines Sea and the Indian Ocean. Some of the Soviet naval activity in the Pacific was conducted near the US 7th Fleet operational zones during the Vietnam War.[197] The staging of such a large-scale exercise close to the combat zone of US forces involved in the Vietnam conflict was part of Soviet efforts to put pressure on the US to end the war. It also served as a chance for the Soviet Navy to reveal its capability to its 'potential enemy', thus contributing to deterrence.

During Okean-2 manoeuvres, SOVPAC's task groups conducted operations in the Sea of Japan, the Philippines and East China seas, and in the north-western Pacific.[198] Western naval analysts have pointed out that Okean-2 was more substantial then the 1970 war games, with Soviet ships operating well beyond the 2000–2500 km 'defence perimeter' around the Soviet Union.[199]

Two years later, during the exercise Raduga-77 (Rainbow-77), SOVPAC deployed 21 submarines (10 of them nuclear-powered).[200] In 1983, SOVPAC forces participated in large-scale ASW exercises for the Soviet Navy, with 12 exercises in the area of the Norwegian Sea, Western Atlantic, the Mediterranean Sea, and Pacific and Indian oceans. The manoeuvres involved 58 submarines (including 32 nuclear-powered submarines) and 31 surface combatants. Soviet ASW aviation conducted 80 sorties. During these exercises, Soviet ASW forces detected 10 foreign SSBNs and 19 SSNs, thus demonstrating the increased effectiveness of Soviet ASW operations in the Pacific.[201]

In October 1984, in the South China Sea near Da Nang (Vietnam), SOVPAC held large-scale amphibious exercises jointly with the Vietnamese Navy. The exercise involved nine SOVPAC units, including the carrier *Minsk*, the cruiser *Tallin* and the *Rogov* class LPD *Aleksandr Nikolayev*. At least 400 Soviet marines executed a landing operation.[202] This exercise caused a significant reaction among Western analysts, and had clear implications for the balance of power (at that time) in South East Asia. By staging this substantial exercise at the time of Sino-Vietnamese military confrontation, Moscow sent a clear message – not only to Beijing but also to the South East Asian region as a whole – of how the Soviet Union might intervene if the regional balance of power was upset. As Da Cunha writes:

> The significance of this exercise lay not just in the fact that it was the Soviet Navy's first amphibious exercise in the South China Sea or that it highlighted the extent to which Soviet-Vietnamese militant solidarity had evolved during the early 1980s. More important was its timing; it was staged during the heaviest fighting since 1979 along the Sino-Vietnamese border …
>
> That the Soviets were clearly supportive of Vietnam is not in any doubt … this is an important aspect of naval diplomacy; it provides a framework for a visible display of military power, allowing for flexibility in its use and

Demonstrating Growing Strength and Capacity to Challenge Traditional Maritime Powers Through Exercises: *Naval exercises are one of principal forms of the navy's operational activity in peacetime. They provide an opportunity for a navy to demonstrate its combat potential in peacetime. More importantly, exercises are the only way to keep a navy combat-ready in peacetime. In the 1970s and 1980s, the Pacific Fleet frequently displayed its grown capacity to exercise power at sea and from the sea. These demonstrations enabled the USSR to increase its political influence in the Asia-Pacific-Indian Ocean regions, and deterred the United States and its Pacific allies from exercising power against the Soviet state and its allies and clients.*

purpose. Moreover, the Soviet amphibious exercise was but one part of Moscow's larger foreign policy effort against Beijing … This diplomatic effort was probably prompted by the annoyance and frustration felt in Moscow at the apparent warming of China's ties with the United States and Japan without any parallel movement in Sino-Soviet relations.[203]

In April 1985, the surface forces of the fleet staged further large-scale manoeuvres, including a rare deep penetration into the Pacific Ocean by a large Soviet CVBG.[204] Also in 1985, the entire submarine division of SOVPAC-staged ASW exercises in the Pacific Ocean.[205] These exercises demonstrated SOVPAC's significantly increased capabilities for large-scale blue water operations; its ability to project power well beyond Russia's traditional defence perimeter, and to coordinate simultaneous operations of large naval groupings dispersed in the Pacific and Indian ocean MTVDs.

In the late 1980s, Soviet exercise activity shifted away from distant areas to home waters as defensive operations within the inner-zone once again became the priority for the Soviet Navy. One major exercise was held each summer.[206] In July 1989, SOVPAC Command for the first time invited foreign observers to monitor naval exercises held in the Sea of Japan. Admittedly, only four observers from the fifteen invited nations attended the exercise, but such openness reflected a shift in Russia's Asia-Pacific military strategy to a more defence-oriented policy, part of Gorbachev's 'new thinking'. The fleet's most powerful warships, the cruiser *Frunze* and both aircraft carriers, did not participate in the exercise. This, according to the Soviet view, should indicate the purely defensive nature of the manoeuvres. The ships involved in the exercise included three nuclear-powered submarines, *Kara* class CGs, *Sovremenny* and *Udaloy* class DDGs, *Krivak* class FFGs and minor craft, as well as the PFNA forces. At the same time, the SOVPAC Commander, Admiral Gennady Khvatov, expressed both satisfaction and disappointment with the outcome of this event: 'Regardless of how few [foreign] observers are attending it is quite satisfactory to see the ice being broken.'[207] Similar exercises took place in August 1991. As Rear-Admiral Leonid Golovko, at that time Chief of the Pacific Fleet Directorate of Combat Training, noticed the 1991 exercise of the fleet was the 'logical continuation of the 1989 exercises'.[208] The exercise involved 19 warships, 34 aircraft, and 9 support vessels. Compared to the 1989 exercise, more foreign observers attended these war games.[209] SOVPAC exercises in the late 1980s demonstrated the growing importance of littoral defence in Soviet naval strategy in the Pacific.

The East-West strategic naval confrontation in the Pacific and Indian oceans maritime theatres during the Cold War were in fact the golden years for Russian naval power in the Pacific. The mounting technological threat posed by a maritime/continental coalition of US allies in Europe and East Asia (multiplied by a threat of communist China between the 1960s and 1980s) developed a strong sense of navalism among Soviet political leaders and the continentalist General Staff. The need to respond to this

threat in times of a real possibility of an all-out worldwide conflict, supported by the growing desire to expand national interests and to bring the country's strategic agenda into the Third World, led to the unprecedented buildup of Russia's military muscle at sea, an effort that, perhaps, will never be repeated in the future. The endorsement of this maritime agenda, which was driven by the USSR's superpower ambitions, brought with it mixed results clearly identified by Geoffrey Till:

> It is difficult to come to a final conclusion about whether the Soviet Navy represented roubles well spent. It certainly helped suck the creaking Soviet Union into an arms race it could not win. … But on the other hand, the naval expansion had helped turn the Soviet Union, for the first time, into a global superpower which could make its presence felt all around the world.[210]

Ironically, the year of 1985 that marked the supreme time for the Soviet Navy was the beginning of the era of 'Perestroika' and 'New Thinking', an era culminating in the choking collapse of the Soviet Union and Russia's departure from the high seas.

Conclusion

The 1990s saw the apparent end of the open East-West strategic naval struggle in the area. The break-up of the Soviet Union in December 1991 and the collapse of the ideological-political competition in the Asia-Pacific and the Indian Ocean region ended the Cold War rivalry. The former Soviet naval power in the Pacific experienced yet another major decline: naval presence in forward areas was abandoned; overseas bases were lost or closed; and the fleet was cut considerably. Doubts were raised whether Russian naval power in the Pacific would survive at all. Worsening socio-economic conditions, new radical thinking adopted by the Yeltsin regime – which led to unilateral reductions of Russian military power and an array of land-based security threats, primarily along the southern and south-western periphery of the state – these and many other factors triggered debates among Western and even Russian defence analysts on the future of the Russian Navy, and certainly its most expensive Far Eastern component.

Despite various pessimistic prognoses, the RPF did survive. Moreover, by 2001, the situation was stabilised and in the past four years the fleet has demonstrated clear signs of yet another restoration of its strength. Naval activity has intensified; periodic deployments to forward areas have resumed; and the fleet has begun acquiring new platforms, weaponry and equipment.[211] The fact that the Putin Government considered the restoration of Russian Pacific naval power as one of its military-strategic priorities was evident in the announcement of the creation of a special Far Eastern naval shipbuilding holding, which would embrace several key shipyards and other facilities in Komsomol'sk-na-Amure, Vladivostok, Bol'shoi Kamen, and other places.[212]

The future of Russian naval power in the Pacific, and its expected role in supporting national interests in this critical geopolitical area, has been largely determined by its history – primarily since its establishment in 1731 until the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 – as it reflected strategic power competition between continental Russia and maritime powers in the Asia-Pacific, thus affecting overall trends in the development of imperial Russian and, later, Soviet naval power. The exploration of the Pacific coastline, the establishment of settlements and the initiation of commercial activity in the area in the 18th century not only positioned Russia as another Pacific power but also exposed it to a new array of security threats. The geography of the region and its geopolitical situations forced Russia to compete with regional and global maritime powers such as Britain, Japan and, later, the US.

As discussed, regional competition between Russia and other maritime powers often reflected larger power struggles between the great powers. At the same time, Russia needed a strong naval force in the Pacific to support its regional foreign policy

objectives. The lessons of the past, such as the Spanish Civil War, Japan's invasion of China, the Korean War and the Cuban missile crisis showed that the nation was unable to achieve fully its political goals due to weaknesses in the military element of the state machine, notably in its naval arm. The growing importance of Russia's Far Eastern territories as a strategic gateway into the Asia-Pacific and other regions, as well as a possible pathway for enemy invasion forces, multiplied by the maritime nature of security threats, called for the need to develop a strong naval force that would protect Pacific approaches and support national foreign-policy objectives. It is the area where Russia has an unrestricted access to an open ocean, a strategic advantage that is getting more recognition today and will affect the nation's key decisions of tomorrow.[213] Navalism is once again appreciated by Russia's political and military elite.

The development of a credible naval deterrent in the Pacific was in the past, and remains today, a major strategic challenge for Russia. Of all five Russian naval groupings the RPF remains the most expensive naval asset to develop and maintain, largely due to its remoteness and underdevelopment of the Far Eastern territories. The separation of maritime theatres where Russia has no choice but to maintain credible naval presence with limited capacity to create a 'strategic mass' in all five areas simultaneously multiplies this challenge. As history shows, the economic and political situation in Russia has sometimes been inadequate and unstable, and the nation is unable to commit proper financial and other resources to the development of its naval strength in the Pacific. Between 1731 and 1991 Russian naval forces in the Pacific experienced one major decline and two restorations, the latter coinciding with an overall restoration of the Russian Navy. Furthermore, almost constant military countermeasures against European powers, which often led to military confrontation, forced the nation to commit all available resources to strengthening its naval capabilities in its western maritime theatres, primarily the Baltic and Black seas. This left the Pacific as a theatre of secondary importance. Each restoration and build-up of strength was an acknowledgement of the economic and military-strategic importance of the Pacific for Russia, the geographic relationship of the maritime theatre to the state, and the threats to national security from East Asia and Pacific waters, including those influenced by technological improvements in naval warfare. Moreover, the scale of the operational zone of responsibility of the RPF, and the range of tasks it had to accomplish, made it necessary that the eastern component of the Russian Navy was the largest and strongest naval formation. In the past 300 years this goal was achieved only twice, during the periods when Russia's naval might was at its greatest: before the Russo-Japanese War (early 1900s), and at the end of the Cold War (late 1980s).

So, why does a non-traditional maritime nation like Russia demonstrate continuous interest in maritime affairs and invest considerable resources in the creation of credible naval capabilities, particularly in the Far East? The reasons are well known. First, it is the critical geostrategic role of the global ocean in 21st century international affairs. Approximately 70 per cent of the entire world's population lives within 500 kilometres

of the coast and is affected by climatic, economic or security conditions related to the sea. The sea is a potential resource for the exploration and development of natural resources to sustain humanity in the future. Currently, the hydrosphere is an important source of mineral, biological and other natural resources required for the stable and uninterrupted social and economical development of nations. According to expert estimates, around 50 per cent of all sea-based biological resources are concentrated in the Pacific, 25 per cent in the Atlantic, 21 per cent in the Indian, and only 4 per cent in the Arctic oceans.[214] In the near future, mineral resources on land will be exhausted, but the sea will still contain minerals such as common salt, potassium, magnesium, nickel and cobalt. Therefore, the strategic significance of this very promising area of international economic activity will grow.

Second, it is the role of the sea as a globalised transport route network, vital to the international economic system. Mahan underlined the importance and significance of sea communications, and the obvious advantages of maritime trade, calling the sea 'the great medium of communications − of commerce'.[215] Most of the world's trade is still dependent on the sea for transportation; oceans provide access to all parts of the world. Currently, more than 90 per cent of the world's commodities are transported by sea, and the volume has increased eightfold since 1945.[216] This trade includes primary resources, food and commodities, and the essential raw materials and energy products that enable the industrial economies of the world to operate successfully. Economic success in industrialised countries funds international aid programs for the underdeveloped and developing nations of the global south, and also provides a foundation for the world economy. Much of the energy needs of Western world economies are met by oil and gas transported by very large and ultra large crude carriers traversing from the Persian Gulf, Africa and Venezuela through commercial SLOC in the Indian, Pacific and Atlantic oceans. Similarly, the North Sea oilfields have been a major factor in the growth and development of European economies, and oil and gas from the Russian and Central Asian fields is transported through the inland and coastal seas of the European continent (primarily the Baltic, the Black Sea and the Mediterranean). The hydrosphere is also an additional source of food, with more than 80 million tonnes of seafood consumed worldwide each year − 16 per cent of global animal-protein consumption.[217]

These factors make the hydrosphere indispensable for the wellbeing of many nations provoking an inevitable rivalry between major world and regional powers. The sea allows the economic development of an increasing percentage of the world's poorer countries, which assists the world's wealthiest states to retain their economic supremacy over the rest of the world. While analysing reasons for the development of maritime power, British naval expert Admiral Sir Herbert Richmond concludes that a 'sea power was one whose existence depended upon sea traffic, created by the energy, ability and enterprise of the citizens'.[218] Roskill says: 'if the sea is not ruled as well as

used losses are bound to be suffered, and may reach such dimensions as will imperil the community's existence'.[219]

A critical analysis of the evolution of Russian naval power in the Pacific, and linked to it the East-West strategic naval rivalry, helps to demonstrate why traditional continental powers are developing a strong naval orientation. Traditional continental powers like Russia have a renewed strategic interest in securing the seas and influencing global maritime operations. A powerful navy is particularly important today and will become an indispensable asset of the state's military machine in the future. The 21st century is likely to be marked by international instability caused by growing rivalry between the hyperpower-in decline, the US, and other power centres – among them Russia and China. As former socialist nations with state-planned economies transform themselves into free-market capitalist societies, a further stimulus is evident for a strategic transformation. Another factor is competition for control over sea-based natural resources and maritime communications to support economic growth and prosperity. Furthermore, continuous improvements in naval warfare, strategy and tactics through the introduction of new naval technologies, complemented by the geographic advantages the sea offers to its users and the diminishing importance of strategic depth, will see future conflicts becoming more maritime-based. The East–West strategic contest at sea continues.

Notes

1 Morskoi Teatr Voennykh Deistviy or MTVD (Maritime Theatre of Military Operations).

2 British geographer Sir Halford Mackinder identified Russia as the largest land power in his paper 'The Geographical Pivot of History'. Mackinder's monograph suggested that the control of Eastern Europe was vital to control of the world. His Heartland, also known as the Pivot Area, is the core of Eurasia, and the World-Island is all of Eurasia (both Europe and Asia) – Russia. See: H.J. Mackinder, 'The Geographical Pivot of History', *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 23, 1904, pp. 421-437.

3 See: C.G. Reynolds, *Command of the Sea. The History and Strategy of Maritime Empires*, William Morrow & Company, New York, 1974, pp. 3-9; C.S. Gray, *The Leverage of Sea Power: The Strategic Advantage of Navies in War*, The Free Press, New York, 1992, p. 7.

4 As a reference for the definition of 'maritime power', see: Admiral Sir H. Richmond, *Sea Power in the Modern World*, G. Bell & Sons, London, 1934, pp. 5-6.

5 See the discussion of Korean expert on maritime affairs, Professor Choon Kun Lee in 'Sea Power and Security at the Close of the Twentieth Century' in D. Wilson and D. Sherwood (eds), *Oceans Governance and Maritime Strategy*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 2000, p. 35.

6 Continental powers (France and Germany) and maritime powers (the US and the UK) are part of one military-political alliance, the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO).

7 D.W. Mitchell, *A History of Russian and Soviet Sea Power*, Macmillan, New York, 1974, pp. 9-10; E. Kvashnin-Samarin, 'Morskaya Ideya v Russkoi Zemle' [The Maritime Idea in the Russian Land] in V.K. Lobachev (ed), *Rossiya Morei* [Russia of the Seas], Institut DI-DIK, Moskva, 1997, pp. 90-92.

8 S.E. Zakharov, V.N. Bagrov, S.S. Beve, M.H. Zakharov and M.P. Kotukhov, *Krasnoznamenny Tikhookeanskiy Flot* [The Red Banner Pacific Fleet], 2nd ed, Voennoe Izdatelstvo, Moskva, 1973, pp. 6, 12; Admiral M. Zakharenko, 'Na Dal'nevostochnykh Rubezhakh Rossii' [On Russia's Far Eastern Shores], *Morskoi Sbornik*, No. 9, 2000, p. 20.

9 Early expeditions led by Vasiliy Poyarkov (1643-46) and Erofei Khabarov (1649-53) enabled the set up of Russian settlements along the Amur River, which preceded further exploration of the Far East and the Northern Pacific later in the 18th and early 19th centuries. Zakharov, et al, *Krasnoznamenny Tikhookeanskiy Flot*, p. 6; See also: A.A. Gromyko, A.G. Kovalev, P.P. Sevostianov and S.L. Tikhvinsky (eds), *Diplomaticheskiy Slovar* [Diplomatic Dictionary] 4th ed, Vol. 2, Nauka, Moskva, 1986, p. 280.

10 Gromyko, et al (eds), *Diplomaticheskiy Slovar*, p. 280; Mitchell, *A History of Russian and Soviet Sea Power*, p. 41.

11 Some 1500 Russian soldiers and Cossacks faced a 10,000-strong Chinese force supported by some naval craft.

12 Mitchell, *A History of Russian and Soviet Sea Power*, p. 41.

13 The so-called 1st Kamchatka expedition, led by Russian explorer Semen Dezhnev, discovered the strait between Alaska and the Chukotka Peninsula. The 2nd Kamchatka expedition, led by Vitus Bering and Alexei Tchirikov in 1741, explored the western coastline of North America. Zakharov, et al, *Krasnoznamenny Tikhookeanskiy Flot*, pp. 8-9; Mitchell, *A History of Russian and Soviet Sea Power*, pp. 43-44.

14   Russian settlers called their lands the Russian America.

15   Zakharov, et al, *Krasnoznamenny Tikhookeanskiy Flot*, pp. 9-10.

16   Lobachev (ed), *Rossiya Morei*, p. 230.

17   Vice-Admiral N. Konorev, 'Budushchee Rossii i Voenno-Morskoi Flot' [Russia's Future and the Navy], *Morskoi Sbornik*, No. 10, 2001, p. 15.

18   V.D. Dotsenko, A.A. Dotsenko and V.F. Mironov, 'Voenno-Morskaya Strategiya Rossii' [Russia's Naval Strategy], *Terra Fantastica*, St Peterburg, Eksmo, Moskva, 2005, p. 31.

19   The report was translated into Russian and published in the monograph by Vice-Admiral V. Golovnin, 'Berega Ameriki Nuzhny Nam' [We Need the American Shores] in Lobachev (ed), *Rossiya Morei*, pp. 226-229.

20   The serious concern by the British empire of growing Russian naval power in the Pacific was in part reflected in Australia's fear of a hypothetical Russia's maritime attack at the time of the Crimean War. See: *An Outline of Australian Naval History*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1976, p. 12; C. Jones, *Australian Colonial Navies*, Australian War Memorial, Canberra, 1986, p. 13; R. Gillet, *Australia's Colonial Navies*, The Naval Historical Society of Australia, Sydney, 1982, p. 11.

21   Since the 18th century, the British Empire has been regarded as the supreme maritime power. In the 18th and 19th centuries, at a time of growing struggle to control maritime communications, the UK's main opponents were France and Russia.

22   Captain 1st Rank (ret), V. Koryavko, 'Mirovoi Okean i Natsionalnye Interesy Rossii' [The World Ocean and Russia's National Interests], *Morskoi Sbornik*, No. 2, 1999, p. 23.

23   Koryavko, 'Mirovoi Okean i Natsionalnye Interesy Rossii', p. 16.

24   Koryavko, 'Mirovoi Okean i Natsionalnye Interesy Rossii', p. 16.

25   In the 19th century, the RBF was being drawn upon constantly for reinforcements for the Pacific naval forces.

26   Zakharov, et al, *Krasnoznamenny Tikhookeanskiy Flot*, p. 17.

27   Mitchell, *A History of Russian and Soviet Sea Power*, pp. 167-168.

28   It was only in 1870 that Russia denounced the treaty clauses barring it from having a naval force on the Black Sea and began to rebuild its Black Sea Fleet.

29   Dotsenko, et al, 'Voenno-Morskaya Strategiya Rossii', pp. 105-106.

30   Jones, *Australian Colonial Navies*, p. 27.

31   Mitchell, *A History of Russian and Soviet Sea Power*, pp. 174-175; Reynolds, *Command of the Sea*, p. 354. At one period, Likhachev (when he was in charge of the Pacific naval forces) ordered the occupation of the island of Tsushima, seeking to create most optimal operational environment for the Russian Navy in the Sea of Japan. However, the Emperor Aleksandr II, who had little appreciation of naval affairs and lacked strategic vision, did not consider pleas from his military advisors and ordered the withdrawal of the Russian naval post from the island. The threat of British action in the Tsushima Straits was also taken into consideration.

32   In particular, in 1857-59, six corvettes (*Rynda*, *Griden*, *Posadnik*, *Voyevoda*, *Novik* and *Boyarin*), and five clippers (*Dzhigit*, *Razboinik*, *Strelok*, *Plastun* and *Naezdnik*) were transferred to the Pacific from the Baltic Sea. These ships were specifically designed for

long-range operations and the protection of Russia's national interests overseas. In 1882, corvettes *Novik*, *Voevoda* and *Boyarin*, and clippers *Plastun*, *Dzhigit*, and *Strelok* were the first Russian propelled ships to sail around the world, thus showing Russia's grown global power-projection capability. Zakharov, et al, *Krasnoznamenny Tikhookeansky Flot*, p. 26; A.I. Sorokin and V.N. Krasnov, *Korabli Prokhodyat Ispytaniya* [Ships Are Passing Commissions], Sudostroenie, Leningrad, 1985, p. 22.

[33] In 1862, Vladivostok was given status of naval port and, from 1871, replaced Nikolayevsk-na-Amure as Russia's main naval base in the Pacific MTVD. Sorokin and Krasnov, *Korabli Prokhodyat Ispytaniya*, p. 49; S. Pryamitskiy, 'Na Beregaskh Zolotogo Roga' [On the Shores of the Golden Horn Bay], *Morskoi Sbornik*, No. 9, 2000, p. 85.

[34] D. Walder, *The Short Victorious War*, Hutchinson, London, 1973, p. 23.

[35] Zakharov, et al, *Krasnoznamenny Tikhookeansky Flot*, p. 30. Out of six Russian Pacific cruisers, three were 1st Rank (heavy) cruisers, capable of carrying out prolonged long-range anti-SLOC operations.

[36] In accordance with the strategic calculus of the Russian Naval Staff, order of battle of both Baltic and Black Sea fleets were supposed to have sufficient number of ocean-going battleships capable of long-range deployments in support of possible operations in the Pacific MTVD. See: R.M. Melnikov, *Kreiser 'Ochakov'* [The Cruiser 'Ochakov'], Sudostroenie, Leningrad, 1986, p. 16. For example, when the situation in the Far East escalated in 1895, ten Russian warships, including one battleship, *Imperator Nikolai I*, and two 1st Rank cruisers, *Pamyat Azova* and *Vladimir Monomakh*, were urgently transferred from the Mediterranean to the Far East to reinforce the 1st Pacific Squadron. Melnikov, *Kreiser 'Ochakov'*, p. 30. In 1896, one Pacific 2nd Rank (light) cruiser was replaced with two 1st Rank cruisers.

[37] At that time, the RBF was the strongest naval formation in the Russian Navy.

[38] Reynolds, *Command of the Sea*, p. 429.

[39] They were the *Petropavlovsk*, *Poltava* and *Sevastopol*. Designed specifically for the Pacific MTVD these ocean-going battleships were regarded as potent combat platforms of the time. Sorokin and Krasnov, *Korabli Prokhodyat Ispytaniya*, pp. 60-61.

[40] For the RPF, the battleship *Retvisan* and the light cruiser *Varyag* were built in the US; the battleship *Tsesarevich* and the cruiser *Bayan*, in France.

[41] Zakharov, et al, *Krasnoznamenny Tikhookeansky Flot*, p. 32.

[42] N.A. Lambert, 'The Opportunities of Technology: British and French Naval Strategies in the Pacific, 1905-1909' in N.A.M. Rodger (ed), *Naval Power in the Twentieth Century*, Naval Institute Press, 1996, Annapolis, p. 43.

[43] Sorokin and Krasnov, *Korabli Prokhodyat Ispytaniya*, pp. 38-39. Only once Russian submarines saw action during the Russo-Japanese War, when the submarine *Som* attacked Japanese torpedo-boats in the Bay of Vladimir.

[44] Sorokin and Krasnov, *Korabli Prokhodyat Ispytaniya*, p. 26.

[45] Mitchell, *A History of Russian and Soviet Sea Power*, p. 171.

[46] Mitchell, *A History of Russian and Soviet Sea Power*, p. 204.

[47] Richmond, *Sea Power in the Modern World*, p. 80. The deterrent operations of the Russian Navy in the Pacific triggered alert in all British-controlled Pacific colonies, including Australia. See: J. Bach, *The Australia Station: A History of the Royal Navy in the South West Pacific, 1821–1913*, New South Wales University Press, Kensington, 1986, p. 186.

[48]   Mitchell, *A History of Russian and Soviet Sea Power*, p. 203.

[49]   This message was primarily aimed at Britain, since the interdiction of the British SLOC with its colonies would pose the most serious threat to its security.

[50]   Gromyko, et al (eds), *Diplomaticheskiy Slovar*, Vol. 2, p. 477; Mitchell, *A History of Russian and Soviet Sea Power*, pp. 176-177. Russia's military support of the Lincoln Government through the deployment of naval squadrons helped to increase the political weight of the US in the world.

[51]   The fact that the Russian Empire exercised much greater tolerance towards its Muslim citizens compared to other colonial powers at that time had played a significant role in the decision of indigenous Malay. Captain 2nd Rank V. Smirnov, 'Sekretnaya Missiya "Vsadnika"' [The "Vsadnik's" Secret Mission], *Krasnaya Zvezda*, 10 June 2000, p. 6.

[52]   According to Russian naval classification at that time, the *Varyag* was identified as the 1st Rank cruiser.

[53]   A. Bocharov, 'Schitaem Eti Vody Dostupnymi Plavaniya Vsekh Natsiy' [We Consider These Waters Suitable for Sailing for All Nations], *Morskoi Sbornik*, No. 11, 1999, pp. 71-77. For more detailed information on operations of the Russian Imperial Navy in the Gulf, see: E. Rezvan, *Russian Ships in the Gulf 1899–1903* (first English edition), Ithaca Press, Reading, 1993.

[54]   Bocharov, 'Schitaem Eti Vody Dostupnymi Plavaniya Vsekh Natsiy', p. 1.

[55]   Bocharov, 'Schitaem Eti Vody Dostupnymi Plavaniya Vsekh Natsiy', p. 71.

[56]   Reynolds, *Command of the Sea*, p. 428.

[57]   For detailed information on Russo-Japanese War, especially naval operations during the war, see: E.B. Potter (ed), *Sea Power: A Naval History*, 2nd ed, Naval Institute Press, Annapolis, 1981, pp. 168-175.

[58]   After the Russo-Japanese War, the Russian Navy was ranked only fifth in the world. Sorokin and Krasnov, *Korabli Prokhodyat Ispytaniya*, p. 77.

[59]   Russia was still able to get direct access to the Pacific via the Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy seaport, but its physical isolation from the mainland, absence of the railway and underdeveloped infrastructure made this seaport an ineffective gateway.

[60]   P.H. Halpern, *A Naval History of World War I*, Naval Institute Press, Annapolis, 1994, p. 17. The so-called Small Shipbuilding Program of 1909 called for the construction of seven battleships, two cruisers and nine destroyers, all to be assigned to the RBF and the RBSF. The Large Shipbuilding Program of 1912 also had a purpose to strengthen Russian fleets in European MTVDs.

[61]   Captain 2nd Rank A. Kolchak, 'Kakoi Flot Nuzhen Rossii' [What Kind of Fleet Does Russia Need], *Morskoi Sbornik*, No. 3, 1993, pp. 26-27. The original version was printed in *Morskoi Sbornik* in 1908 (Nn 6-7). Admiral Kolchak was one of Russia's most talented naval officers. Veteran of the Russo-Japanese War and WWI, he became one of main leaders of Russia's 'white' movement during the Civil War. He was executed by the Bolsheviks in 1920.

[62]   Captain 2nd Rank M. Rimskiy-Korsakov, 'Zachem Rossii Nuzhen Flot' [What Russia Needs the Navy For], *Morskoi Sbornik*, No. 3, 1993, p. 21. The original version was printed in 1908 (Nn 2-3). In 1906 Rimskiy-Korsakov was a member of the special commission that investigated reasons for the Tsushima disaster.

[63] Captain 1st Rank M. Monakov, 'O Potrebnom Rossii Flote' [About the Fleet, Needful for Russia], *Morskoi Sbornik*, No. 3, 1998, p. 39.

[64] For more detailed information about the naval balance before WWI, including the Pacific theatre, see: Halpern, *A Naval History of World War*, pp. 1-20, 70-73; Potter (ed), *Sea Power*, pp. 203-204.

[65] Captain 1st Rank V. Dotsenko, 'Vossozdanie Flota' [Reconstruction of the Fleet], *Morskoi Sbornik*, No. 11, 1991, p. 64.

[66] The Shipbuilding Program of 1912-16, adopted in June 1912 planned to reinforce the RSF with six submarines. During WWI, there were plans to send an additional 24 submarines to compensate for the absence of a substantial surface fleet in the Far East. The decision to reinforce the RSF's submarine force was probably based on the performance of Russian Pacific submarines during the Russo-Japanese War, where they proved to be effective deterrent weapons, and also on the relative easiness of their transfer (via the railway) to the Far East. Being a perfect instrument of sea denial, the presence of a significant submarine force in the Far East would deter hostile forces from launching attacks on Vladivostok and other Russian Pacific ports. However, the war in Europe, followed by the October Revolution of 1917, brought to an end the implementation of these plans. Monakov, 'O Potrebnom Rossii Flote', p. 40; V. Dotsenko, 'Pervaia Mirovaia: Korabli "Voennoi Pory"' [World War I: 'The Wartime' Ships], *Morskoi Sbornik*, No. 12, 1991, p. 63.

[67] Zakharov, et al, *Krasnoznamenny Tikhookeanskiy Flot*, p. 75; Pryamistskiy, 'Na Beregakh Zolotogo Roga', p. 87.

[68] G. Avraamov, 'Diplomaticheskaya Missiya Avrory' [The Aurora's Diplomatic Mission], *Morskoi Sbornik*, No. 2, 1998, pp. 85-87.

[69] Zakharov, et al, *Krasnoznamenny Tikhookeansky Flot*, p. 78.

[70] S. Pryamitskiy, 'Tikhookeanskiy Flot: Ot Okhotska do Vladivostoka' [The Pacific Fleet: From Okhotsk to Vladivostok], *Morskoi Sbornik*, No. 2, 2001, p. 78.

[71] A. Nikolayev and S. Tiulyakov, 'Kanonerka Spravilas' Blestyashche' [The Gunboat Coped with Excellently], *Nezavisimoe Voennoe Obozrenie*, No. 21, 2000, p. 5.

[72] In 1926, Soviet naval forces in the Far East were formally disbanded. The only naval grouping that remained operational in the area was the ARF. Pryamitskiy, 'Tikhookeansky Flot: Ot Okhotska do Vladivostoka', p. 78.

[73] Sorokin and Krasnov, *Korabli Prokhodyat Ispytaniya*, p. 127.

[74] V.P. Kuskov, *Korabli Oktyabrya* [Ships of October], Lenizdat, Leningrad, 1984, pp. 155-160. In the 1930s and 1940s, each redeployment of Soviet warships and auxiliaries from one maritime theatre to another was classified as Ekspeditsiya Obobogo Naznacheniya – EON (a Special-Purpose Expedition). Each expedition received a serial number. The acronym EON was also used to classify other Soviet special maritime activities; for example, salvage operations.

[75] Sorokin and Krasnov, *Korabli Prokhodyat Ispytaniya*, pp. 121-122. This was the first submarine to be transferred via the NSR.

[76] A. Pochtarev, 'A "Syn" Tak i Ne "Rodilsia"…' [The Son Was Not Born], *Krasnaya Zvezda*, 27 August 1999, p. 2.

[77] P.L. Podvig (ed), *Strategicheskoe Yadernoe Vooruzhenie Rossii* [Russia's Strategic Nuclear Armament], IzdAT, Moskva, 1998, p. 223.

78   The city and later the shipyard were named in honour of members of the Soviet Communist Youth Organisation, Komsomol, who actively participated in the construction project. The building of Komsomol'sk-na-Amure turned into one of the most significant Soviet pre-war initiatives.

79   The USSR did not want a situation similar to that in the Crimean War, where superior naval forces based in the Mediterranean would be free to pass the Straits and challenge the RBSF.

80   This strategically important gain was fully exploited by the Soviet Navy after WWII, during the intensive build-up of Soviet naval capabilities in the 1960s and 1970s.

81   Zakharenko, 'Na Dal'nevostochnykh Rubezhakh Rossii', p. 21.

82   *Krasnaya Zvezda*, 17 January 2001, p. 2.

83   Captain 1st Rank M. Monakov, 'Zachem Stalin Stroil Okeanskiy Flot' [What for Stalin was Building the Ocean-Going Fleet], *Morskoi Sbornik*, No. 12, 1998, p. 78.

84   Monakov, 'Zachem Stalin Stroil Okeanskiy Flot', p. 74.

85   Monakov, 'Zachem Stalin Stroil Okeanskiy Flot', p. 74.

86   For example, during the Japanese intervention against China in 1937-38 the Soviet Union was among the few members of the League of Nation's Council who supported strong retaliatory measures against Japan. Harold S. Quigley, *Far Eastern War 1937–1941*, Greenwood Press, Westport, 1973, p. 257. However, the weakness of SOVPAC was a major factor that prevented the Soviet Union from interfering militarily. Such an outcome only further convinced Stalin about the need to rebuild quickly Russian naval power in the Pacific.

87   B. Ranft and G. Till, *The Sea in Soviet Strategy*, 2nd ed, Macmillan Press, London, 1989, p. 96.

88   Monakov, 'Zachem Stalin Stroil Okeanskiy Flot', p. 78.

89   Monakov, 'Zachem Stalin Stroil Okeanskiy Flot', p. 79. See also: Ranft and Till, *The Sea in Soviet Strategy*, p. 96. The desire to seek foreign assistance in the construction of its ocean-going navy was an indication of limits of Soviet economic potential, especially its shipbuilding industry.

90   Zakharov, 'Na Dal'nevostochnykh Rubezhakh', p. 21; General M. Kozlov, et al (eds), *Entsiklopediya Velikaya Otechestvennaya Voina 1941–1945* [The Encyclopaedia of the Great Patriotic War 1941-1945], Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya, Moskva, 1985, p. 156.

91   A. Pochtarev, 'Souzniki na More' [Allies at Sea], *Krasnaya Zvezda*, 5 October 2002, p. 5.

92   N.G. Kuznetsov, *Kursom k Pobede* [Course towards the Victory], Voennoe Izdatel'stvo, Moskva, 1989, pp. 471-476.

93   Kuznetsov, *Kursom k Pobede*, p. 478; Zakharov, et al, *Krasnoznamenny Tikhookeanskiy Flot*, p. 168. Admiral Nikolai Kuznetsov was Commander in Chief of the Soviet Navy from 1939 to 1946, and from 1951 until 1956.

94   Podvig (ed), *Strategicheskoe Yadernoe Vooruzhenie Rossii*, p. 223.

95   A. Vasilevskiy, Delo Vsei Zhizni [The Task of the Entire Life], Izdatel'stvo Politicheskoi Literatury, Moskva, 1976, p. 563; Kuznetsov, Kursom k Pobede, pp. 482-84.

96   E. Morris, *The Russian Navy: Myth and Reality*, Hamish Hamilton, London, 1977, p. 118.

[97] D.F. Winkler, *Cold War at Sea. High-Seas Confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union*, Naval Institute Press, Annapolis, 2000, p. 10.

[98] In comparison, during same period, the RBF received 33 destroyers of same series, the RBSF 25, and the RNF 20. See: *Morskoi Sbornik*, No. 10, 1992, p. 55; *Morskoi Sbornik*, No. 11, 1992, p. 54. Some of the Baltic destroyers were later transferred to the Pacific.

[99] Sorokin and Krasnov, *Korabli Prokhodyat Ispytanya*, p. 186; Also *Morskoi Sbornik*, Nn 5-6 1992, pp. 94-97.

[100] D. Litvinenko, 'Rabotat' Na Dal'niuiu Perspektivy' [To Work for the Remote Perspective], *Morskoi Sbornik*, No. 2, 1997, pp. 63-67.

[101] During the period of late 1940s and early 1950s, SOVPAC underwent repeated reorganisations as part of ongoing structural reforms in the Soviet Armed Forces. In January 1947, SOVPAC was split into two independent fleets: the 5th Fleet (Southern Force, based in Maritime Territory and Port-Arthur) and the 7th Fleet (Northern Force, based in Sovetskaya Gavan and Kamchatka). In 1953, the 5th Fleet was reorganised into the Red Banner Pacific Fleet, while the 7th Fleet was initially reorganised into the North-Pacific Flotilla, which later was reformed into the Sovetskaya Gavan naval base. Admiral (ret) G. Kostev, *Voenno-Morskoi Flot Strany 1945-1995* [The Nation's Navy 1945-1995], Nauka, Sankt-Peterburg, 1999, p. 9.

[102] The formal reason for the Kuznetsov's dismissal was the catastrophe in Sevastopol in October 1955, where the battleship Novorossiysk sank after an explosion, with great loss of life.

[103] Kostev, *Voenno-Morskoi Flot Strany*, p. 52.

[104] In particular, further construction of the *Sverdlov* class gunships was cancelled (ships with 90–95 per cent readiness were scrapped); surface ships with no more than 5000 tonnes in displacement were allowed to be built, any design work on aircraft carriers was abolished. See: I. Kasatonov, *Flot Vyshel v Okean* [The Navy Went into the Ocean], Andreevskiy Flag, Moskva, 1996, p. 55.

[105] Mitchell, *A History of Russian and Soviet Sea Power*, pp. 476-477. See also: B.W. Watson, *Red Navy at Sea: Soviet Naval Operations on the High Seas, 1956–1980*, Westview Press, Boulder, 1982, p. 3; *Soviet Naval Developments*, 3rd ed, The Nautical and Aviation Publishing Company of America, 1984, Annapolis, pp. 4-5.

[106] See: *Soviet Naval Developments*, p. 6; C.W. Koburger, Jr, *Narrow Seas, Small Navies and Fat Merchantmen: Naval Strategies for the 1990s*, Praeger, New York, 1990, pp. 44-45.

[107] Admiral V. Chernavin, *Atomny Podvodny* [Nuclear-Powered Submarine], Andreevskiy Flag, Moskva, 1997, p. 406.

[108] Potter (ed), *Sea Power*, p. 372.

[109] Kostev, *Voenno-Morskoi Flot Starny*, p. 151.

[110] Kasatonov, *Flot Vyshel v Okean*, p. 128.

[111] Kasatonov, *Flot Vyshel v Okean*, pp. 128-129.

[112] K. Hiroshi, *Islands or Security? Japanese-Soviet Relations under Brezhnev and Andropov*, International Research Centre for Japanese Studies, Kyoto, 1998, pp. 286-287; see also: N.N. Petro and A.Z. Rubenstein, *Russian Foreign Policy: From Empire to Nation-State*, Longman, New York, 1997, p. 194.

[113] See: Winkler, *Cold War at Sea*, p. 28.

[114]   *Soviet Naval Developments*, p. 61.

[115]   *Soviet Naval Developments*, pp. 63-66.

[116]   Podvig (ed), *Strategicheskoe Yadernoe Vooruzhenie Rossii*, p. 251.

[117]   Podvig (ed), *Strategicheskoe Yadernoe Vooruzhenie Rossii*, p. 255; see also: Kostev, *Voenno-Morskoi Flot Strany*, p. 117; Chernavin, *Atomny Podvodny*, pp. 104-121.

[118]   According to Russian statistics, between 1963 and the end of 1991, 25 submarines were transferred to the RPF via NSR, an indication of how important this convenient waterway had become for the Soviet Navy. Data is collected by the author. Apart from commissioning submarines built in Komsomol'sk-na-Amure and those transferred to the Far East via the NSR, a number of submarines were transferred to the Pacific via the Atlantic and the Indian oceans (the so-called southern routes). The first such transit of two nuclear-powered submarines occurred in 1966. In 1973, for example, two nuclear-powered submarines were transferred to the Pacific via the southern route together with three surface ships, including *Kresta II* class CG *Marshal Voroshilov*. The last transit of submarines to the Far East via southern routes took place in 1979 when two *Delta III* class SSBN were transferred to the Pacific. After that any further deployments of nuclear-powered submarines continued to be carried via NSR. However, southern routes were used also by surface warships during their deployments to the Pacific MTVD. G. Kostev, 'Iuzhnymi Marshrutami' [By Southern Routes], *Morskoi Sbornik*, No. 10, 1997, pp. 40-42; Chernavin, *Atomny Podvodny*, pp. 43-45, 168-178.

[119]   The 26th Submarine Division and the 45th Division of nuclear-powered submarines were formed in 1961 and 1962 respectively. The 26th Division was based in Pavlovskoe (Maritime Territory), while the 45th Division was based in the Kamchatka Peninsula. In 1963 the 45th Submarine Division became part of the 15th Submarine Squadron (15-ya Eskadra Podvodnykh Lodok), which later incorporated 10th Submarine Division (March 1967) and 8th Submarine Division (October 1970). In November 1973 the 15th Squadron was reorganised to become the 2nd Flotilla of Nuclear-Powered Submarines (2-ya Flotiliya Atomnykh Podvodnykh Lodok), later incorporating the 25th Division. Kasatonov, *Flot Vyshel v Okean*, p. 145. Strategic submarines were also deployed with the RNF. Such strategic distribution of Russian sea-based strategic deterrent forces situation remains unchanged today.

[120]   Chernavin, *Atomny Podvodny*, p. 410. According to Western sources, Pacific Fleet SSBN combat patrols were initiated in 1971. See: D. Da Cunha, *Soviet Naval Power in the Pacific*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder & London, 1990, p. 18; Watson, *Red Navy at Sea*, p. 133.

[121]   P.S. Gillette and W.C. Frank, Jr (eds), *The Sources of Soviet Naval Conduct*, Lexington Books, Lexington, 1990, p. 211.

[122]   Gillette and Frank (eds), *The Sources of Soviet Naval Conduct*, p. 212.

[123]   *Kynda* class CGs were the world's first specifically designed large missile-carrying warships. Both ships were armed with 16 anti-ship cruise missiles (ASCMs) P-35 with an effective range of up to 300 km.

[124]   In the mid 1950s, in accordance with Khrushchev's 'new naval policy', Marshal Georgy Zhukov, then Soviet Defence Minister, ordered the dissolution of remaining naval infantry brigades. Kasatonov, *Flot Vyshel v Okean*, p. 97.

[125]   Kasatonov, *Flot Vyshel v Okean*, p. 109. It is hard to say whether after 1963 the 390th Regiment changed its number to the 310th Regiment or this is a misprint in the book. Both numbers are taken from the above-mentioned source.

[126]   N. Munro, 'Marines growing but have limited role', *Asia-Pacific Defence Reporter*, April 1998, p. 41.

[127]   V.G. Deineka (ed), *Aviatsiya Rossiiskogo Flota* [Aviation of the Russian Navy], Sudostroenie, St Petersburg, 1996, p. 232.

[128]   Kasatonov, *Flot Vyshel v Okean*, p. 91; Deineka (ed), *Aviatsiya Rossiiskogo Flota*, p. 237.

[129]   Deineka (ed), *Aviatsiya Rossiiskogo Flota*, p. 242; *Morskoi Sbornik*, No. 8, 2000, p. 39.

[130]   Da Cunha, *Soviet Naval Power in the Pacific*, p. 252.

[131]   D. Warner, 'Pacific Fleet Reinforced', *Asia-Pacific Defence Reporter*, March 1988, p. 6.

[132]   G. Jacobs, 'Growth in Strength of Soviet Pacific Fleet', *Jane's Defence Weekly*, 8 July 1989, p. 35.

[133]   *The Military Balance 1985–86*, IISS, 1985.

[134]   Winkler, *Cold War at Sea*, p. 27.

[135]   Winkler, *Cold War at Sea*, p. 152.

[136]   Zakharenko, 'Na Dal'nevostochnykh Rubezhakh Rossii', p. 23.

[137]   Kostev, *Voenno-Morskoi Flot Strany*, p. 408.

[138]   Kostev, *Voenno-Morskoi Flot Strany*, p. 408. The other major formation of the SOVPAC surface fleet was the 9th Division of ASW ships (9-ya Diviziya Protivolodochnykh Korablei), which comprised three brigades of surface combatants (over 30 units). Kasatonov, *Flot Vyshel v Okean*, p. 156.

[139]   Kasatonov, *Flot Vyshel v Okean*, pp. 155–156.

[140]   Zakharenko, 'Na Dal'nevostochnykh Rubezhakh Rossii', p. 23.

[141]   Captain 2nd Rank A. Khrolenko, 'Pri Rechke Karatun'' [On the Karatun' River], *Krasnaya Zvezda*, 23 July 1999, p. 2.

[142]   Jacobs, 'Growth in Strength of Soviet Pacific Fleet', p. 34.

[143]   Koryavko, 'Mirovoi Okean i Natsional'nye Interesy Rossii', p. 24. Some Western sources identify Soviet operational squadron in the South China Sea as the 9th Squadron. See: Jacobs, 'Growth in Strength of Soviet Pacific Fleet', p. 34.

[144]   At the same period, the RNF received only four cruisers, and the RBSF, none, while the numbers of cruisers in the Baltic were reduced. See: Da Cunha, *Soviet Naval Power in the Pacific*, p. 13.

[145]   Da Cunha, *Soviet Naval Power in the Pacific*, pp. 13-19.

[146]   *Jane's Fighting Ships 2000-2001*, Jane's Information Group, 2001, pp. 572, 575.

[147]   Kasatonov, *Flot Vyshel v Okean*, pp. 356-357. During the same period, the RNF conducted two long-range patrols, and the RBSF only one.

[148]   Kasatonov, *Flot Vyshel v Okean*, p. 353. It was even prohibited to send naval advisers to North Korea. Gretton also agreed that non-participation of the Soviet Navy in war meant that the USSR tried to avoid the direct involvement in the conflict. Gretton, *Maritime Strategy*, p. 34.

[149]   For more detailed information about USN operations during the Korean War, see: Potter (ed), *Sea Power*, pp. 363-369.

[150]   Potter (ed), *Sea Power*, p. 360.

151   Potter (ed), *Sea Power*, pp. 360-361; see also: Mitchell, *A History of Russian and Soviet Sea Power*, p. 511.

152   Captain 2nd Rank A. Khrolenko, 'Eskadry Rossii Neobkhodimy' [Squadrons are Needed by Russia], *Morskoi Sbornik*, No. 4, 1998, p. 37; see also: Chernavin, *Atomny Podvodny*, p. 413; Khrolenko, 'Pri Rechke Karatun', p. 2; Mitchell, *A History of Russian and Soviet Sea Power*, p. 547.

153   Mitchell, *A History of Russian and Soviet Sea Power*, pp. 546–547; see also: Kasatonov, *Flot Vyshel v Okean*, p. 362; Chernavin, *Atomny Podvodny*, p. 412.

154   Chernavin, *Atomny Podvodny*, p. 413. The 20th Operational Squadron consisted of 11 surface combatants, several submarines and some auxiliary vessels. See: Watson, *Red Navy at Sea*, pp. 138-139.

155   Watson, *Red Navy at Sea*, pp. 141-142.

156   Watson, *Red Navy at Sea*, 140.

157   Chernavin, *Atomny Podvodny*, p. 411.

158   'Russia Seeks to Keep SIGINT Link', *Jane's Defence Weekly*, 12 September 1992, p. 27.

159   Rear-Admiral V. Vasiukov, 'Voenno-Morskoi Flot i Obespechenie Natsional'noi Bezopasnosti Strany v Mirnoe Vremya' [The Navy and Provision of the Country's Security in Peacetime], *Morskoi Sbornik*, No. 1, 2003, p. 25.

160   Da Cunha, *Soviet Naval Power in the Pacific*, pp. 168-169.

161   Watson, *Red Navy at Sea*, p. 133.

162   Kostev, *Voenno-Morskoi Flot Strany*, p. 408. Despite the fact that SOVPAC commenced operations in the Indian Ocean in 1968, the fleet became responsible for maintaining a Soviet naval presence in the area only in 1974. In that year the 8th SAR of the RBSF, formed in 1967 for special operations in the Indian Ocean area (such as the recovery of Soviet spacecraft landing in the Indian Ocean), was reorganised into the 8th Operational Squadron. Subsequently, the first formal deployment of the RPF units as part of the 8th Operational Squadron took place on the 9 May 1974 when a task group, comprising the Vliyatelny destroyer, a nuclear-powered submarine, a frigate, a minesweeper, plus several support vessels, entered the patrol zone in the area. Kasatonov, *Flot Vyshel v Okean*, pp. 153-154. At various times, the Squadron continued supporting recovery operations of Soviet space craft. For example, in June 1982, the combined SAR task group comprising the RPF space tracking vessel *Chumikan*, the *Kresta II* class CG *Vasiliy Chapayev* and a tanker together with RBSF rescuers *Yamal*, *Apsheron* and *Baskunchak*, took part in the recovery operation of the prototype of the Soviet space shuttle Buran, the Bor 4. V. Dmitriev, 'Kosmicheskiy Start' [The Space Launch], *Morskoi Sbornik*, No. 11, 2004, pp. 39-44.

163   M. MccGwire (ed), *Soviet Naval Developments: Capability and Context*, Praeger Publishers, New York, 1973, pp. 425-426; Kostev, *Voenno-Morskoi Flot Strany*, p. 415; Khrolenko, 'Eskadry Rossii Neobkhodimy', p. 37. It was the first time that the Soviet surface combatants conducted missile launches in the Indian Ocean.

164   Kasatonov, *Flot Vyshel v Okean*, pp. 226-228. As part of the Okean manoeuvres scenario, submarines conducted two launches of cruise missiles.

165   Watson, *Red Navy at Sea*, p. 148.

166   Khrolenko, 'Pri Rechke Karatun', p. 2.

[167] Watson, *The Red Navy at Sea*, pp. 150-151; MccGwire, *Soviet Naval Developments*, pp. 443-444.

[168] Vasiukov, 'Voenno-Morskoi Flot i Obespechenie Natsional'noi Bezopasnosti Strany v Mirnoe Vremya', p. 25.

[169] Kasatonov, *Flot Vyshel v Okean*, p. 370. For more information on the composition of the British force, see: MccGwire, *Soviet Naval Developments*, p. 443.

[170] Despite Soviet failure to acquire Bangladesh's loyalty as a 'client' state, Soviet clearing operations in the area, which had a humanitarian context, had a positive impact on the Soviet image in the Third World. For more information on Soviet clearing operations in Bangladesh, see: C.C. Petersen, 'The Soviet Port-Cleaning Operations in Bangladesh' in M. MccGwire, K. Booth and J. McDonnel (eds), *Soviet Naval Policy: Objectives and Constraints*, Praeger Publishers, New York, 1975, pp. 319-340.

[171] Captain 1st Rank (ret) V. Orlov, 'Provereno, Min Net!' [Checked, No Mines], *Morskoi Sbornik*, No. 12, 1999, pp. 76-78.

[177] Admiral V. Kuroyedov, 'Instrument Podderzhania Mira i Stabil'nosti' [An Instrument of Maintaining Peace and Stability], *Morskoi Sbornik*, No. 9, 1998, p. 9.

[173] Vasiukov, 'Voenno-Morskoi Flot i Obespechenie Natsional'noi Bezopasnosti Strany v Mirnoe Vremya', p. 25.

[174] Vasiukov, 'Voenno-Morskoi Flot i Obespechenie Natsional'noi Bezopasnosti Strany v Mirnoe Vremya', p. 25.

[175] The hostilities between the two countries also involved attacks on neutral shipping in the Gulf, the so-called 'Tanker War'.

[176] Vasiukov, 'Voenno-Morskoi Flot i Obespechenie Natsional'noe Bezopasnosti Strany v Mirnoe Vremya', p. 26; Khrolenko, 'Eskadry Rossii Neobkhodimy', p. 38.

[177] J.H. Alexander and M.L. Bartlett, *Sea Soldiers in the Cold War: Amphibious Warfare, 1945-1991*, Naval Institute Press, Annapolis, 1995, p. 155; for more details about attacks against Soviet merchant marine during the 'Tanker War', see: Winkler, *Cold War at Sea*, p. 157.

[178] Watson, *The Red Navy at Sea*, p. 136.

[179] Kostev, *Voenno-Morskoi Flot Strany*, p. 415.

[180] Zakharov, et al, *Krasnoznamenny Tikhookeanskiy Flot*, p. 258.

[181] Kostev, *Voenno-Morskoi Flot Strany*, p. 415.

[182] For more information about the 1968 deployment, see: Kasatonov, *Flot Vyshel v Okean*, pp. 238-243; Khrolenko, 'Eskadry Rossii Neobkhodimy', p. 37; MccGwire (ed), *Soviet Naval Developments*, pp. 425-426. During this particular visit, Soviet naval command had several meeting with senior leaders of countries, such as presidents of Somalia and Iraq (at that time).

[183] Kostev, *Voenno-Morskoi Flot Strany*, p. 415.

[184] Information about this deployment was collected by the author.

[185] During the 400 plus-day deployment, this naval unit travelled 41,000 nautical miles and visited six countries: Sri Lanka, Ethiopia, India, Iraq, Somalia and South Yemen. Khrolenko, 'Eskadry Rossii Neobkhodimy', p. 38.

[186] Sorokin and Krasnov, *Korabli Prokhodyat Ispytaniya*, p. 209.

[187]   Jacobs, 'Growth in Strength of Soviet Pacific Fleet', p. 35.

[188]   Admiral I. Khmel'nov, 'Mozg Voenno-Morskogo Flota' [The Navy's Brain], *Morskoi Sbornik*, No. 1, 1997, p. 7.

[189]   Kostev, *Voenno-Morskoi Flot Strany*, p. 408.

[190]   Kasatonov, *Flot Vyshel v Okean*, pp. 309-310.

[191]   According to some wartime scenarios, strategic bombers of the LRA should execute offensive operations against enemy CVBGs together with missile-carrying naval aircraft.

[192]   For more information about the 1971 deployment see: Vice-Admiral (ret) V. Kruglyakov, 'Pokhod k Gavaiskim Ostrovam' [Cruise to the Hawaiian Islands], *Morskoi Sbornik*, No. 11, 1999, pp. 43-49; *Morskoi Sbornik*, No. 12, 1999, pp. 37-44.

[193]   V. Shcherbakov, 'Gde My – Tam Pobeda' [We Are Where the Victory Is], *Rossiiskoe Voennoe Obozrenie*, November 2005.

[194]   Watson, *Red Navy at Sea*, p. 30.

[195]   Vice-Admiral V. Patrushev, 'Nashi Podvodnye Sily vo Vtoroi Polovine Svoei Istorii' [Our Submarine Forces in the Second Half of Their History], *Morskoi Sbornik*, No. 3, 1996, p. 15.

[196]   Kasatonov, *Flot Vyshel v Okean*, p. 316.

[197]   See: A.A. Kokoshin, *Soviet Strategic Thought, 1917–91*, The MIT Press, Cambridge, 1998, p. 131.

[198]   Watson, *Red Navy at Sea*, p. 136.

[199]   Watson, *Red Navy at Sea*, p. 32.

[200]   Patrushev, 'Nashi Podvodnye Sily vo Vtoroi Polovine Svoei Istorii', p. 15.

[201]   V. Kuroyedov, 'On Vyvel Flot v Okean' [He had Deployed the Navy to the Ocean], *Krasnaya Zvezda*, 19 January 2000, p. 2.

[202]   See: Da Cunha, S*oviet Naval Power in the Pacific*, p. 115; Khrolenko, 'Eskadry Rossii Neobkhodimy', p. 38. Da Cunha has a different time for the exercise. According to his data, it was held in April 1984, though Russian naval sources indicate that it was held in October. See: Khrolenko, 'Eskadry Rossii Neobkhodimy', p. 38.

[203]   Da Cunha, *Soviet Naval Power in the Pacific*, pp. 115-116.

[204]   The group comprised of the carrier *Novorossiysk*, three *Kara* class CGs (*Nikolaev*, *Tashkent*, and *Tallin*); the *Kresta II* class CG *Vasiliy Chapaev*; two guided-missile frigates (FFGs) (*Krivak I Poryvisty*, and *Krivak II Revnostny*) and two replenishment ships. Da Cunha, *Soviet Naval Power in the Pacific*, p. 121; Khrolenko, 'Eskadry Rossii Neobkhodimy', pp. 38-40.

[205]   Kuroyedov, 'On Vyvel Flot v Okean', p. 2.

[206]   Jacobs, 'Growth in Strength of Soviet Pacific Fleet', p. 34.

[207]   R. Karniol, 'Exercise Gives Rare Close-Up Look at Soviet Pacific Fleet', *Jane's Defence Weekly*, 29 July 1989, pp. 146-147.

[208]   Captain 1st Rank V. Shastun and Captain Lieutenant A. Ivanov, 'Eto Nastoyashchie Professionaly!' [They Are Real Professionals], *Morskoi Sbornik*, No. 11, 1991, p. 53.

[209]   Shastun and Ivanov, 'Eto Nastoyashchie Professionaly!', pp. 53-54.

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