Korea, Soviet concerns over the entry of American troops into the fighting were heightened by the fact that a ten-mile stretch at the eastern end of the boundary that followed the mouth of the Hunchun River served as North Korea's boundary with the USSR, only ninety miles from Vladivostok. After the seesaw battle that raged up and down the peninsula ended, the 1953 armistice line along the thirty-eighth parallel became the basis for the boundary between the two Koreas that persists to this day.

There were unanticipated consequences for the USSR as a result of helping build up the Chinese air force and army. That air force became the third largest in the world, and the large Chinese army became battle hardened. This new strength was instrumental in changing China's view of itself from that of a Soviet satellite to that of a partner. It was an important factor in Mao Zedong's break with Moscow after the death of Joseph Stalin.

The southern end of the ring of containment in offshore Asia included the Philippines, which had received independence in 1947 but continued to house US military, naval, and air bases. These positions overlooked the South China Sea and the shorelands of southern China and Indonesia. The threatened spread of Communism to the Philippines was halted in 1954, when indigenous Communist guerrillas (the Hukbalahap, who operated in Central Luzon) were defeated by the government's forces. However, they regrouped and conducted a campaign of terrorism for the next decade and a half until crushed by the Philippine military in 1969. They ceased to function the following year.

Rounding off the heartland's near-periphery was the Arctic. There, the Cold War balance was maintained through mutual deterrence, as nuclear weapons capable of being delivered by long-range bombers and submarines prowling under the Arctic ice cap became available to both sides. The US-Canadian Distant Early Warning (DEW) line air defense system, begun in 1955, was an important element of the American transpolar security system. Similarly, Soviet meteorological, radio, and scientific posts based on ice floes backed up the country's air, nuclear icebreaker, and submarine defenses.

Expansion of the Communist realm into its near-periphery during phase I was greatly facilitated by Moscow's buildup of its nuclear capacity as well as by the rapid rebuilding of its war-shattered heavy industrial economy. Reconstruction of the economy, including reindustrialization of much of the western Soviet Union, was marked by rapid advances in military technology.

Phase I came to an end in 1956, when Soviet nuclear weapons development led to the establishment of a balance of terror between the two superpowers. Also marking the period's conclusion was the beginning of the Sino-Soviet schism.

Phase II: 1957–79

COMMUNIST DEEP PENETRATION OF THE MARITIME REALM

During this phase, substantial change in the geopolitical map of the world took place, as the Cold War leapfrogged continental Eurasia's near-periphery and spread to the inner and outer reaches of the maritime world. The bitter rivalry between the superpowers was fanned by a number of events. The 1957 launching of Sputnik, the first artificial satellite, a year before the US launching of Explorer I, was considered a wake-up call to American science and education. In the same year, Moscow announced the development of the first intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM). In addition, it broke a voluntary moratorium on nuclear testing, which it

had signed in 1958, when it resumed testing in 1961. US fears of the Soviet threat were also heightened by the building of the Berlin Wall (1961), the Cuban missile crisis (1962), and the invasion of Czechoslovakia (1968). Soviet fears in turn were intensified by the Bay of Pigs (1961), by US entry into the Vietnam War (1965), and by the American role in the overthrow of Indonesia's President Sukarno (1965).

The penetration of the maritime world by the Eurasian continental powers was facilitated by a number of developments. The European colonial era was ending in the Middle East, Southeast Asia, and Sub-Saharan Africa. At the same time, Marxist influence was gathering strength within Third World national liberation movements. The ability of the United States to become directly engaged in additional Cold War conflicts was limited by negative American public opinion stemming from the involvement in the Vietnam War. Development of a massive Soviet arms export industry cemented the dependence upon Moscow of many Third World countries.

The schism between Moscow and Beijing set up a competition between the two for Third World influence. This break began with Mao's ideological opposition to the de-Stalinization policy introduced by Nikita Khrushchev in 1956 and widened with Mao's promotion of the Great Leap Forward. For Mao and his successors, Khrushchev's disavowal of Stalinism represented abandonment of Marxism. These events led to the withdrawal of Soviet economic aid and technicians from China in 1960. Hostility intensified as China became allied with Albania in 1961 in the wake of the rift between Moscow and Tirana. It increased still further in the late 1960s, when Chinese hard-liners took objection to Leonid Brezhnev's call for peaceful coexistence with the West. Finally, the decade-long border dispute between the two Communist powers erupted into fighting.

A marked ideological shift gave impetus to Moscow's strategic ambitions. The move away from the ideological commitment to support only revolutionary Marxist parties was signaled by the 1956 dissolution of the Cominform. Instead, by joining hands with all who were enemies of imperialism, the USSR could support nationalist movements that were hostile to Communism as well as those that were led by Marxists. The banner was no longer the "World Communist Revolution"; it was the "War against Capitalism-Imperialism."

The Soviet Union developed its arms industry to the point of becoming the world's second-largest supplier of arms. Whereas in phase I Soviet arms shipments had been limited primarily to the Warsaw Pact countries and China, in phase II, the direction of the flow of weapons shifted to the Third World and to India. While Moscow could not compete with the United States and its allies in trade or in economic assistance to its Third World clients, Soviet military transfers to its clients in the form of sales and grants were generous. Moreover, its improved logistics capabilities enabled it to move large numbers of Cuban troops to Angola and Ethiopia and to ship large quantities of arms and military supplies by sea and air.[2]

Much of what happened in phase II can be traced to the rising influence of Nikita Khrushchev after the deaths of Stalin and Lavrentiy Beria. Khrushchev's 1956 speech to the Twentieth All-Union Congress denounced Stalin's dictatorial rule and personality cult and called for decentralized management of the Soviet economy. The address followed up on efforts initiated in the previous year to introduce greater flexibility to Soviet foreign policy. This had included a peace treaty with Austria, diplomatic relations with West Germany, and return to Finland of the site of the Porkkala naval base.

Khrushchev also made efforts to place relations with Eastern Europe on more of a partnership basis. The result was establishment of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON) as a broadening of the Warsaw Pact, which had been initiated in response to the remilitarization of West Germany. However, Eastern European hopes that this presaged

a loosening of the Soviet grip were quickly dashed when uprisings in Poland by disaffected students and workers were repressed by the Soviets. In Hungary, an anti-Communist revolution that had declared Hungary neutral and withdrew Budapest from the Warsaw Pact was also crushed by Soviet troops.

With Eastern Europe still securely in its hands, the Soviet Union could now challenge the United States and its allies diplomatically and politically, within their own backyard—the maritime realm. Soviet aggressiveness was strengthened by advances in military technology, including ICBMs, so that by the 1970s the USSR had achieved nuclear parity with the West.

REGIONS OF SOVIET PENETRATION

The Soviet strategy of penetrating the maritime world gathered momentum in the years that followed, as the United States became increasingly bogged down in Vietnam. In addition, starting in 1969–71, the Nixon and Brezhnev administrations pursued a policy of détente in Europe through strategic arms limitation talks (SALT), while the American-supported *ostpolitik* of Germany's Willy Brandt aimed at reducing US-Soviet tensions and achieving mutual force reductions in Europe.

As a general strategy, the Soviet Union sought to establish political and military positions along key maritime world waterways. Such areas included:

1. the Middle East and the African Horn—the eastern Mediterranean and the Suez Canal, the Red Sea, Bab el-Mandeb, and the Gulf of Aden
2. Southeast and offshore Asia—the Strait of Malacca and the South China Sea
3. the Caribbean—the Florida Straits and the Yucatán Channel

To carry out such a strategy, a major naval buildup was undertaken.[3] Forming the core of the new Soviet "blue water" navy were missile-carrying nuclear-powered submarines and guided missile cruisers, as well as intelligence and survey ships. The fleet was backed by long-range naval and giant cargo aircraft. In addition, Soviet shipyards produced one of the largest merchant fleets in the world, including many ships with military mission capabilities. In addition to the Northern, Pacific, Baltic, and Black Sea fleets, the Soviet navy kept permanent forces in the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean.

The rise of Soviet naval power took place at a time of decline for the US naval program, the fleet having been reduced in number and threatened with obsolescence. Cold War proponents in the United States saw the Soviet buildup as an effort to gain control of the oceans and as a major threat to the security of the seas. However, their call for a strong response to the challenge through the expansion of the US Navy was not answered until the Reagan administration.

Fears of the USSR's threat to Western dominance of the oceans may have been overblown. A more likely explanation for the Soviet naval buildup is that it was done to help defend the footholds that had been secured within the maritime world, rather than to use naval power as the basis for broader expansion within the realm. A major problem for the Soviet fleets was the undependability of their overseas bases, which were vital to their operations, for they had no independent deep-water capacities. Alexandria, Berbera, Aden, Aseb (Assab), and Massawa were gained and later lost. Cienfuegos was more than offset by the US bases in Guantánamo and Key West; Cam Ranh Bay was neutralized by American air and naval operations in Guam, Okinawa, and the Philippines; and the Conakry base was offset by the

US facilities in the Azores and Ascension Island. Soviet anchorages in the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean were at the mercy of Western air and sea power.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, China shifted from a revolutionary policy to a vigorous diplomatic foreign policy, extending aid to selected parts of the underdeveloped world in South America, Africa, and Asia. This new Chinese political assertiveness was facilitated by the self-confidence derived from its development of nuclear bombs and satellites in the 1960s and by the Sino-US détente initiated by President Richard Nixon's dramatic visit to Beijing in 1972.

SHATTERBELTS

During phase II, Soviet penetration of the maritime realm resulted in the creation of three shatterbelts—the Middle East and the African Horn, Sub-Saharan Africa, and Southeast Asia.

The Middle East and the African Horn

The Middle East was the first place in the maritime realm where the Soviets penetrated the Western ring of containment. There, Syria, Egypt, and South Yemen were Moscow's main targets for extending its influence. Egypt, the largest and most powerful of the Arab states, was the prime objective. As early as 1955, the USSR began to provide aid to Egypt and also to Syria.

Withdrawal of US and British financial support for the proposed Aswan Dam, the centerpiece of Gamal Abdel Nasser's development plans in Egypt, opened the door for the Soviets to provide the funding. Moscow went on to give military support to Cairo after the Egyptian army had been defeated in the 1956 Sinai War with Israel. During the next decade and a half, Soviet influence upon Egypt was all-embracing, with vast military, technical, and economic aid. In return, the Soviets acquired access to Egyptian naval bases on the Mediterranean coast, which supported its Mediterranean squadron, a self-contained detachment of the Black Sea fleet.

This penetration of the Arab world's leading nation ended in 1972, when President Anwar Sadat made preparations for another war with Israel against the wishes of the USSR. Sadat ousted Soviet forces and took over their bases. After the defeat of Egypt in this war, the United States moved into the vacuum and, at Camp David, brokered a peace between Egypt and Israel. Egypt then returned to the maritime orbit through a new alliance with the United States.

Soviet relations with Syria were longer lasting. The Baath Party, which combined socialism and nationalism, had gained power in the mid-1950s. In 1960, its radical wing seized control with Moscow's help. Subsequent economic and military accords provided the Soviets with a strong foothold in Syria, although President Hafez al-Assad, who had seized power and become president in 1971, feared an internal Communist coup and therefore remained wary of Soviet long-range intentions. These fears played a role in Syria's decision to join with Egypt and Libya in the short-lived Federation of Arab Republics (1969–70).

Unlike Egypt, which had swept out Soviet influence in favor of peace with Israel and strong support from the United States, Syria remained at war with the Israelis over possession of the Golan Heights. As a consequence, the USSR continued to maintain considerable influence with Damascus, which still remains heavily dependent on Russian arms.

When Lebanon became embroiled in civil war among Christians, Muslims, and Palestinians in the mid-1970s, Syria seized the opportunity to extend its influence over the country.