

AD 689777

# The Uses of Military Force Since the Second World War

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## PREFACE

1. This study has attempted to categorize the uses of military force since World War II -- by types, by participants, levels of violence, and geographic location. It examines incidences of international violence with minimal regard for their antecedents or consequences. Questions of legality and justification are not addressed; aggrieved and aggressor nations are not identified. Since these questions can only be answered subjectively, they have been set aside, hopefully without losing the value of the analysis.

2. The study is not merely a statistical history of the failure of nations to maintain order and avoid war; although it is that, it is also a history of progress in the expanding community among states. The statistics reflect the instability in underdeveloped regions vacated by the colonial powers. They show the effects of proliferation of nonnuclear armaments, providing modern weapons to regions and dissident elements of backward nations to use in internal and international disputes. The statistics also show the shift in the geography of conflict, away from the areas of vital interest of the super-powers and the great industrial nations. They show the effects of the United States strategy of containment applied during a period of growing military strength and changing military strategy of the forces being contained.

3. It is significant that the aggregate increase in military capabilities of nations has not been accompanied by a proportionate increase in the incidence of actual use of military force. The nuclear armistice continues; the line between East and West in Europe remains inviolate; nations have prosecuted wars without the objective of military victory. The great powers have not consistently pursued policies carrying high risks of war. But this evolving pattern in the use of military force has not been so much the result of improved reason as it has improved military forces.

4. The relationships and distribution of military forces attendant to the statistics reported in the study are however, undergoing change. Recent events portend the possibility of another turning point in the use of military force. The issue

is still in doubt as to whether the United States and the Soviet Union can satisfy their vital interests in the Far East, in Europe and in the Middle East by translating their power into political gain without large scale use of military force. The present regime of constraint may be overturned and with it the statistics on international violence may turn sharply upward.

## SUMMARY:

In attempting to discover the significant trends and pattern in the use of military force since World War II, all incidents listed have been categorized as to intensity, classified as to type, analyzed by geography, individual participants, and other factors such as involvement of nuclear powers.

Since World War II there have been 118 internationally significant incidents involving the use of military force. The level of incidence of the use of armed force, world-wide, increased from 1946 through 1961 when there was a decline interrupted by an increase in 1967. The Middle East, Africa, and Asia account for most of the rise in the level of conflict. On an intensity aggregate scale, which measures both the frequency and intensity of conflicts, there were significant peaks in the late forties, early sixties, and 1967. The highest peak, reflecting an increase in incidents in every area of the world, was the one encompassing 1958 through 1962. Fifty-four incidents can be typed in part or in whole as part of the cold war. An additional 45 were conflicts between neighboring countries. Thirty-seven were social upheavals, and 25 were a part of the anti-colonial struggle.

Europe, with a total of seven incidents, has had the lowest level of any region. Nothing has occurred there since the 1961-1962 Berlin crisis.\* The Middle East has accounted for 27 incidents. Most of these have centered around Arab-Israeli animosities and other hot spots such as Cyprus and the southern part of the Arabian peninsula. In recent months, the Middle East has become one of the major focal points in the East-West struggle. Asia has witnessed not only the highest number of incidents of any region but also the highest intensity level. There have been few anti-colonial struggles; most have been social upheavals and cold war conflicts. There have also been a number of neighbor-neighbor conflicts, more than half of which have involved Communist China. Africa has seen a great increase in the number of incidents since 1959. The anti-colonial struggle which accounted for much of this, lately has shifted from the Maghreb and Horn regions to sub-Saharan Africa. The Western Hemisphere has maintained the lowest level of incidence of any region except Europe. Furthermore, most incidents in the Americas have been of low intensity. However, there has been an increase in cold war incidents since the establishment of a communist regime in Cuba.

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\*This study ends with 30 June 1968 and, therefore, does not cover the present Czech crisis.



Those countries involved in the greatest number of incidents were the United States, Britain, Communist China, the Soviet Union, and France. Since the late fifties, the U.S. has been involved in an increasing number of incidents. On the other hand, since 1958 Britain has been involved in fewer. From the early fifties China has been involved in a high number of incidents; however, after 1962 this level dropped due to China's internal difficulties but increased again with the present Vietnamese conflict. Next to the U.S., the Soviet Union has shown the greatest increase in involvement since 1960. France, heavily involved during the fifties in its colonies, has not been involved in a single incident since 1963.

Of the forty-one incidents which involved one or more nuclear powers, ten were confrontations between two or more of these powers. Most of these occurred in Europe over the city of Berlin. Most of the remainder of the incidents took place in Asia. Also analyzed are incidents involving industrial countries and communist countries. Industrial countries were involved in 40 per cent of all incidents and 39 per cent involved either a communist state or a major communist party.

The trends in the types of conflict suggest the following

conclusions: while anti-colonial conflicts will decrease in number, social upheavals and revolutions will increase; conflicts in the developing world between neighbors will also become more numerous as will cold war incidents, especially in Africa and the Middle East; with the increase in the number of independent nations and the proliferation of conventional armaments, the general outlook is for greater use of armed force.

There has started and will continue a basic change in the geography of conflict. Europe and North America have been relatively free of conflict in the past few years. In these highly developed regions, the overt use of military force is limited by the existence of nuclear weapons. The developing world, on the other hand, has accounted for an increasing percentage of the total number of incidents. The incidence of conflict probably will increase in these areas, particularly in southern and southeast Asia, sub-Saharan Africa, and the Middle East. While the nuclear powers will continue to avoid direct confrontations, a greater number of instances of "low visibility" conflicts are probable in which client states or covert methods of conflict are utilized.

I. INTRODUCTION:

The general aim of this research project is to list, categorize, and analyze the international uses of military force since the end of the Second World War. The purpose is to discover any significant trends or patterns in the use of such force which might assist in future conflict or political analyses. In seeking to discern these trends and patterns, the use of military force has been analyzed as to frequency, types of conflict, levels of intensity, geographic distribution, and in terms of conflict participants.

Although the scope of the study is very broad, including all instances, world-wide, from 1 January 1946 to 30 June 1968, there are certain limitations to the study. Airspace violations, internal coups, and governmental crises which have little or no international significance have been excluded from the study. Those coups which have either been supported by an outside power or have had international significance are included.

Data sources for this project were to some extent a problem. The most helpful sources were The New York Times Index, Facts on File, the chronology from The World Almanac, and lists compiled from previous studies. The New York Times Index is the most thorough source, but the numerous cross-

references make a check on the reliability of the information difficult. Another problem is the reliability of the original data for purposes of categorization by types and intensity of each conflict. Press censorship or a lack of world interest may have tended to make one incident appear more or less significant than another.

All incidents have been categorized on a scale of six. Categories I through VI cover the spectrum from the lowest level of force employed (Category I) to the highest level (Category VI). The uses of military force could have been categorized on a different scale than the one selected, and the placement of incidents into the several categories is subject to some uncertainties. Nevertheless, the selection of incidents and their categorization is sufficiently valid for the purposes of this study.

Category I includes minor incidents, incidents at sea, minor border violations, isolated international acts of terrorism, and other incidents which rank low on the conflict spectrum.

Category II includes major border violations and clashes which are still limited in scope and duration, but which are of greater seriousness than those included in Category I. Also included here are more serious acts of terrorism or infiltration. (Examples: Syrian-Israeli border troubles before 1967, Indonesian-West New Guinea incidents.)

Category III includes minor insurgencies which have international significance (whether or not they are externally supported) but which are limited in scope and duration. It also includes coups which have international repercussions. (Examples: Yemen, Muscat, Naga revolt in India.)

Category IV includes those insurgencies, revolutions, and clashes of scope and duration which have major international significance. (Examples: Congo, Nigeria.)

Category V includes acts by states in which the armed forces are overtly used, whether actual fighting takes place or not. (Examples: Berlin airlift and the seizure of Goa.)

Category VI includes those instances of warfare which are limited either by geography or by some other measure, but which exceed Categories IV and V in scale and intensity. (Examples: Korea and Vietnam.) Also included in Category VI is the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962. While this crisis represented a use of force different from the Korean and Vietnamese wars, the seriousness of the crisis and its impact on American and Soviet policy requires that it be included in Category VI.

For the purposes of analysis, the world has been subdivided into the following geographical regions:

1. Europe, which includes both Western and Eastern Europe, plus the Soviet Union.
2. Middle East, which includes everything east of the Egyptian-Libyan frontier and the Greek-Turkish frontier and west of the Iranian-Pakistani border.
3. Asia, which includes everything east of the Iranian-Pakistani boundary. (Afghanistan is included in Asia.)

4. Africa, which includes the whole continent except Egypt.

5. Western Hemisphere.

## II. GENERAL:

Since World War II, there have been 118 incidents of international significance involving the use of military force, ranging from minor border violations to limited wars. During three periods, from the end of World War II to the Korean War, from the Korean War to the Berlin Crisis of 1960, and from the Berlin Crisis to the present, the number of incidents has increased with each period.

TABLE 1

### TOTAL NUMBER OF INCIDENTS BY AREA AND PERIOD

	<u>1946-49</u>	<u>1950-59</u>	<u>1960-68</u>	<u>Totals by Area</u>
Europe	2	4	1	7
Middle East	3	12	12	27
Asia	8	18	20	46
Africa	1	7	12	20
W. Hemisphere	<u>2</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>18</u>
Totals by period:	16	47	55	118

There were sixteen in the late forties, 47 in the fifties, and 55 since 1960. Generally, the number of incidents per year

world-wide increased from 1946 to 1961 when a zenith of 23 incidents was reached. A decline followed, interrupted again in 1967 with a peak of 15. In the twenty-three years covered by the study, there have been only seven years of "Low" incidence (defined as less than ten incidents per year). Eight years fit the "Mid" range of ten to fourteen per annum. Another eight years are in the "High" range with fifteen or more incidents per year. The period from 1956 through 1962 was a time of "High" incidence. Another measurement which can be used is incident-years per area. (Incident-years are determined by taking the total of the number of incidents multiplied by the duration of each.) (See Graph 1 and Table 2.) The rise in the level of the use of military force occurred primarily in the Middle East, Africa and Asia -- those regions with the greatest number of newly independent countries.

TABLE 2  
INCIDENT-YEARS BY AREA

Date	Europe	Middle East	Asia	Africa	W. Hemi.	No. of Incidents or Conflicts By Years
1946	1	2	3			6
1947	1	2	4	1		8
1948	2	2	8	1	1	14
1949	2	1	6		1	10
1950			9		1	10
1951		1	7		1	9
1952			8		1	9
1953	1		7	1	1	10
1954			6	2	3	11
1955		3	6	3	1	13
1956	2	4	6	2	1	15
1957		5	5	3	2	15
1958	1	5	7	3	2	18
1959		4	7	3	2	16
1960		1	9	6	2	18
1961	1	2	9	8	3	23
1962	1	2	9	5	1	18
1963		2	3	4	1	10
1964		2	4	5	1	12
1965			4	3	1	8
1966			3	3	1	7
1967		5	6	3	1	15
1968*	—	1	3	4	—	8

(\*1 Jan thru 30 Jun only.)

Total No.  
of Incident-  
Yrs per

area	12	44	139	60	28
------	----	----	-----	----	----

Yrs free  
of Inci-  
dents

14	6	0	5	3
----	---	---	---	---



More significant than the number of incidents is an evaluation of the intensity of the uses of force. In the categorization of incidents, the higher the number assigned to any specific incident the more significant, violent, or dangerous was that event. In the aggregate, Category I could be of little more than passing interest, but they may be significant when combined with other uses of military force by a nation or within a region. Categories V and VI uses of force are by themselves of great importance. During the period of this study, 14 incidents of Category I occurred, 32 of Category II, 34 of Category III, 27 of Category IV, 8 of Category V, and only 3 of Category VI.

TABLE 3

TOTAL NUMBER OF INCIDENTS BY CATEGORY

	<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>VI</u>	<u>Totals By Area</u>
Europe	-	1	2	2	2	-	7
Middle East	4	10	6	4	3	-	27
Asia	2	10	16	13	3	2	46
Africa	5*	4	6	5	-	-	20
W. Hemisphere	<u>3</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>18</u>
Totals by							(Over 5 per yr
Category:	14	32	34	27	8	3	average since
							1 Jan 46)
							118

In the late fifties, the steep upward trend in incidents of Category III was coincident with the increasing push for

independence in the colonial territories of Africa especially. Since 1962 there has been a sharp drop in the number of incidents in Category III. The frequency of Category IV incidents has been fairly consistent since 1946, varying between four and seven per year. However, in 1966, for the first time, the level dropped below four and has continued to decline since. Only occasionally has there been overt and blatant use of military force by one country against another. In Category V, 1961 with two incidents and 1962 with one were the apexes on the graph. Category VI, as defined in this study, has applied only to the Korean conflict of the early fifties, the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis, and the present Vietnam War.

**GRAPH 1.**  
**INCIDENCE SCALE**

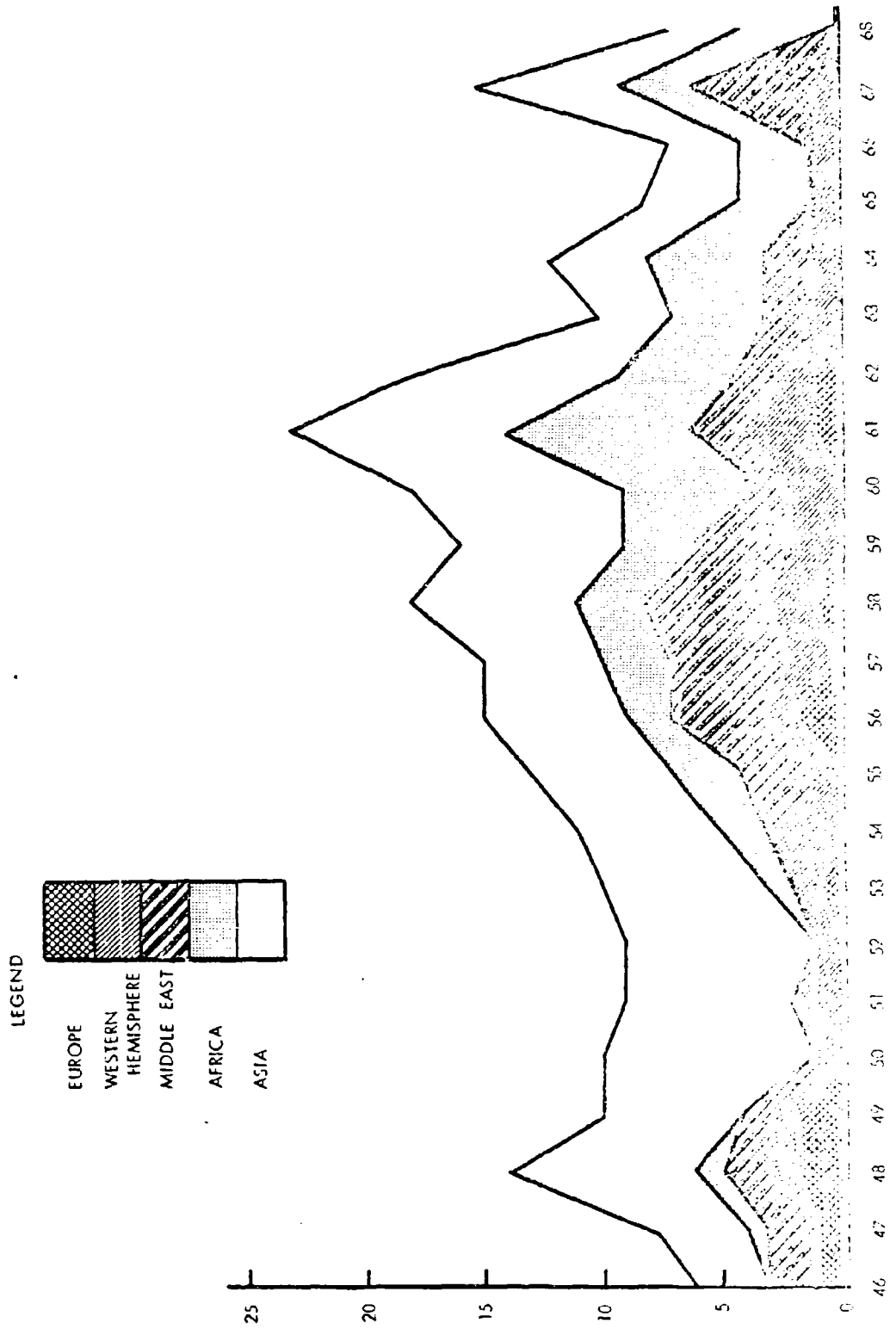
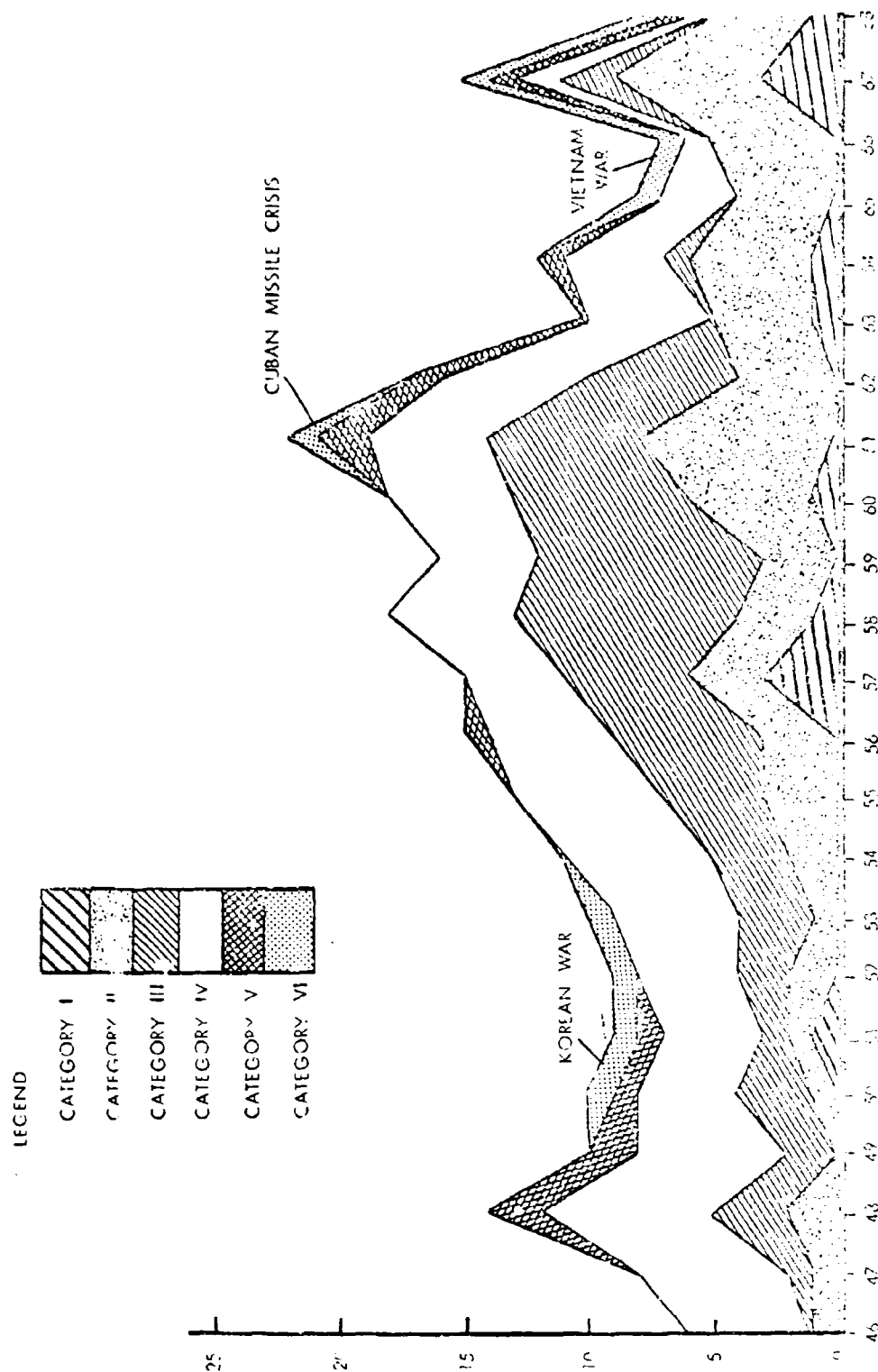


TABLE 4

## NUMBER OF INCIDENTS BY CATEGORY PER YEAR

	<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>VI</u>	<u>No. of Inci- dents or Conflicts By Years</u>
1946	-	1	-	5	-	-	6
1947	-	1	1	6	-	-	8
1948	-	2	3	7	2	-	14
1949	-	-	2	6	2	-	10
1950	-	1	3	4	1	1	10
1951	1	1	1	4	1	1	9
1952	-	2	2	4	-	1	9
1953	-	1	3	5	-	1	10
1954	-	2	3	6	-	-	11
1955	-	3	4	6	-	-	13
1956	-	3	6	5	1	-	15
1957	3	3	5	4	-	-	15
1958	1	3	9	5	-	-	18
1959	-	3	9	4	-	-	16
1960	1	5	7	5	-	-	18
1961	2	8	6	5	2	-	23
1962	-	4	6	6	1	1	18
1963	1	4	-	5	-	-	10
1964	1	5	1	4	1	-	12
1965	-	4	-	3	-	1	8
1966	-	5	-	1	-	1	7
1967	3	6	2	2	1	1	15
1968	1	4	-	1	1	1	8

**GRAPH 2.**  
**INCIDENCE SCALE BY CATEGORIES**



To give weight to the number and intensity of incidents on a yearly basis an intensity aggregate scale was devised. The intensity aggregate is the annual sum of the categorization of each incident. Any system at weighing uses of force to give a relative value to the levels of intensity is subject to error. For example, the Korean War, which was placed in Category VI, was probably more than six times as serious as some of the incidents falling in Category I; however, this is the extreme case. The intensity aggregate is probably a valid basis for identification of trends. The early sixties witnessed a peak in levels of intensity. Since 1962 there has been a general decline, broken by an upswing in 1967. The intensity aggregate scale is especially useful in comparing the level of conflicts of various regions of the globe. (See Graph 3 and Table 5.)

GRAPH 3.

INTENSITY AGGREGATE SCALE

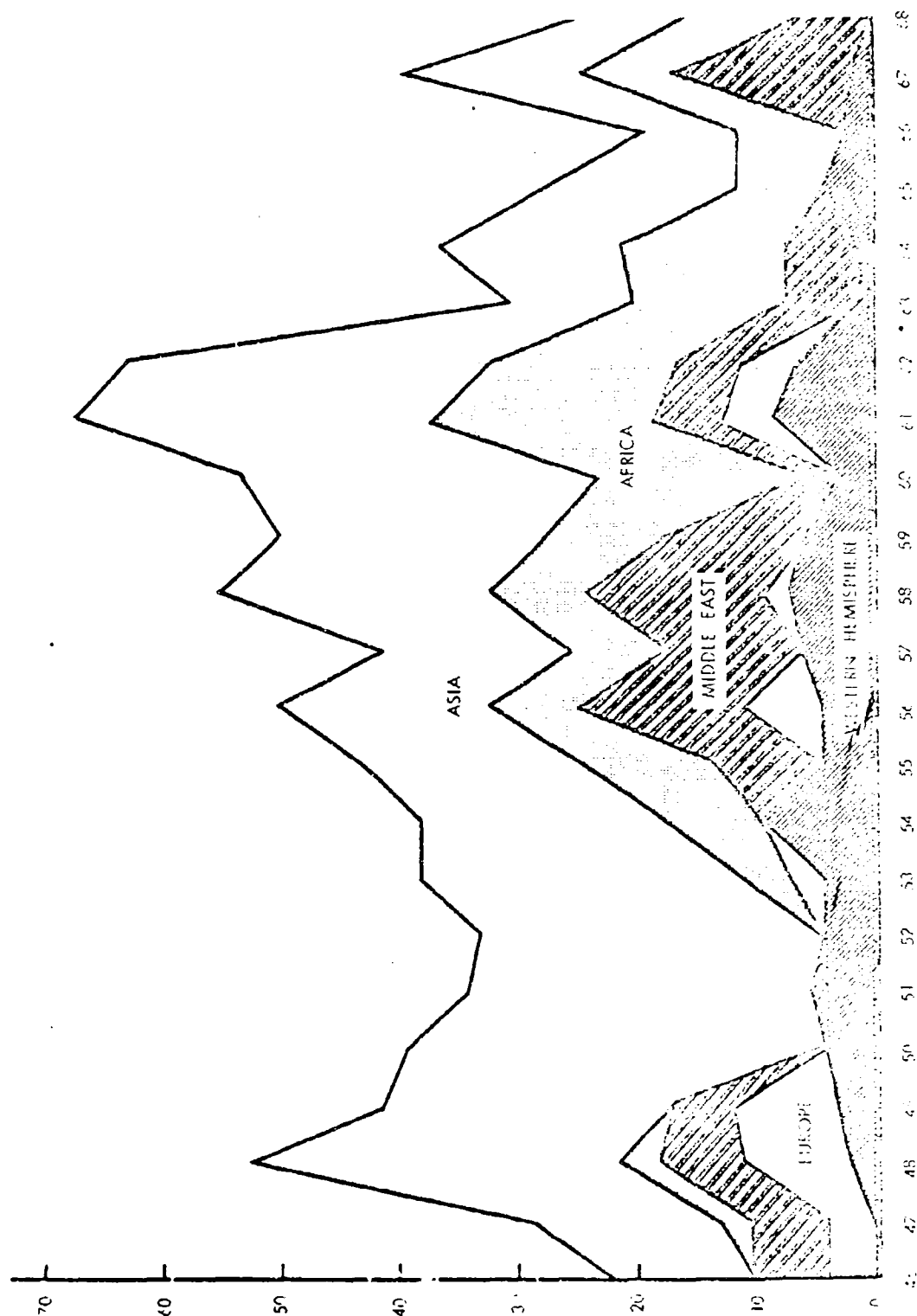


TABLE 5  
INTENSITY AGGREGATE TABLE

<u>Date</u>	<u>Europe</u>	<u>Middle East</u>	<u>Asia</u>	<u>Africa</u>	<u>W. Hemisphere</u>	<u>Total by Yrs.</u>
1946	4	6	12	-	-	22
1947	4	6	16	3	-	29
1948	9	7	31	3	2	52
1949	9	5	24	-	3	41
1950	-	-	35	-	4	39
1951	-	-	29	-	4	34
1952	-	-	29	-	4	33
1953	3	-	27	4	4	38
1954	-	-	21	8	9	38
1955	-	9	19	11	4	43
1956	7	14	18	7	4	50
1957	-	11	16	8	6	41
1958	2	15	23	8	7	55
1959	-	11	23	10	6	50
1960	-	2	30	18	3	53
1961	5	5	30	19	8	67
1962	5	5	31	16	6	63
1963	-	5	10	13	1	30
1964	-	6	15	14	1	36
1965	-	-	16	7	4	27
1966	-	-	8	9	2	19
1967	-	15	15	9	2	41
1968	-	5	8	10	-	23

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A third basis for analysis of the use of military force is by types of conflict. All incidents have been classified into four types: 1) Anti- or Neo-Colonial, which includes those conflicts which are fought for national independence; 2) Cold War, which includes all struggles between Communist powers or Communist parties and those forces inimical to Communist philosophy; 3) Social Change or Upheaval, which covers those cases of struggle against an established order, intranational ethnic turmoil, and class or tribal warfare; and 4) Neighbor-neighbor Conflicts, which encompass all instances of traditional national, racial, or religious hatreds or any irredentist movements. There have been 25 incidents which in all or in part can be classified as anti- or neo-colonial. The greatest single number of incidents since World War II have been part of the cold war. Fifty-four of these have transpired since 1946. Neighbor-neighbor conflicts have been almost as numerous as cold war incidents, with a total of 45 since 1946. Of this type only four occurred in the latter half of the forties, but in the fifties the number jumped to 17 and again in the sixties to 24. Added to the foregoing are 37 cases of social upheaval, most of which have occurred in either Asia or Latin America. (See Table 6, Graph 4, and Table 7.)

TABLE 6  
INCIDENTS BY TYPE, AREA, AND PERIOD

<u>Area and Periods</u>	<u>Anti- or Neo- Colonial</u>	<u>Cold War</u>	<u>Social Change or Upheaval</u>	<u>Neighbor- Neighbor</u>
Europe		<u>7</u>		
1945-49:		2		
1950-59:		4		
1960-68:		1		
Middle East	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>14</u>
1945-49:	1	1	-	1
1950-59:	2	2	3	7
1960-68:	1	-	5	6
Asia	<u>6</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>21</u>
1945-49:	3	6	5	-
1950-59:	2	13	7	8
1960-68:	1	15	4	13
Africa	<u>12</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>
1945-49:	1	-	-	2
1950-59:	5	-	-	-
1960-68:	6	1	3	4
Western Hemisphere	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>4</u>
1945-49:	-	-	2	1
1950-59:	1	2	4	2
1960-68:	2	7	4	1
Totals by Type:	25	54	37	45
Totals by Period:				
1945-49	5	9	7	4
1950-59	10	21	14	17
1960-68	10	24	16	24

**GRAPH 4.**  
**INCIDENT-YEARS BY TYPES**

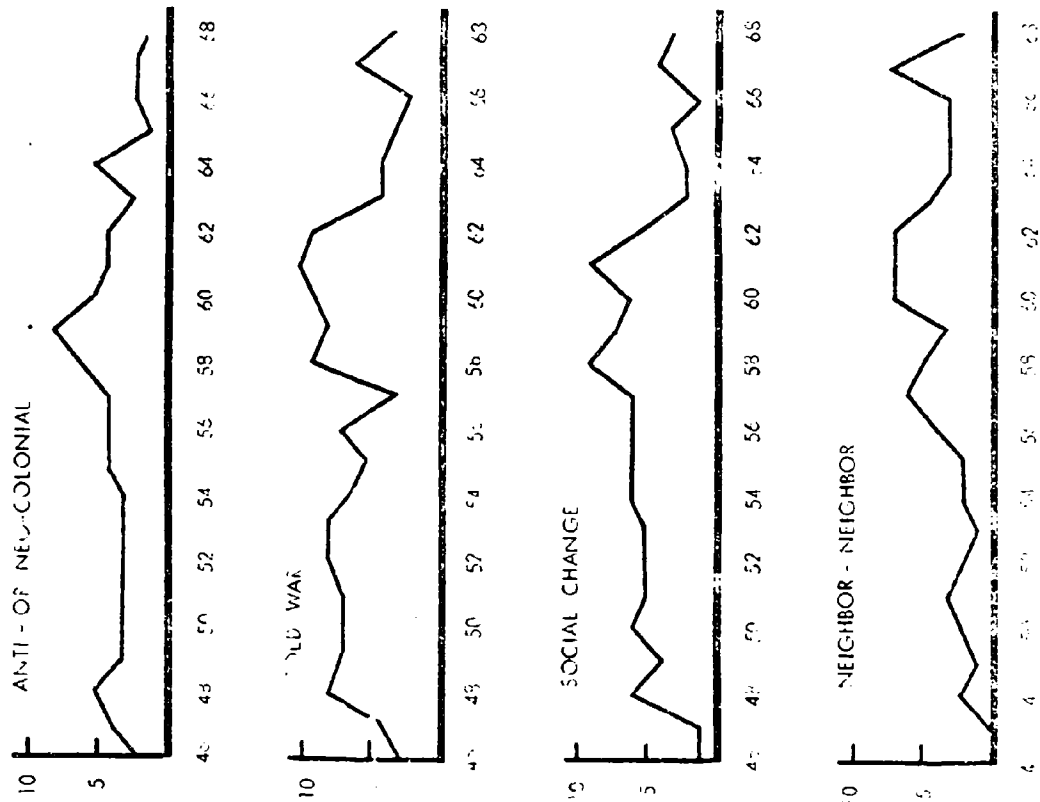


TABLE 7  
INCIDENT-YEARS BY TYPES

<u>Date</u>	<u>Anti-Colonial</u>	<u>Cold War</u>	<u>Social Change</u>	<u>Neighbor-Neighbor</u>
1946	2	3	1	-
1947	4	4	1	-
1948	5	8	6	2
1949	3	7	4	1
1950	3	7	6	2
1951	3	7	5	3
1952	3	8	5	2
1953	3	8	5	1
1954	3	6	6	2
1955	4	5	6	2
1956	4	7	6	4
1957	4	3	6	6
1958	6	9	9	5
1959	8	8	7	3
1960	5	9	6	7
1961	4	10	9	7
1962	4	9	5	7
1963	2	4	2	4
1964	5	4	2	3
1965	1	3	3	3
1966	2	2	1	3
1967	2	6	4	7
1968	1	3	3	2

### III. GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION:

#### Europe:

Of the 118 incidents listed, Europe has recorded only seven; two in the late forties, four during the fifties, and one since 1960. Europe's level of incidence has always been low; 1948, 1949, and 1956 are the only years which have had more than one incident. Categories III, IV, and V have registered two incidents apiece. On the intensity aggregate scale, a peak appears every time the Berlin situation heats up. (See Graph 3.) Incident-years in Europe equals 12 -- the only area with less incident-years than the total number of years covered by this study. (See Table 2, page 9A.)

Comparatively, Europe has had the lowest level of international turmoil of any geographic region in the world since World War II. There has been no major incident whatsoever since the Berlin Crisis of 1961-1962. This study runs to 30 June 1968 and therefore does not include the Czechoslovak crisis of August 1968. There has been a total absence of incidents in Western Europe. Excepting Berlin, only Greece, Poland, and Hungary have witnessed major turmoil in the last twenty years.\* Although Europe contains three of the five nuclear powers, in addition to military forces of the United

\*Cyprus is included within the Middle East.

States, the lack of international conflict is significant.

One country, the USSR, has been directly or indirectly a party to all of the incidents in Europe and three of the four incidents during the fifties were revolts against the hegemony of the Soviet Union.

Prior to the period of this study, Europe was, to a degree, the center of world conflict, but since World War II it has been relatively quiet. It appears that at least in this region the overt use of military force in the struggle between East and West is no longer an acceptable form of behavior.

#### Middle East:

Since 1946, the Middle East has witnessed 27 instances of the use of military force. Three occurred in the late forties, 12 in the fifties, and another 12 so far this decade. 1955 through 1959 all recorded between three and five incidents per year. A low, but steady level continued through the early sixties. There was a peak in 1967 which included the Arab-Israeli War. Many of the incidents have been Syrian-Israeli border clashes. Since 1946, the Middle East has known only six years without serious incidents.

In incident-years, the Middle East totals 44, (high compared to Europe but low compared to Asia).

The Middle East has had in Categories III, IV, and V, six, four, and three incidents respectively. The three in Category V were the Arab-Israeli war of 1948-1949, the Suez War of 1956, and the latest Arab-Israeli fracas of June 1967. On the intensity aggregate scale, 1955 through 1959 showed a high level, ranging from 9 up to 15. There was another peak in 1967 at 15.

Four of the recorded incidents in the Middle East can be typed as anti-colonial. Included here are the Zionist movement in Palestine in the forties and the anti-British riots in Aden. However, when compared to Asia and Africa, the process of decolonization in the Middle East after World War II has been mild. Three incidents can be partially included within the context of the cold war. The Azerbaijan crisis and the Yemeni Civil War are the only cases of direct Soviet involvement. Such conflicts as the Arab-Israeli War of 1967 have had obvious and great cold war implications, but they are not included because their cold war overtones are not the central issue. Eight incidents can be classified as social upheavals. The most violent of these has been the Cyprus

situation (which has accounted for three of the total) and the Yemeni war. Neighbor-neighbor conflicts have been the most numerous type with a total of 14 since 1946. A high percentage of this total can be attributed to Arab-Israeli animosity. The instability of the regimes in Syria and Iraq, which have had continuous troubles with their neighbors, whether it is Turkey, Israel, or Kuwait, have contributed to much of the turmoil in the region.

Asia:

Asia has accounted for the highest level of international violence of any region in the world since World War II. Thirty-nine per cent or 46 incidents of the total number listed have occurred in Asia. The frequency of incidents has also increased as time has passed. Eight incidents occurred in the forties, 18 in the fifties, and 20 thus far in the sixties. With the exception of three individual years, Asia has had the highest incidence level, ranging from three incidents (for a total of only four years) to nine (in 1950, 1960, 1961, and 1962), with an overall average of more than six per year. Asia also has had the highest measure of any region in incident-years with 139, and is the only region which has not known a single year of peace in the last quarter century.



In categorizing events in Asia, there have been 16 incidents of Category III, 13 of Category IV, three of Category V, and two cases, Korea and Vietnam, included in Category VI. On an intensity aggregate scale, Asia again ranks above all other geographic regions. A peak of 35 was registered in 1950. After that, there followed a general decline until 1958 when an upswing occurred peaking in 1962 at 31.

The anti-colonial struggles in Asia came soon after the end of the Second World War and lasted for about a decade. The greatest of these struggles were in Indonesia and Indochina. All told, there have been a half dozen anti-colonial struggles, the latest being the Brunei revolt against the British in 1962. Sixteen incidents have been typed as social upheavals or internal revolutions of one sort or another. Indonesia has been plagued by social upheaval, having experienced five since independence. India, Tibet, and Nepal have also undergone almost constant social upheaval. Of the twenty-one conflicts between neighbors in Asia, Communist China has been involved in at least a dozen. The incidence of this type conflict has increased greatly since the fifties. During that decade there were eight such incidents; since

1960 there have been 13, a 60 per cent increase. On top of the foregoing, there have been no fewer than 34 incidents which can be classified as part of the cold war.. A great majority of these have involved the Chinese Peoples Republic. The Soviet Union has been involved in five. Fifteen have also directly involved the United States.

Africa:

The number of incidents in Africa have almost doubled in the past eight years. Only one incident occurred in the forties, seven in the fifties, and a dozen since 1960, for a total of 20. Although Africa has always had a low level of incidence, the level has increased greatly since 1959. There was an apex of eight incidents in 1961. In 1963, 1964, and 1968 Africa surpassed Asia in the number of incidents per year. With total incident-years equaling 60, the continent has known just five incident-free years in the last 23, but none of these since 1952.

Six incidents have been placed in Category III and five in Category IV. The Nigerian civil war is the only one of Category IV to occur in the past five years. On the intensity-aggregate scale, Africa has shown a significant increase since the early fifties. From a low of four on the

scale in 1953, by 1961 it had peaked at 19, and then remained above 10 until 1965 when in a year it dropped by 50 per cent to seven. However, it has slowly increased in the past three years.

The de-colonization struggle is clearly reflected in the figures from Africa in the fifties and sixties. In both decades, Africa witnessed at least five new anti-colonial struggles. The continent, however, has seen only one significant instance of the cold war. The Congo crisis of 1960-64, while largely anti-colonial, also embroiled the two super-powers in a protracted crisis. Added to the above figures are three instances of social upheaval and a half-dozen territorial feuds between nations. All neighbor-neighbor conflicts have involved newly independent countries, and the areas in question have usually been poorly defined pre-independence drawn boundaries.

There has been a change in the geographical pattern of conflict in Africa in recent years. After the Second World War, most conflict centered along the shore of the Mediterranean. However, more recently, sub-Saharan Africa has emerged as the most volatile region of the continent.

#### Western Hemisphere:

The Americas have seen 18 incidents of significance involving the use of military force, the lowest number of any region except Europe. Of those areas generally defined as the developing world, Latin America has had fewer incidents of lesser intensity than either Africa or Asia or the Middle East. The majority of the incidents listed for the Western Hemisphere are categorized in the lower two classifications. However, 10 of the 18 incidents listed have occurred since the beginning of the sixties. There were only two incidents in the forties, and six in the fifties. The Western Hemisphere has maintained a consistent level in the number of incidents per year, varying between one and three. Although the level of international conflict is low and its incident-year total is just 28, there have been only three years absent of conflict since World War II.

Eight of the incidents listed for the region are of Category III or higher. Four were of Category III, three of Category IV, and one, the Cuban Missile Crisis, was of Category VI. Next to Europe, the Americas have had the lowest level on the intensity-aggregate scale, which has never exceeded a measure of 9. However, 1954, 1958, and 1961 saw peaks of 9, 7, and 8 respectively.

Three of the incidents recorded, involving three countries -- Cuba, Panama, and the United States -- can be typed as anti- or neo-colonial. All the incidents were more or less directed against the United States as the dominant power of the region. In the fifties, the cold war penetrated the Western Hemisphere, first in 1954 in Guatemala, and later in Cuba. In the sixties, Latin America has been involved in seven struggles with cold war implications, more than any other area except Asia. Latin America has had a fair number of social upheavals, two in the forties, and four in both the fifties and sixties. This is reflective of the political instability of much of Latin America and of the developing world. Neighbor-neighbor conflicts are rare in the Western Hemisphere. Only four have occurred since 1946, and just one, involving Costa Rica, Guatemala, and Nicaragua, in the past decade.

#### IV. CONFLICT PARTICIPANTS:

##### Behavior of Individual Countries:

Certain countries have been involved in a high number of incidents since the Second World War and, therefore, deserve special attention in any study of conflict analysis.\*

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\*A high number of incidents is defined as five or more during the period of the study.

Listed below are those which are included in this category, followed by the number of incidents.

TABLE 8

COUNTRIES INVOLVED IN A HIGH NUMBER OF INCIDENTS

1. United States	23
2. United Kingdom	22
3. Communist China	20
4. Soviet Union	18
5. France	11
6. Israel	9
7. Syria	8
8. Indonesia	8
9. India	7
10. Cuba	6

There is a distinct correlation between the countries involved in a great number of incidents (over 10) and their position of power and prestige in the world. The five leading world powers (also members of the nuclear club) have been involved in the greatest number of incidents.

The accompanying incidence scale for the United States and intensity aggregate chart shows the pattern of the U.S.'s involvement in world affairs since 1946. (See Graph 5, Table 9, Graph 6 and Table 10.) From 1960 on, it is apparent that involvement has increased substantially.

The two graphs for Britain distinctly show the contraction of that country from its former world power position to a European power. After 1958, there is a steady, almost uninterrupted decline on the graph. The coming withdrawal from "East of Suez" is likely to show up as a further decrease on the graphs.

The Chinese Communists' bellicosity of the early fifties shows up on the graphs as does the fluorescence of the Taiwan Straits crisis. The dip in the chart after 1963 reflects to an extent the internal chaos of the Cultural Revolution.

The Soviet Union has maintained a fairly high level on the intensity aggregate chart with the exception of 1955 through 1959. The sharp rise on the scale after 1959 shows the Soviet's involvement in the Congo, Laos, Vietnam, Cuba, the Middle East, and the Berlin Crisis

France's involvement in international turmoil, with the exception of Berlin crises, has been exclusively related to its former colonial territories. The drop in the incidence scale and intensity aggregate graph after 1962 reflects the end of the Algerian war and the rapid granting of independence to almost all of its former colonies in Africa. (See Graph 5, Table 9, Graph 6 and Table 10.)

GRAPH 5.  
INCIDENCE SCALE BY COUNTRY

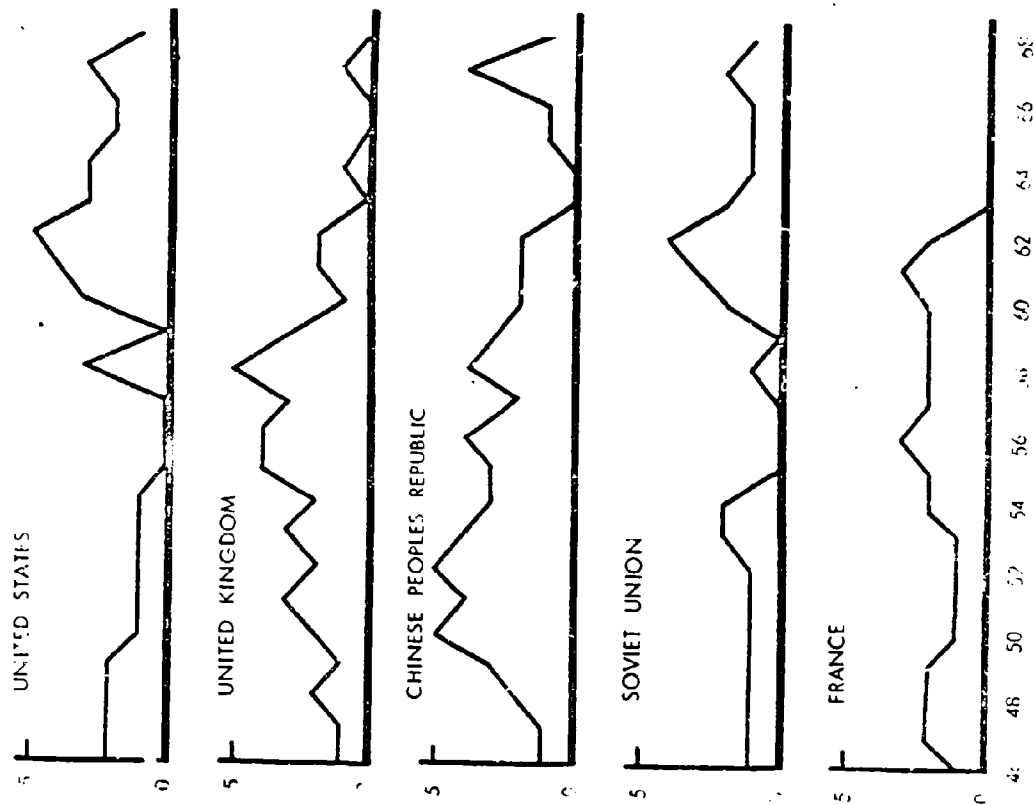




TABLE 9  
INCIDENCE SCALE BY COUNTRIES

<u>Date</u>	<u>U.S.</u>	<u>U.K.</u>	<u>CPR</u>	<u>USSR</u>	<u>France</u>
1946	2	1	1	1	1
1947	2	1	1	1	2
1948	2	2	2	1	2
1949	2	1	3	1	2
1950	1	2	5	1	1
1951	1	3	4	1	1
1952	1	2	5	1	1
1953	1	3	4	2	1
1954	1	2	3	2	2
1955	0	4	3	0	2
1956	0	4	4	0	3
1957	0	3	2	0	2
1958	3	5	4	1	2
1959	0	3	3	0	2
1960	3	1	2	2	2
1961	4	2	2	3	3
1962	5	2	2	4	2
1963	3	0	0	2	0
1964	3	1	0	1	0
1965	2	0	1	1	0
1966	2	0	1	1	0
1967	3	1	4	2	0
1968	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>

24A	Total incident- years by country	42	43	57	29	31
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GRAPH 6.

INTENSITY AGGREGATES



TABLE 10  
INTENSITY AGGREGATE SCALE BY COUNTRY

<u>Date</u>	<u>U.S.</u>	<u>U.K.</u>	<u>CPR</u>	<u>USSR</u>	<u>France</u>
1946	8	2	4	4	3
1947	8	2	4	4	7
1948	9	6	7	5	9
1949	9	4	11	5	9
1950	6	10	21	6	4
1951	6	11	18	6	4
1952	6	10	18	6	4
1953	6	14	16	9	4
1954	3	8	9	7	8
1955	0	15	7	0	7
1956	0	16	10	0	12
1957	0	11	5	0	7
1958	9	16	12	2	7
1959	0	11	8	0	7
1960	9	4	6	8	7
1961	17	7	5	13	10
1962	23	8	7	19	9
1963	9	0	0	8	0
1964	10	3	0	4	0
1965	10	0	6	6	0
1966	8	0	6	6	0
1967	9	1	12	7	0
1968	6	0	6	6	0

Israel's inclusion is reflective of the turbulence and animosity which predominate in that area of the world.

Other countries have a history of turmoil. Syria, Indonesia, and Cuba all fit this category. Besides being racked by numerous internal revolts and coups, Syria has been involved in eight fracasas with its neighbors. There have been eight coups, revolutions, or other incidents (such as Sukarno's "Konfrontasi" with Malaysia) in Indonesia which were marked by a high level of violence. Cuba's involvement in a high number of incidents is directly attributable to the present regime which has announced its desire to foster other revolutions in the Hemisphere.

#### Incidents Involving Nuclear Powers:\*

The five countries which have been involved in the greatest number of incidents since the Second World War are also the five members of the nuclear club. The United States has been involved in 23 incidents since becoming a nuclear power, the United Kingdom 15, the USSR 12, France 4, and Communist China 3.

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\*For the purpose of this study, a nuclear power is any country which has exploded a nuclear device. It is not dependent on a nation having an arsenal of nuclear weapons ready to use in a war. The U.S. became a nuclear power in 1945, the Soviet Union in 1948, England in 1952, France in 1960, and the Chinese Peoples Republic in 1964. (For a list of incidents, see Appendix B, Page 49.

Since 1946 there have been 41 incidents which have involved one or more of the nuclear powers. Ten of these have been direct confrontations between more than one nuclear power. These confrontations have generally been of a higher categorization than other type incidents and have been (at least potentially) the most dangerous to world peace. A third of these took place in Europe; all involved the city of Berlin. One has occurred in the Middle East (the Suez crisis), and four have been in Asia (Laos, Korea, South Vietnam, and the Sea of Japan). In Africa only the Congo crisis and in the Western Hemisphere only the Cuban Missile Crisis can be termed direct confrontations.

The remainder of the 41 incidents have involved one or more nuclear powers aligned against one or more non-nuclear states. Non-nuclear powers were not deterred from their basic course of action by the knowledge that their opponent possessed nuclear weapons but may have been encouraged in the use of force by a nuclear sponsor who was not a direct participant. Certainly, the scale, intensity, or duration of a conflict was influenced by the disparity of power between the participants.

Of the total number of incidents involving nuclear powers, seven have occurred in Europe; in fact, all incidents

in Europe have involved at least one nuclear power. All, except the Greek civil war have directly involved the Soviet Union. Seven more have taken place in the Middle East, and all but one directly involved Britain. But only two have occurred there since 1960 following the withdrawal of Britain and France from the area. Asia has witnessed 14 such incidents since World War II and 10 of these since 1960. Of the six incidents in Africa which involved nuclear powers, all but one were anti-colonial struggles directed against France and England. Seven incidents have taken place in the Western Hemisphere and all have involved the United States. But the only incident of serious proportions was the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962. (See Table 11.)

TABLE 11  
INCIDENTS INVOLVING NUCLEAR POWERS

	<u>1945-49</u>	<u>1950-59</u>	<u>1960-68</u>	<u>Totals by Area</u>
Europe	2	4	1	7
Middle East	1	4	2	7
Asia	-	4	10	14
Africa	-	3	3	6
W. Hemisphere	<u>-</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>
Total by Periods:	3	16	22	41

Of the forty-one incidents since 1946, three occurred in the forties when there were only two nuclear powers. Sixteen transpired in the following ten years when only Britain gained nuclear status. Two more powers attained nuclear capability in the sixties, and the total number of incidents for this period already is 22, a 37 per cent increase over the preceding decade.

#### Incidents Involving Industrial Countries:

Forty-eight incidents have occurred since 1946 which have involved the industrialized countries of the world.\* Of these almost half have occurred since 1960. There were nine incidents in the forties, 17 in the fifties, and 22 in the sixties. Asia and the Middle East have accounted for most of the incidents. Furthermore, in Asia there has been a sharp increase in the number of incidents since 1960. This is another indication that Asia has become the center of conflict in the world. In the Middle East, there has been a decline in the number of incidents involving the industrial countries, and Africa has seen a similar decline. These are the result

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\*For this study, industrialized countries are those of Western Europe (except Portugal and Ireland) Poland, the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, the USSR, U.S., Canada, and Japan.

of the military withdrawal from the regions of the former colonial powers. In the Americas, there has been an increase in the number of incidents. This in part reflects the Cuban situation and the cold war, but also the struggle against what is considered American "neo-colonialism." (See Table 12.)

TABLE 12  
INCIDENTS INVOLVING INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES

	<u>1945-49</u>	<u>1950-59</u>	<u>1960-68</u>	<u>Totals by Area</u>
Europe	2	4	1	7
Middle East	2	5	3	10
Asia	4	3	9	16
Africa	1	4	3	8
Western Hemisphere	<u>-</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>
Total by Periods	9	17	22	48

Incidents Involving Communist Countries:

Forty-six of the 118 incidents listed in this study or 39 per cent have involved directly or indirectly a Communist power or a Communist party in a non-Communist state.\* The following are the Communist powers and the number of incidents

\*For a list of incidents involving Communist countries, see Appendix C, page 52.



in which each has been involved: the Chinese Peoples Republic (20), the USSR (18), Cuba (6), the German Democratic Republic (4), the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (4), North Korea (2), Poland, Hungary, Albania, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria (one each). In addition there have been eight other internationally significant incidents involving local indigenous Communist elements around the world.

As noted before, every incident in Europe has involved a Communist power. Asia has recorded 28 incidents of one sort or another in which Communists have been involved. The Western Hemisphere since 1954 has had seven cases with Communist involvement. By contrast, the Middle East has only had three cases, although Communist diplomacy has been very active in the region. In Africa, only the Congo situation had substantial Communist involvement.

During the past eight years, there has been a sizable increase in the number of incidents which have involved Communists of one ilk or another, but the categorizations of these more numerous instances generally are lower than those incidents of the forties and fifties.

V. CONCLUSIONS:

Trends in Types of Conflicts:

Anti- or Neo-Colonial:

In the Middle East, the de-colonization process was relatively simple and non-violent when compared to Asia and Africa. With only a handful of colonial outposts left in the region, anti-colonial struggles are not likely to be numerous or important phenomena. What can be expected are struggles against the last vestiges of colonial empires. The latest example has been the riots in Aden against British rule just previous to independence.

Anti-colonial conflicts have steadily decreased in number in Asia since the forties because there are virtually no colonial empires left in the Far East. Those small areas which are still under the rule of colonial powers are likely to remain, unless a neighboring power, as in the cases of Hong Kong and Macao, the Chinese, decide to overrun them.

Africa is the only area of the world in which one can expect an increase in anti-colonial type struggles. Although most of the colonial empires have been liquidated, the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique, and the white supremacist regimes of southern Africa remain and are the targets

of anti-colonial forces in the continent.

#### Cold War:

There has been an increasing number of incidents which have involved Communist and anti-Communist forces in each successive period since the Second World War. This increase is attributable more to local Communist elements than to the Communist powers themselves.

In Europe there has been no major incident since the Berlin crisis of 1962. Berlin remains a sore in the middle of Europe and could always be the flash-point for a future incident. But unless the vital interests of one of the superpowers is endangered, conflict in Europe is unlikely.

The East-West struggle is most evident in the Middle East. The Soviet Union was deeply implicated in the latest Arab-Israeli War and Soviet pilots have seen action in Yemen. Also, the continuing provision of arms to the Arabs by the USSR threatens to upset the delicate balance of power in the area and lead to another conflict. Furthermore, the Soviets have become more active in the region in trying to woo the Northern Tier of states, Turkey, Iran, and Pakistan, away from

the West through arms deals and economic aid. By becoming a resident power in the region (the early manifestations of this are seen in the Soviet Navy in the Mediterranean), the chances of the Soviets becoming involved in one of the region's conflicts are increased. With their presence, a new dimension in the struggles of the area is likely to emerge.

Asia has been the center of cold war incidents since the early fifties, and the contest for Southeast Asia is likely to continue for some time to come. In addition, other areas seem to be susceptible to Communist influence. India, for example, with all its internal difficulties, is a likely candidate.

Africa has so far largely escaped the impact of the cold war, but Communist elements have increased and tried to align themselves with the forces for social change which have become stronger. Although the Soviet Union has tended to rely on more traditional forms of diplomacy in Africa, China has been actively seeking to expand its influence among the under-developed countries of the world by any means whatsoever. Sections of East and West Africa already have seen an increase in Communist exploited incidents.

Latin America, like Africa, has seen an increase in Communist activity in recent years. Cuba has been actively

supporting revolutions in the other republics. Guatemala, Colombia, Venezuela, and Bolivia have all experienced incidents of Communist terrorism or insurgency. Although none of these attempts to foster revolution has succeeded, the attempts are likely to continue.

#### Social Change:

The developing world will be the stage for a number of social upheavals in the future. In the past Asia has had the highest level of social conflict, much of it tied to cold war incidents. The Western Hemisphere also has experienced a number of social upheavals. But the Middle East and Africa will likely be the scene for this type of conflict as the nations of these areas emerge into the twentieth century.

#### Neighbor-neighbor Conflicts:

The level of neighbor-neighbor conflicts increased greatly in the fifties and sixties. Asia and, to a lesser extent, the Middle East are responsible for the increase. The level in Asia will most likely remain the same as long as the present instability exists within Southeast Asia. The level in the Western Hemisphere, which has always been very low, is not likely to increase. On the other hand, Africa and the Middle East hold promise of greater neighbor-neighbor conflicts.

As these countries gained independence, frontier areas were often ill defined. Consequently, Africa has witnessed a large increase in border disputes since 1960 and, until boundaries are carefully delineated these disputes will continue.

Other Conclusions:

During the past twenty-three years, there have been certain changes in the geography of conflict. While certain regions have tended to become more stable, others, relatively free of international conflict before, have witnessed an increase in both the number and intensity of incidents.

Europe is the most striking example of the emergence of an area of stability. When compared to both its previous history in the 20th century and to other regions of the world, the stability in Europe is remarkable. North America is the other region which has been devoid of international turmoil. In all the Americas there have been only eight major (Category III or higher) incidents during the period of this study, more than a third of which have involved the Communist regime in Cuba. No neighbor-neighbor conflict has occurred in eight years; in fact, there has not been a real war in the Western Hemisphere since before World War II. Most of the registered

incidents are social upheavals which have cold war overtones. The notable exceptions are, of course, the overthrow of Arbenz in Guatemala, the Bay of Pigs, the Cuban Missile Crisis, and the Santo Domingo intervention of 1965. By just about every measure used in this study, the Western Hemisphere is shown to be a region of little disturbances overshadowed by a general peace.

In the Middle East, much of the immediate postwar turmoil involved Turkey and Iran. But since the forties, the Northern Tier has been fairly quiet, and the centers of conflict have shifted to Israel, Syria, Iraq, Egypt, and the southern parts of the Arabian peninsula. The withdrawal of the colonial powers, Britain and France, from the Middle East has allowed the lid to blow off the pot as the stability which formerly was imposed has dissolved. The increase in neighbor-neighbor conflicts attests to this fact. In general, the area of stability in the Middle East has decreased during the period of this study.

Little need be said of Asia. The constant turmoil in the region speaks for itself. Once the Japanese, who had destroyed the rule and the image of the Western colonialists, were defeated and the anti-colonial struggle against the French and Dutch began, the level of violence skyrocketed from its

prewar level. The decline in the intensity aggregate scale and the level of incidence in the mid to late fifties is reflective of the success of the anti-colonial movement. However, the increase in social upheavals, cold war incidents, and neighbor-neighbor feuds has kept the number and intensity of incidents at a high level.

Within Africa there has been a geographic change in conflict. With the exception of the revolts in Madagascar and the Cameroons, before 1960 the anti-colonial struggle was centered in northern and eastern Africa. But by the early sixties, most of the countries of the northern and the horn regions of Africa were independent, and the anti-colonial struggle shifted to sub-Saharan Africa--the Congo, Angola, Mozambique, South Africa, and Rhodesia. The level of incidence in 1960 had doubled from 1959 and remained substantially above the average level of the late fifties. The end of the anti-colonial movement in the northern and eastern regions of Africa did not mean the end of turmoil. The newly independent areas have been the scene of increased instances of social turmoil and clashes over poorly defined boundaries.

There is a definite positive correlation between the level of development and the level of international conflicts



in an area. The most highly developed areas have seen less employment of military force in the postwar period than the developing areas which seem to rely on arms for the settlement of their disputes. Furthermore, those developing countries which are newly independent are more prone to use military force than those nations which although underdeveloped have possessed a national identity for some time, such as the Latin American republics. In seeking national development, affluence, identity, prestige, recognition, and power, these newly independent regimes are impatient and often resort to those means which appear to promise the fastest return. This accounts, at least partially, for the rise in the number of neighbor-neighbor feuds and social upheavals within the developing world. There are other contributing factors. The general increase in world technology and the resulting ease with which weapons can be manufactured has fostered the use of force. Furthermore, the sale of armaments due to the cold war to client states has been a de-stabilizing factor in some instances.

More significant than the change in the geography of conflict are the changes in the types of incidents and the methods of involvement of the various parties. The most

important change has been in the behavior of the two super-powers and to a lesser extent the other nuclear powers. Because conflict between them carries the risk of escalation to nuclear war, the actions of the Soviet Union and the United States have been marked by caution and restraint. Both have shown a regard for the vital interests and the prestige of the other, and there has been no direct confrontation between the super-powers since October 1962.

Because of the dangers of high intensity conflict, those nations with nuclear capabilities have tended to rely on other means. One result has been the increased use or encouragement of client states to pursue a course which would benefit or further the national aims of its mentor. Conflict by proxy reduces the risks of direct confrontation between the two superpowers. Another result has been an increase in "low-visibility" conflicts, that is externally supported insurgencies, guerrilla wars, and subversion.

The foregoing analysis suggests certain conclusions about the future. The two superpowers and the major powers will avoid direct confrontation because of the dangers of nuclear war. Therefore, there is basis for a more general detente between the United States and the Soviet Union.

On the other hand, it also appears likely that there will be greater activity along the lower end of the conflict spectrum. As political, social, and economic development and the desire for that development increase there will be more numerous instances of social upheaval and revolution. These forces for change are likely to be exploited by communist and other radical elements which means that many incidents caused by other factors will appear to be part of the cold war. There will also be an increase in neighbor-neighbor conflicts in the newly independent areas of the "Third World." By contrast, one can expect Europe to remain relatively quiet. Future conflicts will probably be less overt and more subtle than in the past and will be centered in the developing areas of the globe. States will probably move gradually to acknowledge a lower threshold than in the past for permissive uses of military force.

## APPENDIX A

### LIST OF INCIDENTS INCLUDED IN STUDY

<u>Date</u>	<u>Location (Participants)</u>	<u>Category</u> <sup>+</sup>	<u>Remarks</u>
<u>EUROPE</u>			
1946- late 49	Greece	4	Communist inspired Civil War
1948- late 49	Germany	5*	Berlin Airlift
1953	Germany	3	E. Berlin Uprising
1956	Poland	3	Poznan Uprising
1956	Hungary	4	Revolution
1958	Germany	2	Berlin Crisis
1961-1962	Germany	5*	Berlin Crisis
<u>Total = 7</u>			

### MIDDLE EAST

1946-47	Iran	4	Azerbaijan Crisis
1946-48	Palestine	2	Br. v. Zionists
1948-49	Palestine	5	Arab-Israeli War
1951	Iran	1	Anglo-Iranian Oil Dispute

<sup>+</sup>Categories in the Appendix are referred to in Arabic numbers and not Roman numerals for easy reading.

\*Denotes instances when military force was used but no conflict ensued.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Location (Participants)</u>	<u>Category</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
<u>MIDDLE EAST (Continued)</u>			
1955	Israel/Syria	2	Border clash
1955-59	Cyprus	4	Ethnic clashes
1955-59	Muscat/Oman	3	Rev. v. Br. & Sheik
1956	Israel/Egypt	5	Br. & Fr. intervention
1956-58	Yemen/Aden	2	Border skirmishes
1957	Turkey/Syria	1	Border incidents
1957	Israel/Syria	1	Border clash
1958	Iraq	3	Revolution
1958	Lebanon/Jordan	3	U.S. & Br. intervention
1959	Iraq	2	Monsul Rev.
1959-60	Yemen/Aden	2	Border clashes
1961	Iraq/Kurds	3	Kurdish insurgency
1961	Kuwait/Iraq	2	Br. intervention
1962	Israel/Syria	2	Border clashes
1962	Yemen (Egypt)	3	Revolt & Egyptian intervention
1963	Israel/Syria	2	Border clashes
1963-64	Cyprus	4	Ethnic clashes
1964	Israel/Syria	2	Border clashes
1967	Israel/Syria	2	Aerial & border clashes

<u>Date</u>	<u>Location (Participants)</u>	<u>Category</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
<u>MIDDLE EAST (Continued)</u>			
1967	Aden	1	Riots v. Br. rule
1967...	Israel(Arabs)	5	Six day war
1967	Cyprus	4	Ethnic clashes
1967	Yemen	3	Civil war & Soviet participation
<u>Total = 27</u>			

#### ASIA

1946-49	Indonesia (Dutch)	4	Rev.
1946-48	India/Pakistan	4	Moslem v. Hindu
1946-49	China	4	Civil War
1947-54	Indochina	4	Ho Chi Minh
1948	Indonesia	3	PKI Rev.
1948-60	Ma aya	4	Communist insurgency
1948-55	Philippines	4	Hukbalahap Rev.
1948-62	Burma	3	Govt v. CP & Karen tribes
1950-53	Burma	2	Chinat Guerrillas
1950	Indonesia	3	Celebes Rev.
1950-51	Tibet	5	Chinese invasion
1950-53	Korea	6	Korean War
1950	Nepal	3	Revolt
1952-53	Nepal	3	Revolt

<u>Date</u>	<u>Location (Participants)</u>	<u>Category</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
<u>ASIA (Continued)</u>			
1952	China/Macao	2	Border clashes
1954-55	CPR/Taiwan	2	Straits crisis
1954-62	India	3	Naga Rev.
1955-59	CPR/India	2	Border dispute
1956	Tibet	3	Rev.
1956	Burma/CPR	2	Two month border war
1957	Indonesia	3	Celebes Rev.
1958	CPR/Taiwan	4	Quemoy, Matsu
1958	Tibet	3	Anti-Chinese revolt
1958-61	Indonesia	3	Colonel's revolt
1959	Tibet	3	Three month uprising
1959-64	S. Vietnam	4	Insurgency
1960	Tibet	3	Uprising
1960	Nepal	3	Gurkha revolt
1960-62	I. Jonesia/ V. New Guinea	2	Border skirmishes
1960-64	Laos	4	Civil War
1961	Goa/India	5	Indian seizure
1961	CPR/India	2	Border troubles
1961-62	Nepal	3	Civil War
1962	Brunei	3	Rev. v. Br.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Location (Participants)</u>	<u>Category</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
<u>ASIA (Continued)</u>			
1962	CPR/India	4	Border War
1962	Thailand/Laos (U.S.)	4	USMC sent to Thailand
1963-66	Indonesia/Malaysia	2	"Konfrontasi"
1964	Gulf of Tonkin (DRV/U.S.)	5	Torpedo boat attacks on U.S. ships
1965...	S. Vietnam	6	After introduction of U.S. combat troops
1965	India/Pakistan	4	War over Rann of Kutch
1965	Indonesia	4	PKI coup
1966-68	Korea (U.S.)	2	Border troubles & Pueblo affair
1967	Sea of Japan (U.S./USSR)	1	Naval incident
1967	CPR/Hong Kong	2	Riots and border fighting
1967	CPR/India	1	Border clashes
1967	CPR/Thailand	3	Border troubles & insurgency

Total = 46

AFRICA

1947-48	Madagascar	3	Rev.
1953-55	Kenya	4	Mau Mau Rev.



<u>Date</u>	<u>Location (Participants)</u>	<u>Category</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
<u>AFRICA (Continued)</u>			
1954-62	Algeria	4	Rev. v. Fr.
1955	French Morocco	3	Berber Rev.
1956-60	Cameroons (France)	3	Anti-French revolution
1957	Morocco/Sp. Morocco	1	Border clash
1958	Morocco/Sp. Morocco	1	Repeated border clashes
1959	Portugese Guinea	3	Revolt v. Port.
1960-61	Ethiopia/Somalia	2	Border dispute
1960-65	Kenya/Somalia	2	Border dispute
1960-62	Ruanda/Urundi	3	Hutu-Watusi clashes
1960-64	Congo	4	Civil War & UN intervention
1961	Tunisia (France)	1	Bizerte clash
1961	Union of South Africa	1	Infiltrators & terrorists
1961...	Angola	2	Anti-Port. guer. war
1963	Algeria/Morocco	4	Border War
1964	Tanganyika/Kenya/ Uganda (U.K.)	3	Army Rev. v. Br.
1964...	Mozambique	2	Rev. v. Port.
1966...	Nigeria	4	Civil War
1968	Rhodesia	1	Infiltrators
<u>Total = 20</u>			

<u>Date</u>	<u>Location (Participants)</u>	<u>Category</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
<u>WESTERN HEMISPHERE</u>			
1948	Costa Rica/ Nicaragua	2	Rev. aided by Nicaragua
1949	Bolivia	3	Civil War
1950-58	Colombia	4	"Violencia"
1954	Peru/Ecuador	2	Border clashes
1954	Guatemala	3	U.S. supported coup
1957	Nicaragua/Honduras	2	Border clashes
1958-59	Cuba	3	Castro
1959	Paraguay	3	Rev. by rebels from Argentina
1960	Panama (U.S.)	1	Riots v. Canal Zone
1960	Guatemala/Nicaragua/ Costa Rica	2	Border violations by rebel forces
1961	Venezuela	2	Terrorist activities
1961	Dominican Republic	2	Crisis and fighting
1961	Cuba (U.S.)	4	Bay of Pigs
1962	Cuba (U.S./USSR)	6*	Missile Crisis
1963	Cuba (U.S.)	1	MIG strafes U.S. merchant ship
1964	Panama (U.S.)	1	Riots

\*Denotes instances when military force was used but no conflict ensued.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Location (Participants)</u>	<u>Category</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
<u>WESTERN HEMISPHERE (Continued)</u>			
1965	Dominican Republic (U.S.)	4	Rev. & U.S. inter- vention
1966-67	Bolivia	2	Abortive guer. war
<u>Total - 18</u>			

## APPENDIX B

### LIST OF INCIDENTS INVOLVING NUCLEAR POWERS

<u>Date</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Nuclear Power Involved</u>	<u>Category</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
<u>EUROPE</u>				
1946-49	Greece	U.S.	4	
1948-49	Germany	U.S./USSR	5*	Airlift
1953	Germany	USSR	3	Berlin Rev.
1956	Poland	USSR	3	Poznan Rev.
1956	Hungary	USSR	4	Rev.
1958	Germany	U.S./UK/USSR	2	Berlin
1961-62	Germany	U.S./UK/Fr/USSR	5*	Berlin

TOTAL NO. 7

#### MIDDLE EAST

1946-47	Iran	U.S.	4	Azerbaijan
1955-59	Cyprus	UK	4	
1955-59	Muscat/Oman	UK	3	
1956	Egypt	UK	5	Suez War
1958	Jordan/Lebanon	UK and U.S.	3	
1961	Kuwait/Iraq	UK	2	
1967	Aden	UK	1	

TOTAL NO. 7

<u>Date</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Nuclear Power Involved</u>	<u>Category</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
<u>ASIA</u>				
1948-60	Malaya	UK (1952-60)	4	
1950-53	Korea	U.S./USSR/UK	6	
1954-55	CPR/Taiwan	U.S.	2	
1958	CPR/Taiwan	U.S.	4	Quenoy/Matsu
1960-63	Laos	U.S./USSR	4	
1962	Brunei	UK	3	
1962	Thailand	U.S.	4	USMC units
1963-66	Indonesia/ Malaysia	UK	2	"Konfrontasi"
1964	Gulf of Tonkin	U.S.	5	
1965...	S. Vietnam	U.S./USSR/CPR	6	
1967	Sea of Japan	U.S./USSR	1	
1967	CPR/Hong Kong	CPR	2	
1967	CPR/India	CPR	1	
1967-68	Korea	U.S.	2	

TOTAL NO. 14

AFRICA

1953-55	Kenya	UK	4	
1954-62	Algeria	Fr	4	
1956-60	Cameroon	UK/Fr	3	

<u>Date</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Nuclear Power Involved</u>	<u>Category</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
<u>AFRICA (Continued)</u>				
1960-64	Congo	U.S./USSR	4	
1961	Tunisia	Fr	1	Bizerte
1964	Tanganyika/ Kenya/Uganda	UK	3	
<u>TOTAL NO. 6</u>				

<u>WESTERN HEMISPHERE</u>				
1954	Guatemala	U.S.	3	
1960	Panama	U.S.	1	
1961	Cuba	U.S.	4	Bay of Pigs
1962	Cuba/U.S./ USSR	U.S./USSR (UK/Fr)	6*	Missile Crisis
1963	Cuba	U.S.	1	
1964	Panama	U.S.	1	
1965	Dominican Republic	U.S.	4	
<u>TOTAL NO. 7</u>				

TOTALS:

U.S.	-	23
UK	-	15
USSR	-	12
Fr	-	4
CPR	-	3

TOTAL NUMBER OF INCIDENTS - 41

# APPENDIX C

## INCIDENTS INVOLVING COMMUNIST COUNTRIES

<u>Date</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Category</u>	<u>Communist Power Involved</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
<u>Europe:</u>				
1946-49	Greece	4	Albania, Yugos- lavia, Bulgaria, USSR	
1948-49	Germany	5*	USSR, GDR	
1953	Germany	3	USSR, GDR	
1956	Poland	3	USSR, Poland	
1956	Hungary	4	USSR, Hungary	
1958	Germany	2	USSR, GDR	
1961-62	Germany	5*	USSR, GDR	
<u>Middle East:</u>				
1946-47	Iran	4	USSR	
1967	Israel (A:abs)	5	USSR	
1967	Yemen	3	USSR	
<u>Asia:</u>				
1946-49	China	4	Chicoms, USSR	
1947-54	Indochina	4	CPR	
1948	Indonesia	3		PKI Rev.
1948-60	Malaya	4		Local CP.
1948-55	Philippines	4		Hukbalahap Rev
1948-62	Burma	3	(CPR)	Local CP.
1950-51	Tibet	5	CPR	
1950-53	Korea	6	USSR, CPR, North Korea	
1952	Macao	2	CPR	
1945-55	Taiwan Straits	2	CPR	
1955-59	India/CPR	2	CPR	
1956	Tibet	3	CPR	
1956	Burma	2	CPR	
1958	Quemoy/Matsu	4	CPR	
1958	Tibet	3	CPR	

Asia (Continued)

1959	Tibet	3	CPR	
1959-64	South Vietnam	4	DRV	
1960	Tibet	3	CPR	
1960...	Lao:	4	DRV, USSR, CPR	
1961	India/China	2	CPR	
1962	India/China	4	CPR	Border War.
1964	Gulf of Tonkin	5	DRV	
1965...	South Vietnam	6	DRV, CPR, USSR	
1965	Indonesia	4		PKI Rev.
1967	Sea of Japan	1	USSR	
1967	Hong Kong	2	CPR	
1967	Thailand/China	3	CPR, (DRV)	
1967-68	Korea	2	North Korea	

Africa:

1960-64	Congo	4	USSR
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Western Hemisphere:

1954	Guatemala	3	Czechoslovakia, (USSR)	
1958-59	Cuba	3		Castro
1961	Cuba	4	Cuba	Bay of Pigs.
1962	Cuba/U.S./USSR	6*	Cuba, USSR	Missile Crisis.
1963	Cuba	1	Cuba	
1965	Dominican Republic	4	(Cuba)	Local Com- munists.
1966-67	Bolivia	2	(Cuba)	Guevara Ex- pedition.

TOTALS: 46

USSR - 18  
 Chinese Peoples Republic - 20  
 German Democratic Republic - 4  
 Poland - 1  
 Hungary - 1  
 Albania - 1  
 Yugoslavia - 1  
 Bulgaria - 1  
 Czechoslovakia - 1  
 Democratic Republic of Vietnam - 4  
 North Korea - 2  
 Cuba - 6  
 Others (indigenous Communists, etc.) - 8



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