

Introduction: A Survey of Studies of Post WWII Wars, Conflicts, and Military Coups

In 1975, in an effort together with a group of colleagues to evaluate the effects of arms transfers and arms sales on wars and conflicts, it quickly became apparent that there was no single authoritative list of post-World War II wars and conflicts on which to base the study. Dozens of authors had compiled their own lists and scarcely any of the lists were the same. In fact, they differed greatly from one another.

I therefore decided to obtain and to compare all of the lists that were publicly available. A synopsis of one or more pages was written for each study found in the published international affairs literature, or produced by "think tanks" and contractors for United States government agencies. The following parameters for each study was included in the synopsis:

1. The time span covered since 1945
2. The geographic area covered (one or more continents, or the entire globe)
3. The number of wars and conflicts listed
4. The criteria used for selection of the wars and conflicts
5. The variables examined in the study

In addition to the synopses, pages 117 to 167 are comprised of a detailed examination of studies that compiled data on successful and unsuccessful military coups worldwide. Few who study international relations have any conception of how prevalent these are. They are functionally equivalent to a civil war, since, if successful, they replace the mechanism for the transfer of legitimate political power in a country.

This material was aggregated in two portions, many years apart: at Cornell University in 1976-77, and at the University of Maryland, 1990-93. In both cases, student assistants wrote most of the initial drafts of the synopses. There has been no effort to survey the journal literature since 1993 to see if additional relevant studies have been published since then.

Synopses of 58 studies were prepared at Cornell University in 1976-77 and a 167-page monograph titled "A Survey of Studies of Post WW II Wars, Conflicts, and Military Coups" was presented at the Symposium on Armament Tension and War, Nordic Cooperation Committee for International Politics, including Conflict and Peace Research, held at Hanaholmen, Finland, September 26-28, 1977. It was also distributed to numerous researchers and to several research institutes and university libraries. Two student assistants – Robert Kalish, a senior undergraduate student in economics, and Dolores Lombardi, a graduate student in the Department of Public Policy – helped to compile the synopses.

38 additional synopses were prepared at the University of Maryland with the assistance of Alice Ackerman in 1990 and Todd Perry, a graduate student at the School of Public Affairs in 1992-93.

All together synopses and comparisons of 96 studies were made. No studies published or produced after 1993 were surveyed. The pages below begin with the 167-page monograph, followed by the additional synopses prepared in 1992-93. Some lines on the pages have been crossed over, and there are handwritten corrections on other pages. These have been left as they are.

INDEX LIST OF ALL STUDIES THAT WERE SYNOPSISIZED

Note: the number within a parenthesis after an entry indicates its placement in the original 1977 compendium of 58 synopses.

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A SURVEY OF STUDIES OF POST W.W. II WARS,
CONFLICTS, AND MILITARY COUPS

PRESENTATION TO THE SYMPOSIUM; ARMAMENT, TENSION, AND WAR

Nordic Cooperation Committee for International
Politics, Including Conflict and Peace Research
Hanaholmen, Finland, September 26-28, 1977

(Paper for Session 3)

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A SURVEY OF STUDIES OF POST WORLD WAR II WARS,
CONFLICTS AND MILITARY COUPS

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A SURVEY OF STUDIES OF POST-WORLD WAR II WARS, CONFLICTS, AND MILITARY COUPS

Introduction

A film produced by the Encyclopedia Britannica in 1972 stated that since 1900 more men have killed more other men than in any other 70 year period of recorded history. It estimated that the number of people killed in wars during that period came to 70 million (1). Among other things, we are much better at killing people these days. It is possible that that figure was derived by adding together the mortalities of little more than World War I and World War II. Figures for World War I mortality are around twelve million, while estimates of worldwide mortality for World War II reach 56 million. It is probable that the actual number of people killed in wars for the 70 year period is closer to 100 million. Dr. Kende has compiled estimates of war related mortalities since World War II ranging between 25 and 30 million (2).

put into a footnote [* (Very rough estimates by this author are somewhat lower, eighteen to nineteen million.) (can explain why: he uses 10,000,000 for China, 1945-49; i.e., 40% of his total; if accept only 1/2 of this one figure, two estimates agree.]

This survey was undertaken because the research and the data on wars since World War II seem to this author to be very largely a shambles. Hardly any two authors use the same definitions, criteria or data base. Categories and descriptive phrases are used in haphazard fashion. The word "conflicts" had to be placed in the paper's title since very few "wars" since World War II have been declared wars by the nations involved, and different authors will often use different phrases for the same event. A substantial number of these conflicts have been civil wars of one sort or another. Different authors use insurgents and insurgencies, guerrillas and revolutions, rebels and rebellions at times interchangeably. At other times, the same author will use insurgency, rebellion, revolution -- or yet other terms -- within one listing to indicate different events in different countries that are precisely analogous to one another. Not infrequently, these various terms are used with differing connotations of legitimacy, according to the author's bias -- or whim. If a military coup fails, the officers are called a rebel or an insurgent group. If it succeeds, they are not. If two groups of military fight, the one smaller in size may often be called the rebel or the insurgent faction.

The opening sentences should not be taken to imply that the number of deaths should be considered the most important element in any individual war or conflict. The category of military coups demonstrates this in particular, and also demonstrates the particular problems that surround the categorizing of military coups within any consideration of "wars". Some lists of wars or conflicts include them -- or those selected ones that please the author's consideration for one reason or another -- while others omit them entirely. But in its most essential aspect, or aspects, why should military coups not be considered with civil wars? Is the critical factor that the "insurgents" have no previous government role, or that the government is overturned? By arbitrary or poorly conceived criteria that rule certain events out of consideration, we simply bias any listing against the very group for whom it is easiest to overturn a government. In addition, the category of events thus omitted is likely to have a more or less distinct political character, injecting a qualitative as well as quantitative bias. Is it more significant that fighting takes place for one or for three successive days, or that 500; 1,000; 3,000 people are killed in one or on three successive days, or in a year -- criteria used by various researchers -- or that the coup succeeds, and again, that the government is overturned -- and overturned by the military? Is the military coup less significant if it is bloodless, and if it is over in an hour, rather than if fighting takes place for one or more days? (And to what degree may the length of the conflict be dependent on whether the coup is against a civil government, or against another already installed military junta?) In addition, there seems particular reason to suspect that military coups -- and subsequent military governments -- should be of particular interest to researchers interested in armaments, arms transfers, and subjects related to these.

This study was therefore undertaken to examine and to compile the information in all the available survey studies of wars, conflicts, and military coups that have taken place since World War II. Its purpose was to provide one single compendium and data base for other researchers. A secondary intention was, hopefully, to provoke others to think about and to work in this field. Such a single compendium and data base should of course be of interest to those doing research on war and conflict. However, it should also be of interest to those concerned with such subsidiary topics as:

- arms races
- the effects of arms transfers on war and conflict
- militarism
- the effects of arms transfers on military coups themselves, their effect on or contribution to such events, either before or during the coup.

The paper is divided into two main sections, one on wars and conflicts, and one on military coups. There is an overall Table of Contents, and each of the two sections has a more detailed Table of Contents. The two sections have a similar organization. Each section contains one or more summary tables which provide some overall data on the events surveyed in that section. In the section on wars and conflicts there are then individual synopses, or abstracts, of each study examined. These provide the following information:

- the author of the study
- its title, and publication source
- the author's criteria for inclusion of events ("wars and conflicts")
- the number of such events which that author identified, and the time span surveyed by the study
- any analyses made or variables investigated by the study subsequent to the setting out of its data base.

The information provided in each individual synopsis is simpler, but is somewhat similar in pattern to that presented in the book by Jones and Singer (3). It was also intended in this section to provide one overall compendium of wars and conflicts, synthesized from all the studies surveyed. This may not prove feasible.

In the section on military coups, following the summary tables of both successful and unsuccessful military coups since 1945, the original individual lists of coups that were found in the studies surveyed are presented instead of synopses of the studies surveyed. In this case, overall compendiums of both successful and unsuccessful military coups were made.

I should like to add a few words on one other category of events, military interventions, in relation to wars and conflicts. This is probably the least systematically studied area relating to wars and conflict. In fact, it is barely studied at all, systematically or otherwise. The "overt", grosser forms of military intervention are at least well-known, even if they are poorly studied: the invasions of Vietnam, the Dominican Republic or Czechoslovakia. The "covert" assistance to military coups is also at least well-known, if again poorly studied. But there are more subtle forms of military intervention, which are one or another form of military assistance (4). There are more than

a dozen countries now known to be on the distributing end of these relationships (US, USSR, France, UK, Saudi Arabia, Israel, Egypt, Cuba, Pakistan, India, Taiwan, North Korea, Libya, Morocco) and probably others for which documentation is lacking. The number of recipients probably runs to well over 50 nations. The assistance may be in the form of money, weapons, specialized military personnel (pilots, submarine crews, radar operators, aircraft repair technicians, tank crews, etc.), or information (satellite reconnaissance photographs or intelligence obtained by other means, either ground-based or satellite systems). There does exist one series of papers on military intervention, by Pearson, but these must be unique in the effort expended to study every possible irrelevant variable that anyone could conceive of concerning a topic (5). One of these studies does, however, contain an extensive list of interventions, from 1948-67, indicating the intervening nation and several other descriptive categories (6). Times change, and with them the methods and technologies of intervention. The word needs refining and the subject matter, however labeled, needs all the study that it can get.

* * * * *

References and Notes

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- (3) Jones, S.D. and J.D. Singer, Beyond Conjecture in International Politics, Abstracts of Data-Based Research, Peacock Publishers, Inc., Itasca, Illinois, 1972, 432 pp.
- (4) It is useful to remember that 'Military Assistance' takes a wide range of forms:
 - Arms trade
 - Arms aid
 - supplying money with which to purchase weapons
 - building logistical infrastructure; airbases, naval bases, etc.
 - paramilitary construction, aid or training -- harbors, railroads, rolling stock, roads, border police, internal security forces; the categorization will depend on the usage
 - training officers and troops in the recipient country
 - training officers and troops in the donor country
 - supplying active duty military personnel for operations in recipient countries; advisors, 'special forces', pilots, radar operators, air-defense system operators, etc.
 - supplying mercenaries

- (5) - Pearson, F.S., "Foreign Military Interventions and Domestic Disputes", International Studies Quarterly 18 (3), September 1974, pp. 259-90;
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PART I. WARS AND CONFLICTS: DETAILED TABLE OF CONTENTS

- a) Introduction and Comments
- b) Summary List of Studies Surveyed (with lists of explicit events)
- c) Individual Synopses of all Studies Surveyed
 - 1. Alker, Greenberg and Grutt, 1971
 - 2. Atkeson (US Army War College), 1974
 - 3. Blechman and Kaplan (Brookings), 1976
 - 4. Bloomfield, I., 1971
 - 5. Bobrow, undated
 - 6. Bouthoul and Carrere, 1976
 - 7. Bowen (Browne and Shaw), 1968
 - 8. Butterworth and Scranton, 1976
 - 9. Cady and Prince (Bendix), 1968
 - 10. Campbell (Brookings), 1976
 - 11. Carroll, 1969
 - 12. Deitchman, 1964, 1969
 - 13. Denton, 1969
 - 14. Donelan, 1973
 - 15. Eckstein, 1962
 - 16. Feierabend and Feierabend, 1971
 - 17. Fink, 1965
 - 18. Greaves, 1962
 - 19. Hazlewood and Hayes (CACI), 1976
 - 20. Holsti, 1966
 - 21. Kellogg (Bendix), 1965-66
 - 22. Kende, 1971
 - 23. Kende, 1972
 - 24. Kende, 1976
 - 25. Leiss and Bloomfield (ACDA), 1967
 - 26. MacQueen (ACDA), 1968
 - 27. Mahoney (CNA), 1976
 - 28. McIlroy (CACI), 1977
 - 29. McKinlay and Cohan, 1976
 - 30. Midlarsky and Tanter, 1967
 - 31. Moore (CACI), 1975
 - 32. Morrison, 1972
 - 33. Richardson (ed. Wright and Lienow), 1960
 - 34. Richardson and Waldron (CNA), 1966
 - 35. Rummel, 1963
 - 36. Rummel, 1963
 - 37. Rummel, 1966
 - 38. Rummel, 1966
 - 39. Rummel, 1967
 - 40. Rummel, 1967
 - 41. Rummel, 1968
 - 42. Russett, 1963

INTERNATIONAL AND DOMESTIC YEAR IN WAR AND CONFLICT

c) Individual Synopses (cont'd.)

43. Singer and Small, 1972
44. SIPRI Yearbook, 1968/69, 1969
45. Skjelsbaek, 1971
46. Tanter, 1966
47. Tanter, 1971
48. Tanter and Midlarsky, 1967
49. U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, 1971
50. Commanders Digest, U.S. Department of Defense, 1970
51. Vengroff, 1976
52. Wainhouse, 1966
53. Wilkenfeld, 1968
54. Wood, 1968
55. Wright, 1965
56. Wright, 1965

INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTS. PART I: WARS AND CONFLICTS

The 1976 SIPRI Yearbook, referring to the work of Istvan Kende, states that "...there have been 119 wars (civil and international) between 1945 and 1975" (1). More recently, the SIPRI director has written that "...between 1945 and 1976, there have been at least 133 wars, with an average of 12 conflicts in progress on any given day" (2). In an address on 18 May 1966, then US Secretary of Defense McNamara supplied the following information:

In the last 8 years alone, there have been no less than 164 internationally significant outbreaks of violence, each of them specifically designed as a serious challenge to the authority, or the very existence, of the government in question. Eighty-two different governments have been directly involved.

What is striking is that only 15 of these 164 significant resorts to violence have been military conflicts between two states. And not a single one of the 164 conflicts has been a formally declared war. Indeed, there has not been a formal declaration of war -- anywhere in the world -- since World War II.

The planet is becoming a more dangerous place to live on, not merely because of a potential nuclear holocaust but also because of the large number of de facto conflicts and because the trend of such conflicts is growing rather than diminishing. At the beginning of 1958, there were 23 prolonged insurgencies going on about the world. As of February 1, 1966, there were 40. Further, the total number of outbreaks of violence has increased each year: In 1958, there were 34; in 1965, there were 58 (3).

In the same year, to quiet US Senate criticism that American military aid which served to strengthen the military establishments of recipient countries might in turn be producing an outcrop of military coups, Secretary McNamara offered one further item of information:

...between 1961 and 1966 there were 31 military coups in the world and of these, only 13 were in countries which had been granted some form of military assistance by the United States (4).

The eight years Secretary McNamara was referring to were 1958 to 1966. SIPRI and Kende have 119 wars from 1945 to 1975. The US Department of Defense has 164 "internationally significant outbreaks of violence", or "conflicts" in only eight of those years, since none were formally declared wars in any case. Bloomfield and Leiss have 54 wars. Other compilations

use other descriptive phrases and the number of events they include range from 30 or so (Deitchman) to well over 300 (Butterworth), a difference of a full order of magnitude. Who is referring to which event in which study and under which kind of designation? That the research community has found this bedlam tolerable all these years ¹⁷ seems simply unbelievable, nevertheless it has.

The following compilation -- and this entire study -- was an effort to set some of this post-World War II record of wars and conflicts straight. Every effort was made to obtain ¹⁷ In particular those studies which concerned military actions by U.S. forces in the post-World War II period. (Blechman and Kaplan; Atkeson; Cady and Prince, etc.) It is striking how few compilations of wars and conflicts have any indication of third party military intervention of any sort as part of the compilation or listing. One might have thought this to be an absolute necessity for any analytic study, but it is a variable rarely treated or recorded.

In addition to the individual synopses of relevant studies in the literature, we had intended supplying those lists of wars, conflicts, etc. that various researchers had compiled, and one overall compendium list, as we have done for military coups in Section 3. Since this involved an additional 100 pages of material, it was omitted here.

* * * * *

- (1) World Armament and Disarmament, SIPRI Yearbook 1976, (Almqvist & Wiksell, Stockholm), 1976, p. 48.
- (2) Barnaby, F., "Arms & the Third World", New Scientist 74 (1046), 7 April 1977, ^{pp. 30-31}
- (3) McNamara, R.J., "Security in the Contemporary World", U.S. Department of State Bulletin, 6 June 1966, pp. 874-81.
- (4) Foreign Assistance, Hearings, Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate, 1966, pp. 216-17. (The studies which provided Secretary McNamara with both these pieces of information are apparently classified and unobtainable.)

b) Summary List of Studies Surveyed (With Lists of Explicit Events)

Source	Year of Completion	Number of Events	Descriptor of the events
1. Cheryl Christensen, <i>collated list</i>	1973	675	
2. <u>ACDA</u> list	1970	82	
3. Alker and Greenberg (2)	1965/1966	54/171	
4. Kellogg (<u>Bendix</u>)	1964		
5. Berenice Carroll	1968	83	
6. Cady and Prince (<u>Bendix</u>) (2)	1966	309/352	
7. Butterworth	1976	310	
8. Blechman and Kaplan (<u>ARPA</u> (Brookings))	1976	169	
9. Atkeson (<u>Army War College</u>)	1974	28	
10. Kende	1972	93	
11. Greaves	1962	51	
12. Moore (<u>CACTI</u>)	1975	72	
13. Hazlewood and Hayes (<u>CACTI</u>)	1976	289(+78)	
14. Irirangi Bloomfield	1971	52	
15. Bowen (<u>Browne and Shaw</u>)	1968	220	
16. MacQueen (<u>ACDA</u>)	1968	44	
17. Richardson & Waldron (<u>CNA</u>)	1968	380	
18. Deitchman (1st & 2nd editions)	1964/1969	32/46	
19. Leiss and Bloomfield	1969	54	
20. Mahoney (<u>CNA</u>)	1976	99	
21. SIPRI, collated list, to 1965	1969	101	
1965-69, additional list	1969	19	
(Also appears in <u>UNESCO Courier</u> , 23 (11), Nov. 1970.			

$\frac{13}{21}$ for govt agencies
vs. academic work.

table should have 2
more columns:
- area covered
- years covered (time span)

(Shorter Statements of Numbers of Wars, Conflicts, etc. Since 1945)

1. Donelan and Grieve, International Disputes, Case Histories, 1945-1970: 50
2. David Wood, Conflict in the 20th Century (ISS Adelphi Paper): 72
"wars", "conflicts", from 1945-1967.
3. Quincy Wright (Revised edition, 1965)
 - a) Appendix E, Political Disputes and Situations Before the UN, 1945-1964: 77
 - b) Appendix C, Hostilities: 30
4. McNamara, 1966, "In the last eight years (1958-1966)...no less than 164 internationally significant outbreaks of violence."
5. International Affairs (USSR), No. 2, February 1963, pp. 102-04: 21 "Colonial Wars of Imperialism" (1945-1963)
6. Mueller, 1969: 25 "Guerrilla wars since 1945"
7. Soderlund, 1970: 11 "Major Post-World War II Insurgencies"
8. US Naval Institute Proceedings, 89 (2), February 1963, p. 55: 32 "Limited Wars and Crises since World War II"
9. US Naval Institute Proceedings, 94 (4), April 1967, p. 34: "More than 90 conflicts in the lower spectrum of war that have occurred in the last 20 years."
10. Time, 24 September 1965, p. 31: "40 wars since 1945"
11. New Internationalist, No. 47, January 1977: "from 1960 to 1975, 35 wars... (guerrilla wars, armed interventions, frontier disputes, and other crises, including civilian ones)"
12. Commanders Digest (US), 1970: 28 "International Crises", 17 with "US Involvement" (9 "Direct" and 8 "Partial")

Alker, H., W. Greenberg and L. Grutt
"A Provisional List of Potential UN Collective Security Disputes"

28 August 1971

OVERVIEW: This paper provided "a provisional list of international disputes, and of intranational disputes with international implications", that the authors developed in their studies of UN collective security disputes. The authors also stated: "At the present stage, the list is intended to be a relatively inclusive one, of particular use in modelling how the UN 'screens out' many such disputes, in effect treating them as 'non-decisions' before acting on the rest."

TIME PERIOD: 1945-1966

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: No restriction

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: The authors listed 346 "disputes". The years under study by the authors were divided into four time periods. The distribution of disputes by time period was as follows:

<u>Time Period</u>	<u>Number of Disputes</u>
1946-1947	27
1948-1955	124
1956-1962	127
1963-1966	68

In addition, 30 "World War II Related Cases" were listed in Appendix I. The time period of these cases was from September 1945 to November 1951.

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASES AS "POTENTIAL UN COLLECTIVE SECURITY DISPUTES":

As noted above, the list included international disputes and intranational disputes with international implications.

The authors stated that:

Provisional criteria for inclusion have been that a dispute a) has recognizable parties, dates and a concrete, usually territorial, focus of disagreement; b) that it has been claimed by i) some of its parties and ii) perhaps also a regional or universal collective security agency or iii) a relevant scholar to be or to involve a "threat to the peace" or a "breach of the peace" as these terms are usually understood in a UN context; c) that such a dispute has subsequently become "a threat to" or "a breach of" international peace.

"The major sources for these judgments" were the following:

1. E. Haas, "Collective Security and the Future International System"
2. "Summaries of Activities", of Various International Organizations given in International Organization, 1947-1971.
3. Eugene Kolb, The Agenda Problem of the UN, Yale PhD., c. 1967
4. Bloomfield and Leiss, Controlling Small Wars, Knopf, 1969
5. Istvan Kende, "Twenty-Five Years of Local Wars", Journal of Peace Research, 8 (1), 1971.
6. Alker and Greenberg, "The UN Charter: Alternate Pasts and Futures", mimeo.

Alker, Greenberg & Grutt (cont'd.)

Further "(w)hen a dispute continues into a new period, or evidences a marked discontinuity in its bloc involvement, issue characteristic or kind of hostilities...a new phase of the dispute is separately coded."

VARIABLES: For each included case that was before a collective security or regional organization, that organization was provided (along with the first page listing of the case in International Organization). Possible collective security or regional organizations included:

- 1. General Assembly
- 2. Security Council
- 3. International Court of Justice
- 4. Arab League
- 5. OAS

For each included case that was not before such organizations, the authors listed the source that led to its inclusion. (Sources listed above in the section on Criteria.)

Atkeson, Brigadier General Edward B., et. al.
An Analysis of International Crises and Army Involvement (Historical Appraisal 1945-1974)

U.S. Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, 1 October 1974, 106 pp., plus maps and charts

OVERVIEW: The purpose of this study was to examine the involvement or avoidance of involvement of U.S. forces (particularly the U.S. Army) in international crises since World War II, and "to establish an historical foundation from which insights may be derived to aid in the formulation of assumptions and conclusions useful to the Army planning process."

TIME PERIOD: 1945-1974 (However, the Cyprus Crisis of 1974 was omitted from consideration for lack of complete information.)

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: All areas were included

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: 28

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS AN "INTERNATIONAL CRISIS": An "international crisis" was defined as "an international situation in which there is an acute need for a decision on the part of the U.S. Government to employ or not to employ force, either in combat or in a demonstration of force."

Of the 126 post-World War II conflicts/crises that were reviewed, 28 were considered to meet the above definition of an "international crisis".

VARIABLES: For each of the 28 crises, a summary was provided, which gave the "Background", "U.S. Perceptions", "Significant Events" and "Outcome" of each crisis. The date given for a crisis was the date "when the acuity of crisis was greatest with respect (to) force commitment."

The variables examined for each crisis were:

1. Type of Crisis (internal anti-regime, internal tribal/communal, frontier/border, or other)
2. Geographic location (Europe, Asia, Middle East, Africa, America)
3. Geopolitical Factors
 - a. Proximity to Communist states (borders on USSR, borders on PRC, etc.)
 - b. U.S. access (by water, land, both, air only)
 - c. Population distribution (whether rural or not)
4. Economic Factors
 - a. Nature of the Economy (agriculture and fishing, manufacturing, mining)
 - b. Degree of development (whether or not a less-developed country)
5. Political Factors
 - a. Colonial background (whether or not country had a history of colonialism in 20th century)
 - b. Nature of regime (whether or not dictatorial in nature)
 - c. Form of government (communist, monarchical, democratic or military)
6. Foreign Power Involvement
 - a. Foreign Hostile Involvement (whether there were major or minor foreign powers involved in actions which were inimical to U.S. interests)

Atkeson et. al. (cont'd.)

- b. Friendly Power Involvement (whether there were major or minor foreign powers involved in actions which were supportive of U.S. interests)
- 7. Degree of Foreign Power Involvement
 - a. Foreign Hostile Involvement
 - b. Friendly Power Involvement (Economic assistance, non-combat military assistance, demonstration of force, military intervention)
- 8. U.S. Concern (whether or not there had been a history of U.S. concern)
- 9. U.S. Perceptions
 - a. Principal issues perceived by U.S. decision makers (countervailing force, anti-communism, anti-colonialism, economic interests, etc.)
 - b. Treaty Breach by opposition (whether or not U.S. perceived opposition governments acting in a fashion that was a breach of formal treaty or agreement)
 - c. U.S. treaty obligation (whether or not U.S. decision makers perceived themselves to be bound by a formal treaty or agreement to assist the country in which the crisis occurred)
- 10. U.S. Ethnic Pressures (whether interests of sizeable U.S. ethnic minorities were involved and may have served to pressure U.S. decision makers)
- 11. Moral Obligation (whether U.S. assistance was requested)
- 12. Degree of U.S. involvement (none; economic assistance; non-combat military assistance; naval, air force, or army demonstration of force; naval, air force or army military intervention)

23 of the 28 "crises" involved some demonstration of force or military intervention by the U.S. The ten "international crises" in which the Army was involved (engaged, deployed in a show of force, or alerted) are examined further. The variables studied for these "international crises" include:

- 1. initial army requirement
- 2. readiness of initial units
- 3. duration of force deployment
- 4. initial national objectives and whether they were achieved
- 5. U.S. casualties

The postwar years are separated into different strategic periods and the way in which some of the crises fit into these periods and changed U.S. strategy is explained.

Blechman, Barry M., and Stephen S. Kaplan
The Use of the Armed Forces as a Political Instrument

The Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C., 31 December 1976.

OVERVIEW: This study attempts to "present a systematic compilation of where, when and how the United States has used its armed forces for political objectives." Further, it tries to evaluate the effectiveness or utility of the armed forces in these roles.

TIME PERIOD: 1 January 1946 - 31 October 1975 (The cut-off date was arbitrary, "necessarily imposed on the research.")

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: There were no restrictions.

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: 215. Of the total 215 incidents included by the authors, 19 were listed as incidents in which strategic nuclear forces were involved, and 33 were listed as being the "most significant incidents" (as explained later in this review.)

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF A CASE AS A "POLITICAL USE OF THE ARMED FORCES" BY THE U.S.: A "political use of the armed forces" was defined as occurring "when physical actions are taken by one or more components of the uniformed military services as part of a deliberate attempt by the national authorities to influence, or to be prepared to influence, specific behavior of individuals in another nation without engaging in a continuing contest of violence."

From this definition, the authors considered five elements necessary for an incident to be regarded as a political use of the armed forces:

1. A physical change in the disposition (location, activity, and/or readiness) of at least a part of the armed forces had to occur.
2. There had to have been a certain consciousness of purpose. A specific political impact had to appear to be a significant objective of the national command authority -- e.g., a member of the National Security Council -- in initiating the action.
3. Decision makers must have sought to attain their objectives by gaining influence in the target states, not by physically imposing the U.S. will. That is, decision makers must have tried to attain their objectives by influencing the behavior of another actor -- i.e., causing an actor to do something that he would not otherwise do, or not to do something that he would otherwise do.
4. Decision makers must have sought to avoid a significant contest of violence. That is, "although a war may result from a use of the armed forces which otherwise meets the terms of the definition, the initiation of the war must not have been the intent of the action."
5. Some specific behavior had to have been desired of the target actors. To be included, a use of the armed forces had to have been directed at influencing specific behavior in a particular situation; or, at least, to have occurred because of concern with specific behavior.

The authors further clarified their criteria for inclusion of an incident as a "political use of the armed forces" by listing the sorts of military activity which were excluded.

Some of the incidents or types of incidents that were excluded were:

1. The Korean War and the U.S. involvement in the war in Indochina between March 1965 and March 1972. (According to the authors, "in these wars, U.S. armed forces were used primarily as a martial instrument.")

Blechman and Kaplan (cont'd.)

2. Uses of U.S. armed forces deployed abroad to defend directly U.S. property, citizens, or military positions, such as the use of Army troops in the Panama Canal Zone to control demonstrations. "This military activity was not designed to cause foreign policy makers to terminate the undesirable activity, but to terminate it in a direct fashion (e.g., by shooting an infiltrator.)"
3. Routine activity primarily directed at maintaining or improving combat readiness. (The political consequences are "simply not deliberate.")
4. Miscellaneous forms of support provided routinely to foreign governments in non-conflict situations such as disaster relief. (Such operations do not have a specific political objective.)
5. The provision of military assistance to other countries.
6. The use within the U.S. of active or reserve military forces to control civil disturbances, to aid relief efforts following national disasters, and to achieve other objectives.

In short, the study included only "those instances in which the armed forces were used in a discrete way for specific political objectives in a particular situation."

Further, the authors wrote that:

It is important to note that certain situations -- e.g., the political crises in Lebanon in 1958, in the Congo in 1960-64, and in the Dominican Republic in 1965-66 -- are considered to comprise two or more incidents rather than just one. This approach allows a more useful analysis of instances in which there occurred two or more clear modal uses of U.S. armed forces, or a significant change in the nature of the situation.

VARIABLES: The following information was provided concerning each of the 215 incidents:

1. "a phrase describing the basic situation that attracted U.S. attention and led to the use of armed forces as a political instrument" (for example, "Security of Guantanamo base in Cuba")
2. The month and year in which the use of armed forces was initiated. (It was noted that: "In many instances, the situation of concern occasioned an almost immediate use of armed forces. In other instances, however, a lag of some months occurred.")

In Chapter III, the authors provided distributions of the 215 incidents with respect to the following variables:

1. Time. The study categorized the distribution of incidents into four periods: 1946-48; 1949-55; 1956-65; and, 1966-75.
2. Region. The regions were: Western Hemisphere, Europe, Middle East and North Africa, South Asia and Africa, and Southeast and East Asia.
3. Type of political situation at which the U.S. military action was directed.

Blechman and Kaplan (cont'd.)

First the 215 incidents were divided into two categories: those that were essentially intra-national in nature and those that were essentially international. The latter were further compartmented, depending upon whether or not the United States was a primary actor in the pertinent events or relationships leading up to the introduction of U.S. armed forces.

4. Participants in incidents.
 - a. participation by the U.S.S.R. or China
 - b. other participants

One of two criteria had to be satisfied in order for an actor to be considered a participant in an incident: (a) it had to have been a specific target of U.S. decision-makers in using the armed forces, in that the U.S. must have desired that the actor perform, or not perform, a specific act or, more subtly, be impressed in a particular fashion; or (b) the actor had to play a special role in determining the outcome of the incident.

(The term, "special role," was not defined).

In Chapter IV, the authors provided distributions for the following:

1. Type of U.S. force involved (whether naval forces, ground combat units or land-based air forces were used). Further, there was a list of the nineteen incidents in which strategic nuclear forces were involved. (The criteria for inclusion on this list was that "forces which at the time had a designated role in U.S. plans for strategic nuclear war took part in one of the political incidents, in such context that a nuclear signal of some type could be inferred.")
2. Level of force used in incidents. The authors constructed a scale ranking "military level of effort" based on the historical data. The scale range from 1 to 5 with "1" indicating the greatest effort and "5" the least effort. (As an example, "1" indicated the use of a strategic nuclear unit plus at least one "major" force component where the "major" force component could have been a naval force -- two or more aircraft carrier task groups, a ground force -- more than one battalion, or a land-based air force -- one or more combat wings.)

The distribution of incidents by level of military effort was provided, and the "most significant incidents," the 33 which scored a "1" or "2" on the level of effort scale were listed.

3. Activities of U.S. armed forces when used for political objectives. Possible activities included: providing a U.S. presence, visit, patrol/reconnaissance/surveillance, and use of firepower.

The number of incidents involving each type of activity was given. The study then used a sample of 33 incidents (15 percent of the full 215 incident file) to analyze the effectiveness of using the armed forces as a political instrument. This was a "structured sample" which "strongly reflect(ed) the profile characteristics of the full file."

Blechman and Kaplan (cont'd.)

For each of these 33 incidents, the authors provided in Table V-I, among other information:

1. the context of the incident
 - a. whether the incident was intra- or inter-state
 - b. whether it involved violence
2. the principal actors in the incident

In Table V-II, for each actor in the 33 incidents, the authors gave the following information:

1. principal action desired by U.S. policymakers
2. the "mode" and "style" in which armed forces were used in order to obtain that behavior ("mode" and "style" are explained below).
3. the outcome relative to each objective after first, six months and, second, three years following the U.S. use of force.

Four "modes" of using armed force were distinguished. They were:

- a. to deter a target from doing something or stopping from doing something.
- b. to compel a target to do or to stop doing something
- c. to assure a target so that it will continue to do or not to do something
- d. to induce a target to do or to stop doing something

Three "styles" of using armed force were distinguished as follows:

- a. a direct use of the armed force. This "occurs when the activities of the military units involved directly are aimed at a particular target without intermediaries."
- b. an indirect use of the armed force. This occurs when for example, an ally of the target is threatened directly rather than the target itself.
- c. a latent use of the armed force. In this case, preparatory actions are taken, but "no specific attempt is made to communicate the relationship between the military activity and the desired behavior."

In Table VI-5, the level, type, theater movement (whether the deployment of forces was made within and/or between theaters), and activity of U.S. armed forces in each of the 33 incidents was provided.

Other variables for which distributions of the sample were provided included:

1. previous U.S. military involvement in the region where the incident took place
2. prior U.S. diplomatic actions
3. Presidential popularity during the period in which armed forces were used
4. Role of the Soviet Union in the incident
 - a. whether Soviet Union used or threatened to use force
 - b. whether a Soviet ally was an actor
 - c. the level of cooperative and conflictive behavior directed by each of the superpowers toward the other during the year of the incident
5. The type of actor in incident (categories of actor types included China, Communist group besides U.S.S.R. and China, insurgent group, NATO member, and OAS member).

Blechman and Kaplan (cont'd.)

6. Principal supplier of arms to actor (categories included United States, Soviet Union or China and NATO state).

Then, case studies of thirteen incidents were provided. These incidents were selected "so as to contrast differences within particular circumstances in which the United States has used its armed forces for political objectives since 1945." Thus, for example, case studies were provided for two of the Berlin crises.

These case studies described "U.S. objectives, the instruments of policy directed at those objectives, the character of the situation (and particularly the concerns of foreign decisionmakers), and most importantly, the outcomes of the situation."

COMMENTS:

1. The criteria for exclusion of various events seem open to debate
2. However even within the terms of the study, small changes in the restrictions on the military level of effort would produce very sizable differences in results. For example, if the deployment of one aircraft had been considered the definition of a "major" force component, rather than two, the sums and distribution of incidents would have changed a good deal. Similarly if aircraft carriers had been considered a "strategic nuclear unit", as they were for many years, the list of incidents in which strategic nuclear forces were involved would have been more than 19.

Bloomfield, Irirangi C.
52 Post-War Conflicts: Brief Historical Summaries

Arms Control Project, Center for International Studies, M.I.T., Cambridge,
Massachusetts 02139, 1971.

OVERVIEW: This survey provides case summaries of 52 conflicts with each case summary divided into phases. The summaries were originally prepared for the CASCON system (Computer-Aided System for Handling Information on Local Conflicts).

TIME PERIOD: "Post-war" to 1970; roughly starting in 1945, however some conflicts which are included began before 1945.

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: No explicit restriction.

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: 52

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CONFLICT: No obvious criteria given. However, from the definition of the earliest "phase" of any case, there must at the least be a "dispute" which "has broken out between parties, over territory, borders, power, rights or whatever". (There need not be any military actions, e.g. Bahrain.) No explicit definitions of "parties" either, i.e., whether internal to a state, external, etc. (Further explanation is provided below in the definition of Phase 2.)

VARIABLES: Six possible phases of any case have been defined, though a case need not have all the six phases.

Phase 1: is defined as "the period when a dispute has broken out between parties, over territory, borders, power, rights or whatever."

Phase 2: occurs "when the dispute becomes a conflict, that is, one or both of the parties begins to perceive the dispute in military terms or takes up a military option such as the import of arms or otherwise prepares to see the matter possibly resolved by force."

Phase 3: is the period of actual hostilities.

Phase 4: is the period in which "the fighting has ceased but the conflict remains."

Phase 5: is defined as the phase when "the conflict has ceased but the dispute remains".

In the last phase, the dispute itself is resolved.

In each case, the following variables are given:

1. duration of relevant phases
2. description of phase with action (if any) taken by international organizations or other countries.

OMISSIONS OR INCONSISTENCIES: Nigerian civil war is included, but East European events that might be considered at all analagous do not appear. Also, East European international events do not appear. U.S.-Ecuadorian "tuna-war" appears; but many other analagous events do not.

Bobrow, Davis B.

"Liberation Wars, National Environments and American Decision-Making"

(No Date)

OVERVIEW: This paper draws "on data gathered for other purposes to clarify important patterns which relate national liberation war to national traits, to clarify the extent to which other possible host environments are similar to South Vietnam as political and socio-economic systems, to locate cultural characteristics which indigenous populations will use in responding to the American response and, finally, to locate some dispositions in American decision-making".

The studies used included: Rummel 1963, 1964; Tanter 1965, 1966; and Eckstein 1962.

REASON FOR NOT USING THIS STUDY: No data on individual conflicts was included. Data that was given was:

1. Correlation between Revolutions and Guerrilla war, Table I
2. Factor Analysis of data from other studies showing independence of types of conflict, Table II

Bouthoul, Gaston and René Carrère

Le défi de la guerre (1740-1974): deux siècles de guerres et de révolutions
(The Challenge of War (1740-1974): Two centuries of wars and revolutions)

Presses Universitaires de France, 1976

OVERVIEW: This book was devoted to a study on major armed conflicts from 1740 to 1974 undertaken by the French Institute of Polemology. In Appendix II, "Liste des 366 conflits armés majeurs", the authors listed the 366 conflicts studied, of which 72 were post-World War II conflicts.

The book is in French. A paper by Hervé Savon, "A Study on Armed Conflicts (1740-1974)", July 1975, was available in English and it presented a brief outline of the study. Both the French edition of the book and the paper in English were used to prepare the synopsis given here.

TIME PERIOD: 1740-1974

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: No restrictions

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: There were 72 post-World War II cases counted as follows. This number includes 1. the Greek civil war which began in 1944 and continued to 1949; 2. troubles in Syria and Libya ("Troubles en Syrie et au Liban - mandat français") which began in May 1945 and continued to December 1945; and 3. troubles in Constantinople ("Troubles dans le Constantinois - Sétif") which began in May 1945 and continued to June 1945.

Fourteen of these cases were designated as being inter-state conflicts. The rest were internal conflicts.

The authors wrote that there were 71 conflicts from 1945 to 1974 of which 25 were either interstate or intrastate with foreign armed intervention. ("De 1945 à 1974, sur 71 conflits, 25 d'entre eux ont été soit interétatiques, soit intraétatiques avec intervention armée étrangère.") But at another point (in Table 8), it was noted that there were 71 conflicts from 1944 to 1974. With this apparent inconsistency, and having counted the conflicts themselves, we would prefer to say that there were 72 postwar cases included as noted earlier.

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS A "MAJOR ARMED CONFLICT": This study included both interstate and internal conflicts. Conflicts need not have had any deaths to be included. Nor did conflicts have to end by 31 December 1974 to be included.

For a conflict to be included by the authors, it had to satisfy at least one of six criteria. These six criteria were:

1. "mis en cause plus d'un Etat"
2. "affecté un espace plus grand qu'une province ou qu'une capitale"
3. "duré plus d'un an"
4. "été d'une grande intensité (plus de 1000 tués), ce qui était l'un des principaux critères retenus par David Singer"
5. "eu des résultats internes importants (sécession ou changement de régime)"
6. "entraîne des résultats internationaux importants (annexion ou bien indépendance, ou naissance ou disparition d'Etat)"

Bouthoul and Carrère (cont'd.)

Hostilities satisfying at least one of the above criteria were designated as "major armed conflicts". "Major armed conflicts" were also referred to as "macroconflicts", and as "wars and revolutions" (where "wars" were interstate "major armed conflicts" and "revolutions" were intrastate "major armed conflicts").

"Major armed conflicts" were of seven types:

1. foreign and civil wars ("Les guerres étrangères et civiles")
2. occupations by force ("Les occupations par la force")
3. military penetrations ("Les pénétrations militaires")
4. revolutions ("Les révolutions")
5. uprisings and insurrections ("Les soulèvements et insurrections")
6. massacres ("Les massacres à allure de génocide")
7. violent troubles ("Les troubles violents ayant une valeur importante de symptôme de prodrome ou de séquelle ou bien des conséquences importantes sur le plan intérieur ou sur le plan international") An example of violent troubles was the student troubles in France in May 1968. ("Troubles-étudiants-en France")

The authors thus excluded "microconflicts" which were conflicts that were brief, localized and limited ("affrontements brefs, localisés et limités"). An example of a "microconflict" is a frontier incident.

The authors stated they had excluded 1. tribal fights and 2. most of the coups d'état. That is, they excluded:

1. "les innombrables luttes tribales saisonnières, souvent renouvelées d'année en année, en Afrique et en Amérique," and;
2. "les nombreux coups d'état, pronunciamientos et putsches, notamment en Amérique latine sauf quand ils avaient une dimension particulièrement importante."

The authors also excluded what they termed "intraconflicts" -- conflicts where violence doesn't occur or is not declared ("la violence est nulle ou bien non déclarée"). An example was the oil crisis after 1973 ("Crise du pétrole").

VARIABLES: For each included conflict, the authors provided the following information in the appendix:

1. year -- and sometimes in what month -- the conflict began and ended
2. "A briefly developed title (which) identifies the location, the opponents, the specific nature of the conflict". (An example is, "Soulèvement de Budapest et intervention armée soviétique"-- Budapest uprising and Soviet armed intervention.)
3. Whether the conflict was interstate or internal
4. Population at the time of the conflict of the state (or states) engaged in the conflict
5. Number of combatants
6. Number of deaths -- both military and civilian -- resulting from the conflict.

Bowen, R. F., et al.

A Forecast of Local Conflict in the Next Decade (Preliminary Draft)

Browne and Shaw Research Corporation (and the U. S. Department of Defense), 1968

OVERVIEW: The purpose of this study was "to prepare a detailed estimate of the local conflict environments in which peacekeeping forces" may have to function in the ten years after 1968.

An assumption underlying this forecast of local conflicts was that "the basic causes of most of these future conflicts are already present and for the most part apparent in the form of various types of disputes". Thus this study examined current "disputes" which already have or conceivably could lead to conflict.

TIME PERIOD: 1966, 1967, part of 1968

GEOGRAPHICAL AREA: Current "disputes" in developing countries (excluding Communist China). The regions were:

1. Africa South of the Sahara
2. Latin America
3. Middle East-North Africa
4. South Asia
5. Southeast Asia

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: The authors identify 220 current "disputes". As discussed further in this review under "Variables", the authors use a scheme in which there are six possible phases in any "dispute". The study places 24 of the disputes in the third phase which is the phase involving active hostilities. These disputes are referred to as "Phase III conflicts".

Furthermore, the study lists 74 of the 220 "disputes" as being "potential Phase III conflicts". These "disputes" are the ones the authors consider likely to reach the third phase in the ten years after 1968 under at least one of three alternative environmental conditions (decreased stability regionally, continuation of present trends, increased stability regionally). The list of these "potential Phase III conflicts" included disputes that had already reached Phase III.

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF A CASE AS A "DISPUTE": A "dispute" was defined as "a divisive issue, resulting from one or more of the 12 causes for conflict", that could lead to conflict.

The "12 causes for conflict" were:

1. disputed territory
2. desire for national aggrandizement, prestige or expansion of influence
3. ideological
4. minority group dissatisfaction
5. involvement in other countries' disputes
6. desire for national self-determination
7. internal power rivalries
8. economic problems

Bowen, et al. (cont'd.)

9. lack of an adaptive political system
10. perceived threat to national security or vital national interests
11. perceived threat to public order
12. historic enmity

The authors explained, to some degree, what they meant by each of these causes.

According to the study's definition of a "dispute" as given above, for a situation resulting from at least one of the twelve causes, to be included as a "dispute", it must also have the potential to "conceivably result in conflict if a suitably unstable environment were to develop and the proper aggravating circumstances were to present themselves". However, what was a "suitably unstable environment" and what were "proper aggravating circumstances" were not made very explicit. (A list of twelve "aggravating circumstance" or "direct precipitating circumstances of conflict" was provided but there was little, if any, discussion explaining the actual requirements for a situation to be considered to have the potential for conflict.)

Moreover, the study was restricted "to situations reported as disturbances in the press... (I)t was not possible to treat each country individually in a search for endemic problem situations."

Thus, the authors say "the list of disputes, lengthy as it is, cannot be regarded as describing completely the potential for conflict or even the total number of disputes in evidence at present". And besides the factor detracting from completeness of the list given here, the study also stated "Our source material... could not be regarded as an exhaustive search of the literature."

VARIABLES: The study provided the following information for current disputes:

1. regional distribution of the disputes (regions as given before)
2. distribution of the disputes according to whether they were internal or external
3. distribution of the disputes according to whether there was great power involvement, non-great power foreign involvement or no foreign involvement
4. distribution of the disputes according to which of six possible phases they were in. These six phases were:
 - a. pre-hostilities, pre-military
 - b. pre-hostilities, but seen in military terms; or low-level hostilities
 - c. hostilities
 - d. post-hostilities, but military option remains
 - e. post-conflict, but dispute remains
 - f. settlement of dispute.

It was noted that "This list of phases is drawn from MIT's study of local conflict (ACDA/WGC-98) June 1967."

The above distributions are presented in Table V.

Bowen, et al. (cont'd.)

Then, in Table VII, the study attempted to relate the disputes in the developing countries to social and economic factors. The following information is listed by region:

1. the number of countries in region
2. the number of countries in region with at least one dispute
3. average number of disputes for a country in the region (This average is only for those countries with at least one dispute.)
4. population of the region
5. average population for a country in the region
6. GNP per person for each region.

However, no detailed analysis was made in this paper in the relationship between disputes, and social and economic factors.

In Appendix B, the study provided descriptions of the 24 current "Phase III conflicts". The conflicts were listed by region. The variables studied in these descriptions were:

1. Parties to the disputes
2. Type of conflict. The types of conflict were:
 - a. social disturbances
 - b. political and/or economic warfare
 - c. coup
 - d. insurgency
 - e. civil war
 - f. interstate incidents
 - g. involvement or participation in third-party conflict
 - h. local interstate war
 - i. nuclear war(All of the above types of conflict were explained.)
3. External involvement (Though not explicitly explained, the study listed for this variable other countries that were involved in the dispute besides the "parties to the dispute".)
4. Phase of conflict (The six possible phases were listed above.)
5. Causal factors (The causes for the conflict; the possible causes were listed earlier.)
6. Aggravating circumstances. "Aggravating circumstances" or "direct precipitating circumstances" were events which "aggravate the environmental situation so that the causal factors come into play." Twelve "aggravating circumstances" were listed.
 - a. perceived change in status of third power guarantees
 - b. change in relative strength of potential antagonists
 - c. introduction of armaments
 - d. deterioration in authority of a central government
 - e. domestic pressure
 - f. creation of a power vacuum
 - g. intolerable provocation
 - h. inept great power politics
 - i. succession crisis
 - j. economic crisis
 - k. disputed territory

Bowen, et al. (cont'd.)

1. fomenting and exploitation of internal differences by external groups.

These twelve "aggravating circumstances" were not further explained. The paper stated "Whereas an attempt was made to use these standard characterizations in describing the conflict situations in this study, it proved too cumbersome. As a consequence, recourse was had to individual descriptions of attendant circumstances serving to aggravate situations to the point of conflict. Before the project is completed a further attempt will be made to reduce the descriptions used to a standard format." The 74 current "disputes" which were considered likely to reach the third phase and referred to as "potential Phase III conflicts" were listed (by parties to the dispute) along with the current phase of the dispute and the environmental conditions under which the dispute was considered likely to reach Phase III. (The three alternative environmental conditions were decreased stability regionally, continuation of present trends and increased stability regionally.)

The information given for the "potential Phase III conflicts" included:

1. regional distribution by internal or external conflict
2. regional distribution by type of conflict

The potential availability of weaponry to possible future conflict situations was studied in Appendix C.

COMMENTS: The 220 individual disputes are not listed.

The 24 current "Phase III conflicts" are not explicitly listed. That is, there are not 24 conflicts that are explicitly identified. Instead, the conflicts are denoted by countries or colonies in the developing world, and there are 32 "descriptions" provided. Yet the authors state there are 24 "Phase III conflicts".

Disputes and conflicts, it seems, are distinguished for each pair of parties opposing each other. Thus, for one issue, there may be more than one "dispute" if other countries become involved and there is more than one opposing pair.

The Middle East conflicts ("Arab-Israeli dispute") are listed as currently being in Phase IV in the list of "potential Phase III conflicts". (Approximately seven pairs such as Jordan/Israel are listed as currently being in Phase IV.) But some of these conflicts are given in the section of descriptions of current Phase III conflicts. Thus, it seems that the listings are not consistent -- at least not to this reviewer.

In Appendix D, there is a listing of "Successful Military Coups in Latin America", 1920-1966, with the country and date given. There are 48 coups listed for the period 1945-1966. These are reproduced from Veliz, The Politics of Conformity in Latin America (Oxford: OUP, 1967), p. 278.

The list of 74 "potential Phase III conflicts" is explicitly given, but the study doesn't give details on how these disputes were chosen, except to state "In carrying out this critical selection process, we relied on our intuitive judgement as applied to a knowledge of the course of events in recent years in each of these countries and the apparent general trend of events in the region in question, barring 'surprises'."

Bowen, et al.

Still another inconsistency was found in examining the list of "potential Phase III conflicts". As noted before, "potential Phase III conflicts" included those that were already "Phase III conflicts". Since the current phase of each of the "potential Phase III conflicts" was given, the number of current "Phase III conflicts" could be gotten by counting the number of "potential Phase III conflicts" already in Phase III. When this was done, a total of 22 disputes were counted as not being in Phase III, whereas it was stated in the paper that there were 24.

And as shown before, there were 32 "descriptions" of "current Phase III conflicts". Thus, something is wrong.

The term "potential Phase III conflict" also seems to have been used incorrectly. All of the 220 listed disputes are "potential Phase III conflicts", not just the ones listed as "potential Phase III conflicts", because by definition all the disputes "already have or conceivably could lead to conflict within the next 10 years." There is no reason that "conflict" should not be interpreted here as "Phase III conflicts".

The "potential Phase III conflicts" are more than just potential conflicts. They are the disputes "considered likely to reach Phase III during the next 10 years under the three alternative environmental conditions...."

Butterworth, Robert Lyle, with Margaret E. Scranton
Managing Interstate Conflict, 1945-1974: Data with Synopses

University Center for International Studies, University of Pittsburgh, 1976.

OVERVIEW: This study presents information on "interstate security conflicts." It provides both a synopsis of each conflict and a quantitative coding (using 47 variables) of each conflict.

A paper entitled "Butterworth/Scranton Conflict Management Study" was used along with the book itself in writing this review.

TIME PERIOD: 1945-1974 (Some conflicts began before 1945).

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: No restrictions

NUMBER OF POST WORLD WAR II CASES: There were 247 "Interstate security conflicts" in the study.

These 247 "conflicts" constituted 310 "cases", where "cases" were defined as "conflict management problems." (More precisely, where a particular conflict "triggered action by more than one management agent," a separate case corresponded to each agent. Thus one conflict could constitute more than one case.)

Chapter 2 provided a list of the 247 "conflicts" and the corresponding "cases."

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS AN "INTERSTATE SECURITY CONFLICT": For a conflict to be included as an "interstate security conflict" it had to have "centrally involved specific power-political aims and demands having direct impacts on national behavior" where such issues:

1. were "perceived internationally as being focused on political and security affairs," and
2. "constituted a serious political claim against a government."

In general, this study included "all such cases that occupied an international conflict management agent...plus those disputes that did not involve any management agent but involved hostilities or a significant threat thereof (according to actors' perceptions.") It was stated that: "The reason for the disparity in criteria is that the involvement of a management agent provides us with a de facto judgment about actors' perceptions of the political/security nature of the dispute."

A "management agent" was "any actor (except the parties) who achieved access ('penetrated') to the parties and issues and whose manifest intention was to prevent the conflict from escalating." By "access," the authors meant that the actors who were "management agents" had to have been "seized of the case" and thus "gratuitous appeals" or "humanitarian efforts that did not deal with crucial impediments to resolving the conflict" were not included as management efforts.

The types of disputes which were excluded were:

1. "domestic issues that did not directly lead to interstate conflict"
2. diffuse antagonisms or instances of general interstate competition. Thus, "the Cold War" was not included, "but the several specific disputes to which it gave rise" were included.
3. "decolonization problems that essentially involved quarreling over technical issues." (But "decolonization cases involving hostilities, or competing territorial claims" such as "by a state against the ruler of the territory" as in Gibraltar were included.)
4. "Disputes that arose from the conduct and resolution of World War II... unless they constituted conflicts in their own right in the postwar situation (as did the issues of Trieste, Austria and Cyrenaica, for example.")

Butterworth with Scranton (cont'd.)

5. "charges that appear to have been gestures to domestic political groups and did not imply new acts of aggression (e.g., Franco Spain, germ warfare in Korea); human rights charges, however, even if stemming from previous acts of aggression, are included as involving an essentially different focus of complaint."

Conflicts need not have ended by 1974 to be included.

Note: Some civil wars were included. These included: Chinese Civil War, 1945-1949; Eritrean Civil War, 1967 - ; Biafran Secession, 1967 -70 ; Jordanian Civil War 1970-1971.

In Appendix II, the authors listed 96 conflicts which failed to meet the criteria for inclusion of a conflict as an "interstate security conflict." These included for example the Peron Overthrow, 1955; the Peruvian Coup, 1968; the Libyan Coup, 1969; and the Sudanese Coup, 1969.

VARIABLES: The synopses describe "succinctly the substance of each conflict: issues, parties, background, and related tensions."

At the beginning of each synopsis as well as in the list of conflicts in Chapter 2, the authors provided:

1. the beginning and ending years of the conflict,
2. the opposing parties,
3. the actor or actors, if any, which qualified as "management agents" (as stated above, each "agent" involved in the conflict corresponded to a separate "case.")

After the synopses, the authors provided a quantitative coding in which each of the 310 "cases" or "conflict management problems" was described by 47 variables. These variables were presented in four groups: 1) identification information; 2) "conflict characteristics"; 3) "management actions"; 4) "management influence."

There were eighteen variables included as "conflict characteristics":

1. Fatalities
2. Duration
3. Likelihood of abatement
4. Likelihood of disappearance
5. Likely degree of spread
6. Likelihood of Superpower war
7. Type of warfare
8. Strategic category
9. Strongest antagonist
10. Power disparity
11. Degree of spread
12. Type of issue
13. Alignment of parties
14. Ethnic conflict
15. Ideological conflict
16. Past relationship
17. Great power interests
18. System period

Butterworth with Scranton (cont'd.)

The variables included in the group "management actions" were as follows:

1. Management agent
2. Specific Agent
3. Other managers
4. Initiative for intervention
5. Previous involvement
6. Agent's bias
7. Agent's autonomy
8. Phase of Agent's intervention
9. Phase of Agent's first action
10. Phase of Agent's strongest action
11. The four primary techniques of management action

There were five "management action" variables which applied only to agents which were organizations and two "management action" variables which applied to other agents.

The variables for organizations were:

12. Agent's previous role
13. Leadership
14. Joint leadership
15. Level of agreement
16. Action

The variables for non-organizational agents were:

17. Agent's relative power
18. Agent's primary role

There were five variables included in the category "management influence." These variables described the effect that "the absence of activity by the agent would have had on :

1. stopping hostilities
2. abating the conflict
3. isolating the conflict
4. restraining the conflict
5. settling the conflict

All of the above variables were described in Chapter 5.

Descriptions of some of the "conflict characteristics" follow:

Fatalities - the number of deaths directly related to the international conflict. There were eight categories:

- | | |
|--------------|--------------------|
| 1 = none | 5 = 1001-2000 |
| 2 = 1-25 | 6 = 2001-10,000 |
| 3 = 26-100 | 7 = 10,001-100,000 |
| 4 = 101-1000 | 8 = over 100,000 |

Type of warfare - the scale of military operations in the conflict. There were five categories:

- 1 = no military operations
- 2 = military operations without fighting
- 3 = military operations minor; casualties primarily "accidental" (e.g., riots, autonomous rebels)
- 4 = major military operations and fighting, intended as reinforcing diplomatic/political moves considered primary
- 5 = major military operations and fighting, considered as primary intention.

Butterworth with Scranton (cont'd.)

Type of issue - the issue that the conflict primarily involved. There were five categories:

- 1 = interstate, cold war (communist vs. non-communist)
- 2 = internal, cold war (communist vs. non-communist)
- 3 = general internal (non-cold war)
- 4 = colonial
- 5 = general interstate (non-cold war, non-colonial)

Ideological conflict - whether there was a relevant ideological dimension to the conflict. There were three categories:

- 1 = yes, contending
- 2 = yes, compatible
- 3 = no, not applicable

The data on these 47 variables for the 310 "cases" was presented in Chapter 6.

Cady, Richard J. and William G. Prince, et. al.
United States Naval Operations in Low Level Warfare, Volume I, December 1968

Bendix Aerospace Systems Division, Office of National Security Studies,
Ann Arbor, Michigan

OVERVIEW: "The objective of the project was an empirical description and explanation of low-level conflict". As part of the study, there was an analysis of U.S. naval operations.

TIME PERIOD: 1945-1966. (The Greek Civil War and the Communist takeover of Poland, both beginning in 1944, were included in the study.)

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: No restriction

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: Two lists of conflicts were used by the authors. The first list, presented in Table A-1 of Appendix A, contained 309 cases of "politically significant violent conflicts". The second list, presented in Table A-2 of Appendix A, consisted of the 309 cases from the first list, some added "high-level conflicts" and 28 naval incidents for a total of 352 conflicts.

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS A "POLITICALLY SIGNIFICANT VIOLENT CONFLICT" IN TABLE A-1: Included conflicts consisted of "both internal and interstate uses of force for political ends."

The authors stated that: "The criteria for selecting the conflicts were (1) the conflict was either deadly; and/or (2) it was somehow related to operations taken by the U.S. Navy; and/or (3) it involved a serious potential or actual challenge to internal security or was interstate in nature."

The authors also wrote that: "The essential criterion for identifying the units of analysis was whether the national or metropolitan government responded to a political challenge by using or threatening to use its armed forces."

The term "significant" was defined "as the use or threatened use of organized military or para-military force within and/or between states."

There were four types of "international conflict" as follows:

1. "Interstate Combat. Military engagements between nations which are more than a single military clash."
2. "Incident. A single military engagement of short duration between two nations."
3. "Blockade. The use of military sanctions (threat or use of force) to control passage of personnel or material goods between the blockaded nation and other nations."
4. "Show of Force. A threatening military movement or demonstration by one nation towards another where no actual engagement of forces takes place."

"Internal conflict" was defined as "disorder that takes place within the national borders of a state with no direct involvement of other nations." And there were six types of "internal conflict" as follows:

1. "Overt Civil War. Prolonged (at least one week) combat with the use of organized military forces, de facto control of territory by each involved party, and usually involving conventional military weapons and tactics in a war of mobility."

Cady, Prince, et. al. (cont'd.)

2. "Guerrilla War. Prolonged terrorism, sabotage, psychological operations, and the use of unconventional military forces and tactics."
3. "Coup d'Etat. An organized direct action against the established political officeholders or leaders, normally of short duration with intention of replacing the principal leaders of a regime."
4. "Military Revolt or Mutiny. A military uprising against the established authority other than a coup d'etat."
5. "Insurrection. An organized, non-military uprising against the established authority other than a coup d'etat."
6. "Civil Disorder. A spontaneous non-military uprising demonstrating dissatisfaction toward an authority, such as a riot."

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS A "CONFLICT" IN TABLE A-2: The 352 "conflicts" in Table A-2 consisted of the 309 conflicts in Table A-1 discussed above, "some added 'high-level conflicts', such as the Korean War and the Chinese Civil War; and 28 naval incidents -- a total of 352 conflicts and incidents in which the Navy could have operated." The authors stated that: "the U.S. Navy was found to have deviated from normal operations in 94 of the 352 conflicts and incidents."

It was later written that: "Not all conflicts involved significant political violence (as discussed above); those which were either insignificant or non-violent were included because some anticipatory action was taken by the Navy."

VARIABLES: For each conflict, listed in either Table A-1 or Table A-2, the authors provided:

1. a "short title" (for example, "Greek Civil War - Royalists vs. Elas")
2. "start" and "stop" dates (in most cases, the year, month and day)

No other information on individual conflicts was provided in this volume. However, the authors did describe the variables on which they collected data.

For the 309 cases of politically significant conflicts listed in Table A-1, data were collected on 37 characteristics. "The variables describe, e.g. time, space, parties to the conflict, damage, type, fatalities and disruption, and outcomes". The specific variables were discussed in Section II of Appendix A.

For the 352 conflicts listed in Table A-2, data were collected on 51 variables for the purpose of describing Navy operations in conflict. The variables "contain information on threat perception, U.S. forces used, type of operation, time and spatial considerations". The specific variables were described in Section III of Appendix A.

Campbell, Faith Thompson
Uses of Soviet Armed Forces for Political Objectives

This study was Chapter XV of The Use of the Armed Forces as a Political Instrument by Barry M. Blechman and Stephen S. Kaplan, Washington, D.C., The Brookings Institution, 1976.

OVERVIEW: "The purpose of this chapter is to provide added perspective on the United States' political uses of the armed forces by examining Soviet practice."

TIME PERIOD: 1946-1975

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: No apparent restriction

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: One hundred and fifteen instances of Soviet political use of their armed forces were listed in the six tables of the chapter. These six tables listed incidents occurring in the six time periods that Campbell had divided the 30 years covered by the study.

The distribution of the incidents by time period was as follows:

<u>Time Period</u>	<u>Number of Instances of Political use of Soviet armed forces</u>
1946-48	15
1949-53	14
1954-56	17
1957-62	11
1963-68	26
1969-75	32

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF A CASE:

"As in the rest of the study, only those uses of force are considered which included physical changes in the disposition of one or more components of the uniformed military services, taken as part of a deliberate attempt by the national authority to influence specific behavior of individuals in other nations without engaging in a continuing contest of violence. In the Soviet context, 'national authority' is defined as the Politburo of the Communist Party. Lack of data precludes examination of the impact of Soviet uses of force on domestic audiences, however."

Examples of actions by Soviet military units which were excluded by application of the above criteria are:

1. "the more than forty cases in which aircraft were shot down within Soviet territory or along its borders". (these are considered to have been acts of self-defense)
2. "(s)eizures of Japanese fishermen in the disputed waters north of Hokkaido". ("Soviet purposes in these cases are presumed to have been only to defend their territorial sovereignty.")
3. "reconnaissance flights, ship and submarine patrols and surveillance of Western military maneuvers" (These are considered to have been normal military operations.)
4. withdrawal of Soviet forces at the demand of a host country or another power.
5. "transport of military supplies and advisors to foreign nations or revolutionary movements by merchant ships and planes bearing Aeroflot markings piloted by crews in civilian clothing" (This type of action is

Campbell (cont'd.)

"considered to have been a form of covert support and, like its American counterpart, is not included in this analysis.")

The author states that: "While all attempts have been made to be inclusive, the result must be viewed as less than definitive." This was because of the difficulty of obtaining reliable data.

VARIABLES: For each included incident, the author provided:

1. "Beginning Date" (year and month)
2. "Target Nations" (nation or nations which the Soviet Union sought to influence)
3. "Action" (the action which constituted a political use of armed forces. Possible actions included: "port visit", "patrols by naval vessels", "combat support", "maneuvers", and "clear mines".

The author also provided a discussion of some of the more important instances such as Berlin incidents, Poland (1956), Hungary (1956), and Czechoslovakia (1968) as each of the six time periods was analyzed.

Carroll, B.A.

"List of Conflicts, 1945-Present"

University of Illinois, January 1969

OVERVIEW: This paper actually provides two lists of conflicts:

1. a list of conflicts which had ended by January 1969, and
2. a list of "ongoing guerrilla conflicts and wars."

TIME PERIOD: 1945-January 1969

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: No apparent restriction

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: There were 63 conflicts which had ended by January 1969 and twenty "ongoing guerrilla conflicts and wars."

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION: The criteria for inclusion were not provided.

However, both civil wars and interstate wars were included. Further, magnitudes of conflicts were as low as 1.5 on Richardson's exponential scale (magnitude 1.5=32 deaths). (Examples of conflicts with magnitude 1.5 were Guatemala 1954 and Panama (U.S. 1964).

VARIABLES: The conflicts which had ended by January 1969 were listed chronologically by year of ending. For each of these conflicts, the author provided:

1. "magnitude" based on fatalities using Richardson's scale
2. "beginning" date representing the outbreak of hostilities.

The "ongoing guerrilla conflicts and wars" were listed chronologically by year of beginning. For these cases, the author did not provide any information besides the beginning date. (Though in a few cases, the author identified the type of conflict -- for example, "Aden-Yemen border, 1957- .")

Deitchman, Seymour J.
Limited War and American Defense Policy

M.I.T. Press, Cambridge, Mass., First Edition, 1964, Second Edition, revised, 1969

OVERVIEW: The purpose of this study is "to clarify some problems of military function and systems, and the application of the systems to tactics and strategy" of limited wars. The first chapter of this book (some of whose tables are updated in the revised edition) examines some of the limited wars that have occurred since World War II.

TIME PERIOD: 1945-1964 (first edition); updated to end of 1966 (second edition)

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: All area covered

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: 32 (1945-1964), 14 (1964-1966)

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS "LIMITED WAR": The study states that the essence of the many existing definitions of limited war is that "they refer to almost any military action that does not threaten the immediate destruction of the United States and the NATO powers, on the one hand, and the Soviet Union (including the Eastern European nations) and Communist China, on the other." With Deitchman's inclusion of "deterred wars" as one of the subcategories of what he considers limited wars, a "limited war" need not involve active armed conflict between two sides.

Only some "limited wars" are included in the study. "Many military encounters or engagements have occurred since World War II that are not listed in the tables...It is a moot point whether these fall within the scope of any limited war definition. The criterion for inclusion here has been the possibility of drawing lessons for long-term planning purposes rather than completeness of the historical account. The engagements that have been included are sufficient in number to permit exploration of the nature of limited war as it influences the defense planning problem." The term "military engagement" is used interchangeably with "limited war".

VARIABLES: For each "limited war", whether in the original list (1945-1964) or in the updated list (1964-1966), the following data are in a series of tables, either in Chapter 1 or in the Conclusion in the revised edition:

1. the years of duration
2. the identity of the belligerents
3. approximate number of men on each side
4. extent of geographical area covered
5. the major issues
6. the outcome
7. involvement of "third powers" in limited wars
 - a. kind and extent of involvement by "non-belligerent" powers
 - b. special notes on limitations which appear to have been in effect (for example, if the action is limited to a certain area).

Further, there was a classification of each war into one of three major types:

Deitchman (cont'd.)

1. Conventional war (conventional military forces overtly involved on both sides)
2. Unconventional war (unconventional military forces, in the form of paramilitary, irregular or guerrilla forces, are involved on one side, and conventional military forces as well as police and civil guards are on the other side)
3. Deterred war (conventional or unconventional forces face each other in a threat of war, but there is no active armed conflict between the two sides)

There was also a table highlighting some of the major characteristics of the particular 32 (+14) wars which were studied. It listed by type of war:

1. Major wars (wars in which there were over 100,000 men on at least one side in the combat area)
2. Wars in which a Free-World--Communist conflict was directly involved
3. Wars between "third powers" (not Communist bloc vs. U.S. and/or its allies)
4. Number of wars lasting over two years

COMMENTS: It is clear that even beyond the loose selection criteria that Deitchman gave for which wars he was interested in looking at, he even further stretched these to include particular incidents that interested him for one or another reason. For example, despite his given definition the Chinese Civil War (1945-1949) was listed as a limited war. It was included "with great reservation, mainly because it was listed as one by General Taylor...The sovereignty of a major world power was involved. It if was 'limited', this was so from our own and the Soviet points of view only."

Then, in the updated list (1964-1966), the Indonesian Coup of 1963 was listed as a limited war. "Strictly speaking this was not a limited-war engagement in the same sense as most of those listed above. It did, however, involve extensive action by the Indonesian Army, and its international military and political implications were so great (e.g., in ending "confrontation" to mention but one effect) that it is listed here for completeness of the record". Earlier in the book, however, in the first edition as well, Deitchman said he was not interested in completeness of the historical record and obviously omitted numerous other examples that would have made that record more thorough.

Perhaps the updated list was meant to be "complete", for the years 1964-1966, while the initial list (1946-1964) was not. However, no definition of a "limited war" was ever really given. In the 1964-1966 period, there were 14 listed wars while in the whole 1945-1964 period, there were 32 listed wars, which suggests that the updated list is probably somewhat more "complete". Yet, the title of the updated list is "Some Active or Incipient Military Engagements Since World War II", clearly suggesting that it is not a complete list.

With respect to the classification of wars, the Vietnam war was listed as both a conventional war and an unconventional war.

There are two editions of the book by Deitchman, 1964 and 1969. The second edition is subtitled Building and Using Military Power in a World at War, whereas the first edition was not subtitled.

Deitchman (cont'd.)

With respect to tables in the two editions, Tables 1.1; 1.2; and 1.3 which appear in the first chapter have no differences in the two editions. Additions to Tables 1.1; 1.2; and 1.3 are provided in the Conclusion of the revised edition. Tables 1.4 and 1.5 which are also in the first chapter are different in the two books as additional entries have been made directly in those tables in the revised edition. (The form of the tables is the same in both books.)

Table 1.1 presents date, belligerents, number of combatants

Table 1.2 presents geographical data, major issues, outcomes

Table 1.3 presents involvement of "non-belligerents", limitations

Table 1.4 presents classification of limited wars (conventional, unconventional, deterred wars)

Table 1.5 presents major wars, Free-World vs. Communist conflict directly involved, wars between "third powers", number lasting over two years.

The descriptive paragraph in the 1969 SIPRI Yearbook contains several inconsistencies.

Denton, Frank H.

Factors in International System Violence, 1750-1960

The Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, California, RAND Report P-4216, October 1969.

OVERVIEW: "This paper gives a progress report on a research project still in its early stages." Data on individual conflicts was not provided in this paper, but descriptions of the procedures used to collect the data were provided.

TIME PERIOD: 1750-1960

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: No apparent restriction on the location of conflict. But the conflict had to involve "at least one European (including Russia) or Western Hemisphere participant."

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: Unknown. However, the author did state that there was 296 violent conflicts in the 210 years covered by the study.

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF A CASE AS A "VIOLENT EVENT": The author stated that: "The universe of events of interest was defined as conflicts resulting in over 1,000 casualties and involving at least one European (including Russia) or Western Hemisphere participant." The author explained somewhat further what he meant by "conflicts" in the above definition when he stated that: "A violent event is defined as a more or less continuous process of fighting which results in 1,000 or more casualties." Such "violent events" which also met the additional criterion of "European civilization participation" were thus included as cases.

Under these criteria, the types of cases included the following:

1. "sovereign vs. sovereign"
2. "civil"
3. "colonial"
4. "conflict over territory"
5. "fight for greater political autonomy"
6. "ethnic, cultural conflict"

The author also stated that the term "violent event" was: "A generalization of the term war without the legal connotations of the latter word."

VARIABLES: According to the author each "violent event" was described in terms of the following:

1. number of casualties
2. the beginning and end dates for the overall event
3. the conflict pairs (the combatant pairs were "all pairs of political groups who actively engage one another in violence" where a political group was "generally any group of individuals with some organization for acting coherently together and who see themselves as a group." Or, in rare cases, a "political group...may be a well-defined class of persons who are the recipients of violence engendered by such a coherent group, even though the recipient group may take no concerted action.")
4. the beginning and end dates of violence for each conflict pair
5. "the political relationship extant between the pair at the initiation of hostilities" (such as whether the pair had fought previously)
6. "a series of issues and conditions associated with the conflict... included as applicable." These variables included:
 - a. the type of conflict such as discussed above under "Criteria", and
 - b. the political issues involved.

Denton (cont'd.)

In the appendix, the author listed the issues which were coded under seven categories as follows:

1. "Internal Tension" (such as "Government role holders have insecure tenure before incident.")
2. "Territorial-Population Issues" (such as "dispute over third party territory.")
3. "Power Issues" (such as "One side expresses concern with future power potential of opponent.")
4. "Social Economic Issues" (such as "Dispute over political form.")
5. "Colonial Issues" (such as "conflict over the degree of political autonomy.")
6. "Elite Issues" (such as "A try for office by an elite group such as a coup attempt.")
7. "Miscellaneous" (such as "Effort to exploit the weakness or distraction of the opponent.")

As noted earlier, data was not provided in this paper. However Denton writes: "The materials have been coded for IBM cards. Although the punching has not, as yet, been accomplished, the cards will be available in the near future." (As the paper was written in 1969, it can probably be assumed that those cards are now available).

Donelan, M.D. and M.J. Grieve et. al.
International Disputes, Case Histories 1945-1970

Europa Publications, London, 1973

OVERVIEW: (The book was not available for review. The Foreward and some other pages had been xeroxed and were used.)

This book contains short historical accounts of 50 disputes. These disputes were described as "some of the most memorable disputes of the twenty-five years following the Second World War." Thus, the authors do not provide an inclusive list of cases.

Eckstein, Harry
"The Incidence of Internal Wars, 1946-1959"

Appendix I of Internal War: The Problem of Anticipation, a report submitted to the Research Group in Psychology and the Social Sciences, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., January 15, 1962.

Box 3, folder 2, Records of the Research Group in Psychology and the Social Sciences, Record Unit 179, Smithsonian Institution Archives.

OVERVIEW: This appendix gives the number of instances of internal war by category for each of 127 countries (including both independent nations and colonies).

TIME PERIOD: 1946-1959

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: No explicit restriction. As noted above, 127 independent nations and colonies were included. (Rummel in "Testing Some Possible Predictors of Conflict Behavior Within and Between Nations" determined that 66 of Eckstein's countries were independent during the period 1945-1959).

Neither the United States nor Canada were included in the list of countries (though the Hawaiian Islands were included).

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: Among the internal wars listed by the author, there were 35 cases of "warfare" (this category included both civil and guerrilla warfare), 65 mutinies, and 61 coups.

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS AN "INTERNAL WAR": Cases of "internal war" were distinguished, in general, on the basis of whether violence was directed against the incumbent power-holders. Cases of "clear-cut internal wars" where violence was directed against the incumbents were called "unequivocal cases." The other cases were called "equivocal" internal wars.

More formally, Eckstein stated that cases of internal war were "equivocal" or "ambiguous" for the following reasons:

1. effective counter-measures by the incumbent power holders minimized or precluded actual violence, e.g., abortive insurrections or coups;
2. cases for which the Times Index coverage was so inadequate that the presence of violence was difficult to determine;
3. cases which took the form of police or administrative actions which may or may not have involved outright violence, e.g., policy round-ups of political opponents, or Soviet-type purges;
4. the violence was apparently not directed at the incumbents in the first instance, and cases of intertribal disputes.

Seven types of unequivocal internal wars were listed and defined as follows:

1. "Warfare - This category includes both civil and guerrilla warfare, which have not been separately counted because of the frequent inadequacy of the source. Like external wars, both are characterized by a high degree of organization of the opponents, the continuity of fighting, the presence of operational planning, and the existence of territorial control, extended or discontinuous, by the insurgents."
2. "Turmoil - Simultaneous, continuous rioting of considerable duration in two or more distinct geographic areas."
3. "Rioting - Relatively unorganized and spontaneous short term incidents, typically involving police contingents and an integrated mass whose objectives are somewhat modest. Frequently, however, the actual instigators are highly organized extremist groups."

Eckstein (cont'd.)

4. "Terrorism - Large Scale terrorism...is the systematic use of intimidation and harrassment by assassination and/or sabotage by relatively small but cohesive groups."
5. "Terrorism - Small Scale terrorism...distinguishes the above from the more undisciplined and discontinuous use of terror, and includes the occasional assassination or bomb plant."
6. "Mutiny - Violence on the established order by groups which are part of its own instruments of force, such as the police, military, etc."
7. "Coup - Violence or the threat of it by one or more parts of the power elite against other parts, i.e., Lasswell and Kaplan's 'palace revolution.'"

Three types of equivocal internal wars were listed and defined as follows:

1. "Equivocal Plots - These are equivocal either because they are exposed while in an early conspiratorial stage (and thus are not violent), or because the alleged plot may be only a pretext by which the government seeks to eliminate its political competitors."
2. "Administrative Action - The removal of political opposition through the use of the formal administrative apparatus, as in Soviet-type purges, police round-ups or raids."
3. "Quasi-Private - Cases which are equivocal internal wars because the violence was not initially directed at the government, or which appear not to be anti-government because of insufficient information. The Index gave a very high number of such cases for South Africa, but these so-called inter-tribal disputes are very often genuine internal wars."

The author stated that "(a) few of the more well-known internal wars of extended duration such as the Indo-Chinese conflict, have been omitted; these include Communist takeovers in the satellites following World War II."

VARIABLES: As noted above, the number of internal wars for each of the included countries was given by category.

No other information on the individual cases of internal war (such as the date within the 1946-1959 time period when the internal war occurred) was provided. Eckstein did indicate those countries which he thought had very unreliable data.

Feierabend, Ivo K. and Rosalind L. Feierabend
"Aggressive Behavior within Politics 1948-62: A cross-national study"

in A.V. Gillespie, (ed.), Macro-Quantitative Analysis, Sage Publications, 1971,
pp. 141-67.

OVERVIEW: Study based on the application of the "frustration-aggression" framework to the political sphere. The point of the paper was to discover the "determinants of stability within all national political systems".

TIME PERIOD: 1948-1962

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: worldwide

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: Data on internal conflict behaviors brought about by social frustration were collected for 84 nations.

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE: The format of the data was organized so that each event of instability, i.e., those events of aggression directed by individuals or groups within the political system against other groups or against the complex of officeholders and individuals and groups associated with them, or vice versa (e.g., coups, or guerrilla warfare), was correlated with their country of origin, the locale of the event, etc.

VARIABLES: Analysis of the dependent variable, i.e. stability, was carried out on three levels. On each of these levels, the categories of coup d'etat, civil war, guerrilla warfare, and revolts were analyzed in that they denoted the intensities of stability of any given polity within any given moment. However, the various tests made, such as 1. a global instability profile, and 2. frequencies of particular types of instability behaviors, compiled the data for groups of aggregates, so that there was no way of extracting from the data how many occurrences were representative of the individual categories of events, such as coup, civil war, guerrilla warfare, etc.

Fink, Clinton R.
"More Calculations about Deterrence"

Journal of Conflict Resolution, 9 (1), March 1965, pp. 54-65.

OVERVIEW: This study was basically an analysis of Bruce Russett's 1963 paper, "The Calculus of Deterrence", in which that study was summarized and major difficulties of it discussed.

Fink writes that: "In the present paper, I will argue that Russett's data do not compel assent to his conclusions, first because the observed dependent variable is not a satisfactory index of the credibility of the threat, and second because it is not a satisfactory index of the effectiveness of the threat. Furthermore, the assumption that the threat is a significant deterrent factor is not required in order to provide at least two equally plausible alternative explanations of the data."

Fink used Russett's data in his analysis and did not examine any other cases of deterrence.

Greaves, F.L., Lt. Col., U.S. Army
"Peace in our Time -- Fact or Fable?"

Military Review, 42(12), December 1962, pp. 55-58.

OVERVIEW: This relatively short article attempts to show that the notion that the post-World War II period has been a peaceful era compared with earlier recorded history is a fable.

TIME PERIOD: In a chart, conflicts are listed from 1944-1962, though the article emphasizes the post-World War II (i.e., post-1945) period.

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: All areas of the world are covered

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: Thirty or more "relatively small conflicts" (excluding crises and coups d'etat) and "no less than 21 fair-sized wars". However, his table has 126 entries, including crises and coups.

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS CONFLICT: For a case to be included in the chart, there must have been "warfare", "sporadic warfare", "revolt", "attempted revolt", "coup d'etat or attempted coup", or "crisis (brief or continuing)".

However, no explicit definitions of these terms are given and thus no explicit criteria for inclusion are given. The article simply says, "the chart shows, by time and place, the incidents, crises, coups, clashes, uprisings, revolts, conflicts and wars which have plagued the world in the 17 years since the end of the Second World War."

The chart may also not be a complete listing of conflicts by the author using his own criteria since his phrasing that there were "30 or more" relatively small conflicts and "no less than 21 fair-sized wars", is somewhat ambiguous and permits one to think that there may be others.

VARIABLES: As noted earlier, cases are classified as "warfare", "sporadic warfare", "revolt", "attempted revolt", "coup d'etat or attempted coup" or "crisis (brief or continuing)". Crises are listed in the chart as either "brief" crises or "continuing" crises.

The region in which the case occurs is given (Europe, Middle East, Far East, Africa, Western Hemisphere) as well as the time of the event.

COMMENTS: There is no real identification of some cases (just that there was some "crisis" in that country or some "warfare" in that country). For some other cases, there is further identification given in parentheses.

The author attempted to show that the number of new wars per year had increased in the postwar period from the number of new wars per year throughout history (given in another study -- see below). However, population has increased greatly in the recent past and perhaps wars per capita would be a better measure of man's war-making tendencies. Or because the number of independent countries has increased over time, perhaps wars per independent country per year would again be a better indicator of war than simply conflicts

Greaves (cont'd.)

per year. (Still another measure might be the number of casualties resulting from wars rather than just the number of wars.)

There are also several inaccuracies in the descriptive paragraph of this study in the 1969 SIPRI Yearbook.

NOTE: The Greaves article was one of the reports criticized by Singer and Small in The Wages of War, pp. 10-11. The study which Greaves had referred to in the opening lines of his paper was apparently a hoax. Brownlee Haydon, "The Great Statistics of Wars Hoax", RAND, 1962 (see below), found that the figures used by Greaves and others were simply casual speculations.

However, though this discovery by Haydon affects the conclusions drawn by Greaves, it does not affect the chart containing postwar conflicts that was presented by Greaves.

* * * * *

B. Haydon, "The Great Statistics of Wars 'Hoax'", Selected Rand Abstracts, Cumulative Edition, 1963-1972, California, RAND, P-2661, November 1962, p. 496.

An exposition of the travels of a "fantasy" on war that has captured the imagination of editors and has been broadcast as reality throughout the world. The Fantasy in question is: that since 3600 B.C. the world has known only 292 years of peace; that during this period there have been 14,531 wars; that since 650 B.C. there have been 1,656 arms races; and that only sixteen of them have not ended in war. These statistics are shown to be a hoax, and the appearance of this fantasy in various publications throughout the world is traced from 1953 to the present. (8pp.)

Hazlewood, Dr. Leo A. and Maj. Gen. John J. Hayes, USA (Ret)
Planning for Problems in Crisis Management

CACI, Inc.-Federal, Arlington, Virginia, September 1976
Sponsored by Cybernetics Technology Office of the Defense Advanced Research
Projects Agency

OVERVIEW: This study "examines problems encountered by the Department of
Defense in managing domestic and international crises between 1946 and 1975."

TIME PERIOD: 1946-1975

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: "Crises" in all parts of the world including domestic U.S.
"crises" were studied. ("Space" and "Polar" regions were also included.)

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: 289 (See additional material under "Comments")

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS "CRISIS": A "crisis" was basically an inci-
dent that involved "some extraordinary military management activity" by the
United States.

More formally, the definition of a "crisis" was:

a period of increased military management activity at the national
level that is carried on in a sustained manner under conditions of
rapid action and response resulting from unexpected events or inci-
dents that have occurred internationally, internally in a foreign
country, or in the domestic United States and that have inflicted or
threatened to inflict violence or significant damage to U.S. inter-
ests, personnel or facilities.

Then, the study, further refining this definition, stated that:

each incident identified as a crisis had to meet at least one of
the following criteria: (1) direct involvement of U.S. military
forces in the incident; (2) a military decision on the incident
required or made; (3) any subsequent military involvement of U.S.
forces; (4) an existing threat of violence or significant damage
to U.S. interests, personnel, or facilities; or (5) the need for
rapid military action and response.

Thus, civil disorders (including strikes) in the U.S. itself, as well as
isolated incidents such as the collision of ships, terrorist activity and
sudden humanitarian needs which have required extraordinary military response
are included in the list of 289 crises. The Watergate crisis is also included.

However, "instances of humanitarian assistance or military action during
a war (such as Korea or Vietnam) after commitment of U.S. forces were not
included in the crisis listing."

VARIABLES: Two types of variables were studied.

The first are the 'problem' variables, each of which describes a
type of crisis management problem...The second variable type de-
scribes salient aspects of the environment in which these problems

Hazlewood and Hayes (cont'd.)

occur, including the ongoing environmental monitoring at the time of the crisis, the nature of the crisis, and the types of responses made to the crisis.

A time plot of all 289 crises was examined and three post-World War II crisis periods were distinguished (1946-1953, 1954-1965, 1966-1975).

Then the study provided the distribution of the crises by geographical location and time period. The regions were: East Asia and Pacific, Eastern Europe-Soviet Union, Western Europe and Mediterranean Atlantic, Central and South America, Middle East and North Africa, North America, South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa, Polar region, and Space.

Distributions of the other crisis characteristics that were studied were given in Tables 2-5 of Chapter 2. The variables as grouped in the tables were:

Table 2 - Crisis Responses

- a. U.S. objectives (Noninvolvement, maintain/restore status quo, change previous status)
- b. U.S. response (Noninvolvement, mediation, assistance, direct participation, confrontation)
- c. Speed of Crisis Resolution (within seven days, eight-30 days, over 30 days)
- d. Crisis Outcome (U.S. objectives/interests advanced, U.S. objectives/interests unaffected, U.S. influence lessened)

Table 3 - Indications and Warning Variables

- a. Precrisis Activity (routine, tense, increased readiness)
- b. Duration of precrisis activity (no warning, less than 30 days, more than 30 days)
- c. Awareness of crisis probability (anticipated, uncertainty, surprise)
- d. Speed of threat development (less than seven days, more than seven days)

Table 4 - Crisis Involvement

- a. Between two or more large powers (U.S. is a party, U.S. is not a party)
- b. Between two or more countries including at least one large country other than the U.S. (whether at least one party or no party vital to U.S. interests)
- c. Between the U.S. and one or more small powers (whether other larger powers have vital interests)
- d. Between two or more small powers (whether parties vital to U.S. interests)

Table 5 - Crisis Descriptions

- a. Crisis Activity (domestic or international)
- b. Nature of crisis (political, military or both)
- c. Threat to U.S. interests (no significant threat, some threat, severe threat)
- d. Strategic implications (non-nuclear, nuclear)
- e. Decision time (whether rapid reaction required)
- f. Duration of crisis activity (less than seven days, eight-30 days, more than 30 days)

Hazlewood and Hayes (cont'd.)

Percentage distributions of the above variables were given for all the 189 crises by period.

The other type of variable that was studied was the problem variable. Over 70 different potential problems that could arise in managing domestic or international crises were studied by period. These variables were divided into three broad categories:

1. Crisis event and reaction problems such as
 - a. Crisis develops while the U.S. is involved in coping with another crisis
 - b. U.S. military is not involved initially but is brought in to help solve problem
 - c. Situation not recognized initially, timely action not taken
 - d. Overreaction to crisis
2. Operational Problems such as
 - a. Readiness of forces
 - b. Geography
 - c. Forces inadequate to solve crisis in time
 - d. Inadequate communications for operating force use
3. National Level Problems such as
 - a. Inadequate intelligence input for decision makers
 - b. Proposed crisis solution produces international policy conflict
 - c. Legality of proposed action is an issue
 - d. Press relations/public information significant

The above problem variables were studied for a sample of 41 crises drawn from the list of 289 crises. However, the sample was not a random one:

It is constructed to reduce the number of cases for analysis by maximizing time coverage (with adequate numbers for each of the three crisis periods), crisis types (with different types of international and domestic crises involving other major powers or less powerful countries), salient characteristics (to reflect the important relationships that emerged from analyzing all post-1945 crises), and data availability.

As before, percentage distributions of the above problem variables were given by period (Tables 1-3, Chapter 3).

The more than 70 different potential problems were divided into fifteen "problem clusters" which were sets of the problems that tend to co-occur. Frequency distributions for these problem clusters were given by period. (Three problem frequency categories were used: none of the problems that comprise the cluster occurred in any of the crises in the time period; one such problem occurred; two or more problems in the cluster occurred).

Then, relationships among the crisis management problem clusters were examined.

Further, the relationships between, on the one hand, the characteristics of the crisis, the environment in which the crisis occurs, and the characteristics of the crisis responses made, and, on the other hand, the crisis management problem were identified. The best predictors of each crisis management problem were identified.

Hazlewood and Hayes (cont'd.)

COMMENTS: Some of the "crises" listed are different from "crises" that would perhaps be included in other studies. For example, some of the "crises" listed in this study were:

- 1972, French nuclear tests
- 1972, Sadat expels Soviet military advisors
- 1973-74, Watergate crisis in the United States
- 1970, N.Y. City mail strike (Federal troops ordered into N.Y.)
- 1969, U.S. ship collides with Australian ship
- 1967, Detroit riots
- 1975, State of Emergency in India
- 1971, Bomb explodes outside a Soviet cultural building in Washington, D.C.
- 1971, Seating of Communist China in the U.N.
- 1972, U.S. Congressman expelled from Soviet Union
- 1974, India explodes nuclear device.

Since these included events presumably met the criteria earlier set out for the study, they tell us something of policy and action concerns. No real description of each included crisis was given. There was just a list with the date and a description of the crisis as above. (What was the "extraordinary military management activity" when the Congressman was expelled?)

It seemed that the "operational" definition of a crisis which provided five criteria, one of which had to be satisfied for the case to be a "crisis" was different from the formal definition which implied that more than one of the criteria had to be met. (Compare the two definitions given under "Criteria".)

This research group has subsequently prepared two additional lists, titled Appendix A and Appendix B, "from a current project", and "the result of a review...of several (other) recent inventories". These are identified as:

1. Blechman and Kaplan, 1977
2. Mahoney, 1976
3. Atkeson, et. al., 1974
4. Atkeson and Kennedy, 1975

Appendix A contains "some incidents that may meet CACI's definition of crisis behavior as extraordinary military management activity" and thus are "potential supplements to the 289 crises" that had already been identified in the CACI-1976 report. Appendix A contains 77 events that range in time from 1957 to 1975. These crises are "potential" in the sense that they may or may not satisfy the definition of crisis used by CACI.

Appendix B lists 52 potential crisis incidents during 1976. In a personal communication, Hayes indicated that these were to "update the crisis inventory through 1976". The events listed are only potential "crises", since they may not satisfy the CACI definition of crisis. Thus, the list is not itself an update of the CACI crisis inventory, only material from which such an update may be made.

Holsti, K.J.

"Resolving international conflicts: a taxonomy of behavior and some figures on procedures"

Journal of Conflict Resolution, 10 (3), September 1966, pp. 272-96.

OVERVIEW: This study examines the outcomes of international conflicts and the procedures that were used in attempting to settle them.

TIME PERIOD: 1919-1939; 1945-1965

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: No restriction

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: The author identifies 42 post-World War II cases as "conflicts" but omits three of them as discussed below.

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS "INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT": Holsti first wrote that relationships involving conflictful forms of state behavior could be divided into three categories: "(1) disputes caused by accidents and minor provocations; (2) conflicts arising from incompatible collective objectives; and (3) more general 'tensions' between two or more states."

This paper focused on the second category -- conflicts.

A "conflict" was more formally identified as "a situation where one or more governments have made demands against another state, backed up with the threat of force, or where they have taken planned military or confiscatory actions which were a threat to the interests of other states."

Further, "(m)ost international conflicts also have sources which are relatively easy to identify. The most common cause historically has been the demand by one political group for territorial rights or resources controlled by another, or the effort by one society to impose military, political, or economic controls over alien populations...Another source of international conflict...is the domestic rebellion which attracts outside intervention."

With respect to the first category -- disputes:

If hostile actions, often involving violence, were clearly unrelated to some governmental foreign policy objective, but were the result of some accident or the activities of groups over which the government had no effective control, the problem was placed in the category of a dispute...

and thus not included in the analysis. And,

Using the criterion of government-sponsored and organized activity as against unauthorized hostilities, it was easy enough to place in the dispute category such problems as the sporadic clashes between troops of Poland and Czechoslovakia in the 1920's, Peru and Ecuador in 1954, China and Burma in 1956, Ethiopia and Somaliland during 1960-61 (but not since 1964), and Argentina and Chile in 1965.

The third type of relationship -- "tensions" -- arises, Holsti says, "from a juxtaposition of historical, economic, religious, or ethnic conditions and is perpetuated by widespread and deep-seated public attitudes of hostility between two or more societies." The Cold War is an example of "tensions" and thus was excluded. However, some of the specific Cold War crises

Holsti (cont'd.)

were included. (The distinction apparently was that the specific Cold War crises had identifiable causes and could thus be resolved in one of the ways discussed below, whereas "tensions", including the Cold War, "are resolved only within lengthy historical processes which lead either to eventual reconciliation or to cataclysmic wars.")

Moreover, the conflicts that were listed "do not include colonial rebellions, except where they involved the active diplomatic or military intervention of third parties (as in Indonesia during 1948 and Indochina in 1954), or conflicts whose outcomes still remain in doubt, as in the Congo, Yemen, Cyprus, Vietnam and Malaysia."

Then, as noted earlier,

Three conflicts were omitted primarily because available information was inconclusive. The conflict between Kuwait and Iraq in 1961, for instance, was excluded because of contradictory interpretations of events...The same sort of confusion was evident in a series of mobilizations and maneuvers between Turkey and Syria in 1957, and in a quarrel during 1960 between Haiti and the Dominican Republic involving squatters.

Then, though the author was only including "conflicts" in his analysis, there was the following statement: "With the possible exception of the Corfu case between England and Albania [1946-1949] no disputes have been included as sources for the figures in the appendices." Perhaps Holsti meant that he had difficulty categorizing that case, as either a "conflict" or a "dispute".

VARIABLES: In "Appendix B", the following information on each conflict was provided:

1. The date of the conflict (year or years)
2. The procedures used in attempting to settle the conflict
The possible procedures were:
 - a. Bilateral negotiations
 - b. Mediation outside the structure of international organization
 - c. Attempts at settlement by international organizations (such as the United Nations or regional organizations)
 - d. Attempts at settlement by a formal multilateral conference
 - e. Attempts at settlement by judicial procedures (such as by the International Court of Justice)

The settlement attempts that were included were "only formal efforts to use one or more of the established procedures for settlement or for terminating hostilities."

Furthermore, it was noted 1. whether the formal settlement attempt "ended in failure or with no decision or peace formula", 2. whether "the parties or institutions used during the conflict made a substantive decision or agreement with regard to the terms of settlement, but one or more of the conflict parties failed to implement that decision" (such as occurred in the Kashmir conflict in 1948), and 3. the sequence in which the various procedures were attempted.

3. The "instrument of settlement", if any, which ended the conflict.
"Instruments of settlement" for the post-World War II period included:
 - a. formal treaty
 - b. partition
 - c. armistice
 - d. ICJ decision

Holsti (cont'd.)

4. Outcome of the conflict. Possible outcomes were:
 - a. "Conquest, annexation" (one side physically overwhelms its opponent through the use of force)
 - b. "Forced submission, withdrawal; deterrence" (one party to the conflict decides to submit to the other's demands or actions even though no violence has taken place, or an initiator of demands or hostile actions withdraws them when the target of the initial demands or actions threatens to retaliate with the use of force)
 - c. "Compromise" (Both sides agree to a partial withdrawal of their initial objectives, positions, demands, or actions. The withdrawal need not be of the same cost or magnitude to both parties.)
 - d. "Award" (Arbitration or adjudication where a third party has the authority to announce the terms of settlement. The settlement may be administered by a judicial or non-judicial institution.)
 - e. "Passive settlement" (Parties involved implicitly accept a new status quo as partially legitimate without a formal agreement)
 - f. "Voluntary withdrawal" (One or both parties terminate the conflict by withdrawing from a physical or a bargaining position, or by ceasing the acts which originally caused hostile responses, and in both instances, without being under the threat of force.)
 - g. "Frozen" conflict (Conflict where both sides have remained fully committed to their incompatible positions, but neither has yet dared to attempt resolution through accomodation, withdrawal, or military conquest.)

COMMENT: There are several inaccuracies in the descriptive paragraph of this study in the 1969 SIPRI Yearbook.

Kellogg, James C.
A Synopsis of Military Conflict 1945-1964

The Bendix Corporation, Bendix Systems Division, Ann Arbor, Michigan,
Undated, prepared in 1965 or 1966.

OVERVIEW: The monograph begins with the statement that "this paper must be viewed as a first draft only. Several parts of the paper are incomplete and substantial elaboration and clarification is required for the bulk of the paper..." There was little or no explanation of what was included. However, no subsequent version was apparently ever written.

The study was "one of a series of background publications sponsored by the Arms Control Project Office..." The paper was "intended to provide reference material for Bendix arms control and related projects and to assist political and military research at Bendix."

TIME PERIOD: 1945-1964

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: All areas of the world are covered

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: One hundred and three chronological accounts are provided by Kellogg. Of these 103 cases, there was 1 "limited war", sixteen "localized wars", 23 "civil-guerrilla wars", 54 "coups d'etat, attempted coups, revolts", and nine "military crises, brief or continuing".

As explained below, there was a chart at the beginning of the paper. This chart listed 154 conflicts of all kinds from mid-1945 to the end of 1964.

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS CONFLICT: The paper provides no criteria for the inclusion of cases. There are also no explicit definitions of the types of conflict under which the cases are grouped.

VARIABLES: A chronological account is given for each of the included conflicts. Conflicts are grouped by type of conflict and by region. The order is determined by the starting date of the conflict.

The types of conflict are:

- | | |
|-------------------------|---|
| 1. limited wars | 4. coups d'etat, attempted coups, revolts |
| 2. localized wars | 5. military crises, brief or continuing |
| 3. civil-guerrilla wars | |

The regions are:

- | | |
|----------------|-------------|
| 1. Europe | 4. Africa |
| 2. Middle East | 5. Americas |
| 3. Far East | |

Among other information, the chronological accounts include the duration of the conflict, actions taken by third parties (including the UN) and, sometimes, the number of participants and casualties.

At the beginning of the study, there is a chart titled "Past Conflict Levels" which is modeled "After Greaves, Fielding L., "Peace in Our Time", Military Review, December 1962". (Actual title is, "Peace in Our Time -- Fact or Fable?")

In this chart, conflicts are listed by type and region. The types of conflict included here are:

Kellogg (cont'd.)

1. total war
2. limited warfare
3. localized warfare and skirmishes
4. civil/guerrilla wars
5. coup d'etat, attempted coup, revolt
6. crisis (brief or continuing)

As in the Greaves article, crises are separated into brief crises and continuing crises, in the chart. (But again, no definitions are given.)

The regions are as listed above. The chart runs from 1944 to 1964.

COMMENTS: As stated, this paper was not complete.

The relationship between the conflicts included in the chart and the conflicts included in the chronologies is unclear. There are more conflicts in the chart than in the chronologies, but some conflicts included in the chronologies were not in the chart. The dates of some cases in the chart and in the chronologies are different.

It appears that Kellogg has included in his chart all the conflicts that Greaves had included. In other words, Kellogg merely updated Greaves' list without changing any of the included conflicts from 1944-1962 (though Kellogg has changed the classification of these conflicts somewhat). But, again, no explicit criteria for inclusion was given. There are several errors in the 1969 SIPRI synopsis of this study.

Kende, Istvan
"Twenty-Five Years of Local Wars"

Journal of Peace Research, 8 (1), 1971, pp.5-22

OVERVIEW: This paper "deals in a quantitative manner with local wars in the period since the Second World War." "The wars are discussed both regionally and on a global level, and are classified according to a number of characteristics."

This paper is very similar to Kende's Local Wars in Asia, Africa and Latin America, 1945-1969 (1972) and includes all the wars listed in that study. The major difference is that this study includes the four wars in Europe which were omitted from that 1972 study.

TIME PERIOD: 1945 to the end of 1969

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: No restriction in this paper. (The 1972 study had excluded Europe.)

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: 97 wars

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS A WAR: The criteria were the same as in the 1972 study. (The wording, in English, was somewhat different, but there was no important difference.)

VARIABLES: As in the other study, the author provided for each war:

1. starting and ending date
2. type (the six possible types are listed in the review of the 1972 study.)

Further, there were distributions of the wars by:

1. region
2. duration
3. time period (five 5-year periods from 1945 to 1969)
4. type
5. intervention of USA, Great Britain, France and Portugal

Kende, Istvan

Local Wars in Asia, Africa and Latin America 1945-1969

Center for Afro-Asian Research of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, 1972

OVERVIEW: This study examines 93 "wars". The author mentions four other "European wars" which he chooses to omit.

TIME PERIOD: 1945 to the end of 1969

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: Asia, Africa, and Latin America

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: 93

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CONFLICT AS "WAR": War is defined as any armed conflict in which all of the following criteria co-occur:

- a. The activities of regular armed forces (such as military or police forces), at least on one side, (that is, the presence and engagement of the armed forces of the government in power).
 - b. A certain degree of organization on both opposing sides even if the organization extends only to organized defense.
 - c. "A certain continuity between the armed clashes, a strategic-tactical coherence between the armed conflicts, however sporadic. In other words, the presence of a planning and organizing central activity on both sides..."
- What, or how much, "A certain degree" is, or "A certain continuity" is, was not indicated.

VARIABLES: The study examines the distribution of the 93 wars by:

1. region (The three continents are divided into four regions: Asia, Middle East, Africa, Latin America.)
2. duration
3. type

Six types of wars were distinguished:

1. Internal "anti-regime" wars with foreign participation
2. Internal "anti-regime" wars without foreign participation
3. Internal "tribal wars" (separationist, religious, minority, etc. wars) with foreign participation
4. Internal "tribal wars" without foreign participation
5. "Frontier wars" (Wars fought across national frontiers) with foreign participation
6. "Frontier wars" without foreign participation

Among other variables included in the study were the foreign participation of the four major "interventionist" powers (U.S., Great Britain, France and Portugal) and the correlation between "the trends in wars and the military sectors of economies" (taking into account military expenditure, major military aid and arms imports).

One appendix gives the list of 93 wars with their dates and type. Another appendix gives some additional basic data on the 31 listed wars between 1965 and January 1970 including parties to the conflict and casualties.

Kende, Istvan

Wars, The Process of Armament and Arms Trade in the Countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America

Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs, "Development, Resources and World Security," Madras, India, 13-19 January 1976.

OVERVIEW: This article does not provide any data on individual wars. However, it does state that: "According to our calculations, during the thirty years following the second World War (1945-1974), 116 wars were waged all over the world."

Further, the author writes that there were 111 extra-European wars (Asia, Africa and Latin America) as follows:

Asia - 57

Africa - 31

Latin America - 23

Among other information provided on wars was that: "The number of fatal casualties in the 116 wars has been around 25-30 million."

Leiss, Amelia, C., and Lincoln P. Bloomfield
The Control of Local Conflicts. A Design Study on Arms Control and Limited War
in the Developing Area, Volume III

Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology,
June 30, 1967.

(prepared for the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency)

OVERVIEW: "This volume is a companion to the main report of a Design Study on The Control of Local Conflicts..." It primarily consists of fifteen case studies of postwar local conflicts. However, in an introductory chapter "Controlling Local Conflict: Learning the Lessons of History," 52 postwar local conflicts are identified and described to some extent ("Typology A").

TIME PERIOD: 1945-1965. The authors did not explicitly state the end of the period under study, but no conflict was listed after 1965. The authors explicitly stated they were examining the post-1945 period, though some conflicts, such as Soviet Union-Iran and Greece, began before 1945.

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: The "focus is on the continents and regions outside Europe -- Latin America, Asia, the Middle East, and Africa" -- that is, the developing world. However, one of the conflicts, the Greek Insurgency, took place in Europe. This conflict was included by the authors "because of the uncanny way in which it resembles the conflict in Vietnam."

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CONFLICTS: 52

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS A "LOCAL CONFLICT": A "conflict" was "a dispute that is being or is likely to be dealt with by predominantly military means." More explicitly, the authors stated that a "conflict" arose

out of a substantive dispute, whether over territory, borders, legitimacy, ideology, power, race, or whatever. This quarrel (dispute) is not necessarily perceived in military terms by either party. If one or more parties introduces a military option, a threshold has been crossed to a new phase in which hostilities are potentially likely or at least plausible. A conflict has been generated.

Thus, only one party need perceive the dispute in military terms for it to be a "conflict." And the "introduction of a military option does not mean that hostilities have actually occurred, just that they are likely or possible."

Cases that were included were "local conflicts." By "local" the authors said that they meant "the small interstate wars, the bitter civil wars, the proxy conflicts behind which the superpowers hide, and the insurgencies and guerrilla warfare in the backwaters of the developing world."

However, there was no further explanation of what was meant by "local", or what conflicts were excluded because they were not "local." At another point, the authors referred to their cases as "low-level conflict." But some of the included conflicts such as Korea involved high casualties.

The authors stated that their list excluded "coups, riots, and unorganized low-order violence." Furthermore, they defined "as single conflicts series of events that others count separately."

Leiss and Bloomfield (cont'd.)

VARIABLES: The following information was provided in "Typology A" on each conflict:

1. type of conflict. The possible types of conflict were:
 - a. "conventional interstate"
 - b. "unconventional interstate"
 - c. "internal with significant external involvement"
 - d. "primarily internal"
 - e. "colonial"

There was no explanation of these types of conflict.

2. level or index of hostilities. The possible categories were:
 - a. "hostilities continued with intensification"
 - b. "hostilities continued without intensification"
 - c. "hostilities terminated quickly after intensification"
 - d. "hostilities terminated quickly without intensification"
 - e. "no outbreak of hostilities"

Again, there was no explanation of these categories.

3. beginning and ending years of conflict.
4. region where conflict occurred. The regions were:
 - a. Middle East
 - b. Africa
 - c. Latin America
 - d. Asia
5. Involvement of the United States, the Soviet Union, and China in the conflict. If there was involvement by the U.S., Soviet Union or China in a conflict, the study indicated whether it was "direct" or "indirect." (But these terms were not defined).

The 52 conflicts were listed in "Typology A" on the basis of the type of conflict and the level of hostilities.

COMMENTS: The criteria for inclusion in this study apparently are the same as in Irirangi Bloomfield, 52 Post-War Conflicts: Brief Historical Summaries.

However, the time periods are different. This study includes conflicts from 1945 to 1965, while the 1971 study of Irirangi Bloomfield includes conflicts from 1945 to 1970.

MacQueen, James B.

A Statistical Analysis of Some International Confrontations: Implications for Arms Control

Security Studies Project, University of California, Los Angeles, 1968
(Prepared for the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency)

OVERVIEW: This study analyzes 44 international confrontations in "an attempt to demonstrate the existence of historical and political regularities in such confrontations and to relate these to the problem of arms and conflict control."

TIME PERIOD: 1931-1962

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: No restriction on location of international confrontation but each confrontation had to involve at least one major power.

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: 25

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS A "CONFRONTATION": A "confrontation" occurs when a nation (or bloc) initiates an action in a direction that its leadership deems desirable, and this action is opposed by the leadership of some other nation (or bloc).

Confrontations were selected so that "(1) each confrontation involves at least one major power, (2) all confrontations are post-World War I, (3) a range of political and economic confrontations as well as military confrontations are included, and (4) the confrontations are generally regarded as being of some historical importance."

The 44 confrontations which were selected are thus not a complete list of all confrontations that fit the criteria. It is simply a list that is believed to be a "fairly representative sample of major confrontations from the period 1931-1962."

VARIABLES: For each confrontation, there is given in Appendix I:

- a. the committor (the nation initiating the action)
 - b. the responder (the nation opposing that action)
- and where relevant,
- c. the contested area (a third region that the confrontation involved)
- The "dependent" variables -- those variables referring to the outcome of the confrontation -- are:

1. Degree of success for the committor
2. Degree of success for the responder
3. Stability of the outcome after a 5 year period
4. Contested area's acceptance of the outcome
5. Level of warfare precipitated by the confrontation

The "independent" variables, in general, refer either to attributes of the individual participants, relations between them or certain situational and structural features of the confrontation.

The main variables descriptive of individual participants are:

6. Political structure
7. Stability of government
8. Power status
9. Military objectives

MacQueen (cont'd.)

10. Political objectives
11. Economic objectives
12. Military techniques
13. Political techniques
14. Economic techniques
15. Importance of outcome
16. Calculation of probability of success by leadership
17. Determination of leadership
18. Public morale

The "relational" variables are:

19. Relative quantity of military forces applicable to the conflict in question
20. Relative quality of military forces applicable to the conflict in question
21. Relative quality of weapons
22. Relative appropriateness of military forces for the conflict in question
23. Relative geographical advantage
24. Relative industrial advantage
25. Relative amount of natural resources
26. Relative population size

The historical or structural variables are:

27. Whether or not the committor's action is in accordance with existing international agreements
28. Whether or not there is a history of conflict among the participants
29. Whether or not ideological conflict is present
30. Whether or not the confrontation is accompanied by military conflict within the frontiers of the participants
31. Coalition structure (nation vs. nation, nation vs. bloc, bloc vs. bloc)
32. Committor support (committor aligned with major powers, with middle powers or independent)
33. Responder support (responder aligned with major powers, with middle powers or independent)
34. Contested area support (contested area aligned with major powers, with middle powers or independent)
35. Whether or not participants perceive full-scale war as likely outcome of their actions
36. Whether or not there was an exogenous arms supply

The coded values of the dependent and independent variables are provided in Appendix III for each confrontation.

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS: The "same" dispute occurring in different years can be listed as different confrontations (e.g., Soviet threat to Berlin was listed as a confrontation twice, 1957-58 and 1961).

The category "major powers" was not defined; it was arbitrarily given as being composed of "superpowers" and "great powers". In the post-World War II period, the "superpowers" were the U.S. and the USSR, and the "great powers" were the U.K., West Germany (after 1955), China (PRC), and France. Countries were also qualified as "superpowers", "great powers", "middle powers", and "small powers", but there were no definitions provided of those terms.

Of the 44 confrontations, 25 were post-World War II.

Mahoney, Robert B., Jr.

A Comparison of the Brookings and CNA International Incidents Projects

Center for Naval Analyses, Arlington, Virginia, (CNA) 76-0455.10, August 17, 1976.

OVERVIEW: The data base for this descriptive paper is classified. However, because it contains if only a single piece of information, in an area for which data is otherwise totally nonexistent, it seemed useful to provide that.

In comparing an internal CNA study and the Blechman-Kaplan (Brookings) Study prepared from open public sources, the following information was provided.

"Both projects cover the period 1955-1975. Over this span Brookings identified 189 actions involving the four services, while CNA finds 99 responses to international incidents and crises involving the Navy and Marine Corps."

TIME PERIOD: 1955-1975

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: Worldwide

NUMBER OF POST WORLD WAR II CASES: 99

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF EVENTS: Prompted response by the U.S. Navy and Marine Corps. (The nature of these responses is not described, nor are the specific events indicated).

McIlroy, John J.

Forecasting Models for Assessing Superpower Competition in Europe, the Middle East, Latin America, and Africa

CACI, Inc. - Federal, Arlington, Virginia.

Research was performed between March and September 1976. This paper was prepared for presentation March 16-20, 1977.

OVERVIEW: "This paper is essentially a progress report on the development of four long-range regional forecasting models."

TIME PERIOD: The time period for acts of conflict was not explicitly stated. The time period for data used for the economic forecasting equations was 1955-1970.

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: Europe, Middle East, Latin America and Africa. Ninety nations thus included were listed in an appendix.

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: The number of cases used by the author in his analysis was not stated. The author provided no listing of acts of conflict.

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS A CONFLICT: The criteria used by the author were not stated in this paper. But conflict was both domestic and international.

For domestic conflict, there was reference to "turmoil", "anti-government conflict" and "coups". However, it was not clear exactly what the context of these references was, as no definitions were provided.

With respect to international conflict, the conflict events were "assembled into the World Event Interaction Survey (WEIS). These data represent frequency counts of conflictful events, ranging from verbal to violent (CACI, 1975a 72-76). The data were aggregated as pressure, coercion or physical conflict." But again neither data nor definitions were provided in this paper.

VARIABLES: Variables used to predict domestic and/or international conflict included:

1. previous conflict
2. degree of trade alignment with the United States
3. current defense expenditures as a percentage of "gross domestic product". (The author defined gross domestic product as consumption + investment + total exports - total imports.)
4. military assistance history
5. change in gross domestic product per capita

No information was provided on individual acts of conflict.

COMMENT: In the list of variables, there were:

1. "Turmoil"
2. "Revolt (Europe only)"
3. "Coups (LDCs only)"
4. "International conflict acts" ("Anti-government conflict" discussed above under "Criteria" thus was probably equivalent to "revolt".)

McKinlay, R.D. and A.S. Cohan (The University of Lancaster)
"Performance and Instability in Military and Nonmilitary Regime Systems"

American Political Science Review, 70 (3), September 1976, pp. 850-64

OVERVIEW: This paper compared the performance of military regime systems with that of nonmilitary regime systems across five categories of variables. The comparison was further clarified by the use of four control variables.

TIME PERIOD: The time period for this study was the decade 1961-1970. The authors' reason for choosing this time period was that "this period includes the majority of military regimes".

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: "The population for this study...consists of all independent countries of the world which have been categorized into two subpopulations, defined in terms of whether they have experienced a military regime." However, Communist countries were excluded because of the "noncomparability of economic data".

The countries which were included were not identified.

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: There were 101 cases of regime systems which were analyzed. Of these 101 cases, 37 were military regime systems and 64 were non-military regime systems. (The definition of a military regime is given below.) As noted earlier, the regime systems or countries were not identified.

Further, the number of coups was not provided. But since, by definition as discussed below, military regime systems had one or more coups, there were more than 37 coups in the study (some of which may have occurred before 1961).

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION: A "military regime system" is "any system in which the armed forces have made a coup and subsequently established a government whose main executive is held by a military person and which lasts for at least the major part of one year." The authors state that "(t)he focus of this... paper is not on military regimes themselves but on the more general topic of systems which have experienced military regimes compared with those which have not."

The term "major part of one year" was not further explained.

VARIABLES: In this study, there were five categories of variables made up of 25 variables in all. Four control variables were also used. The five categories and variables in them are as follows:

I. Political Activity and Political Change Variables

1. Percentage of years the constitution is banned
2. Percentage of years that the legislature is banned
3. Percentage of years that political parties are banned
4. Mean percentage of cabinet posts held by military personnel
5. The number of constitution changes
6. The number of main executive changes

II. Military Capability Variables

7. Mean size of the armed forces per 10,000 population
8. Mean military expenditure as a percentage of GNP
9. The diversification of the armed forces measured in terms of the size of the navy and air-forces as a percentage of the total size

McKinlay and Cohan (cont'd.)

10. The rate of growth of the size of the armed forces
11. The rate of growth of constant military expenditure
- III. Background Economic Variables
 12. Constant per capita gross national product (GNP)
 13. Budget as a percentage of GNP
 14. Gross domestic fixed capital formation as a percentage of GNP
 15. Primary production as percentage of gross domestic product
 16. Number of doctors per 100,000 population
- IV. International Economic Variables
 17. Exports as a percentage of GNP
 18. Imports as a percentage of GNP
 19. International liquidity as a percentage of imports
 20. Balance-of-payments position on goods and services
 21. Balance-of-payments position on private investments
 22. Balance-of-payments position on central government capital
- V. Economic Performance Variables
 23. Rate of growth of constant per capita GNP
 24. Rate of growth of cost-of-living index
 25. Rate of growth of exports

The four control variables were:

1. Per capita GNP. Per capita GNP was divided into the following categories: \$0-150; \$151-400; \$401-900; and \$901+. It was noted that the last category was not used as it contained no military regime systems.
2. Geographic area. The geographic areas were Central America and the Caribbean, South America, the Middle East and North Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa, Central and Southeast Asia.
3. Duration of the military regime in military regime systems (in years). Duration was categorized as 0-1 year, 1-2 years, 2-5 years and 5+ years.
4. The number of coups in military regime systems. The number of coups was categorized as 0, 1, 2, and 3+.

Information was provided in this paper on subpopulations of the 101 cases of regime systems (such as military regime systems which had experienced one coup only). Information was not provided on individual regime systems.

Midlarsky, Manus and Raymond Tanter
"Toward a Theory of Political Instability in Latin America"

Journal of Peace Research, No. 3, 1967, pp. 209-27

OVERVIEW: This paper studied whether the U.S. economic presence in Latin America leads to hostility toward the United States, domestic violence, and/or the occurrence of revolution. In doing so, it provided the number of revolutions which occurred in each of eighteen Latin American countries during 1958-60.

TIME PERIOD OF INCLUDED REVOLUTIONS: 1958-60

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: Eighteen Latin American nations. Two countries, Bolivia and Paraguay, were omitted because sufficient data were not available for them.

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: There were 31 successful and unsuccessful revolutions. The number of revolutions in each country was presented in Table 2.

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS A "REVOLUTION": The same definition of "revolution" was given here as was provided in Tanter and Midlarsky "A Theory of Revolution", Journal of Conflict Resolution, September 1967. "A revolution may be said to exist when a group of insurgents illegally and/or forcefully challenges the governmental elite for the occupancy of roles in the structure of political authority."

Both successful and unsuccessful revolutions were included (with no distinction being made between them in the table.)

To be included, the revolution had to have been "initiated" during 1958-60 (though a definition of "initiate" was not given in this paper.)

VARIABLES: Information was not provided, in general, for individual revolutions.

Information was provided for the eighteen individual countries. The variables for which data were provided included:

1. dollar values of private U.S. investments divided by the population of each country in 1956
2. "percentage trade" -- currency value of trade with the U.S. divided by the total value of that country's trade in 1956
3. "economic presence" of the U.S. in each country in 1956. This was a measure derived by multiplying investment per capita (variable 1) and "percentage trade" (variable 2) for each of the countries
4. per capita gross national product (GNP) for each country in 1957
5. whether country was democratic (Four of the eighteen countries were considered to be democratic -- Chile, Costa Rica, Mexico and Uruguay)
6. Deaths as a result of domestic group violence divided by the population of each country
7. Summation of both official and unofficial acts of hostility directed at the U.S. by each country. (The acts of hostility, given in an appendix, were: threats, protests, accusations, negative sanctions, ambassadors and diplomatic officials of lesser rank expelled or recalled, military action, troop movements, and anti-U.S. demonstrations. And all of these acts of hostility were defined; but not data were provided on individual acts of hostility.)

Moore, James, et. al.
Crisis Inventory

CACI, Inc., Washington, D.C., 1975

OVERVIEW: This study attempted to develop an international crisis typology (with classes distinguished by important policy and theoretical differences). It was intended for use in conducting and organizing research on crisis prediction and management. Trends in the occurrence of different types of international crises were also analyzed. Seventy-two international crises were identified.

TIME PERIOD: 1946-1973

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: No restriction

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: 72

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS AN "INTERNATIONAL CRISIS": An "international crisis" exists between two nations when:

a) At least one of the following conditions holds:

- 1) A nation warns the other nation that some aspect of a current situation will require it to engage in military action against the other;
- 2) A nation threatens the other nation with military action conditional on the other's action or non-action;
- 3) A nation mobilizes forces against the other nation;

and

b) Actions taken by each nation are initiated by, directed by, or involve the head of state or government or agents designated specifically for dealing with the episode;

and

c) Once in the vicinity of violence, the episode continues for at least two days;

and

d) Some responses (between the two nations) occur over a period of less than one week.

Any situation satisfying the above criteria was an "international crisis". However, the study excluded those crises whose issues were primarily colonial in nature. Thus, only crises between independent nation-states not involving colonial conflicts were included.

VARIABLES: The study provides a brief summary of each of the included crises. With each summary the duration of the crisis and the "country-pairs" of opposing nations involved in the crisis are given. A particular crisis may involve several pairs of opposing countries and not just one pair. (Thus, in the study, there were 93 crisis country-pairs for the 72 crises.) Other variables studied were:

1. Power comparison of the opposing countries (major-minor, major-middle, major-major, etc.)

Moore et. al. (cont'd.)

2. GNP, Military budget, and population size comparisons of the opposing countries (these variables here used separately, in combination had determined the nation's power as given in the first variable)
3. Type of issue (territorial/hegemonial, domestic government, treatment of nationals or property, access and use rights)
4. Nuclear weapons (whether or not a crisis involves nations having nuclear weapons)
5. Region within which a crisis is located or the regions which it involves (Africa, North America, South America, Asia, Europe, Oceania, USSR)
6. Geographic distance (distance between capitals of the crisis nations)
7. Contiguity (geographical proximity of a crisis-pair)
8. Super-power Defense Pact (whether or not the opposing nations have defense pacts with the U.S. and the Soviet Union)
9. Super-power Alliance (whether or not the opposing nations have a super-power arrangement of the neutrality pact, entente or defense type)
10. Defense Pact Similarity (whether or not the opposing nations have membership in the same defense pact)
11. Alliance Similarity (whether or not the opposing nations share membership in any neutrality pact, entente or defense pact)
12. Number of prior crises between the opposing nations
13. Political Structure Differences of the crisis-pair
14. Prior Diplomatic Relations (presence or absence of diplomatic relations at the outbreak of each crisis)
15. Economic Interdependence (measured by the value of total trade between the opposing nations as a percentage of summed GNP)
16. Organizational Integration (number of IGO's in which the crisis-pair shares membership at the time of the crisis)
17. Population Pressure Comparison (comparative population densities of the crisis-pair)
18. Multination Crisis (whether or not country-pair were components of multi-nation crises)

Trends in international crises were described by grouping crises into four seven-year units and using the above variables.

The typology was by crisis country-pair and not by crisis itself.

Morrison, D.G. et al.

Black Africa: A Comparative Handbook, New York, The Free Press, 1972

OVERVIEW: This book provides information on domestic conflict in Black African nations. Such domestic conflicts as coups (military and otherwise), revolts, and civil wars which occurred from the time of independence until 1969 are provided for 32 Black African nations. The following information for the acts of domestic conflict is provided:

- a. description
- b. participants
- c. apparent cause

The descriptions provided are extremely informative.

In addition to the individual country sections in which the above information appears, the book also contains two other relevant chapters:

- Chapter 10, Military and Security Systems
- Chapter 11, Political Instability

Each of these chapters contains a group of tables.

Richardson, Lewis F.

Statistics of Deadly Quarrels, Edited by Quincy Wright and C.C. Lienau
The Boxwood Press, Pittsburgh and Quadrangle Books, Chicago, 1960.

OVERVIEW: This book provides data on wars from 1820 to 1952. It was stated that: "The various analyses have been made at different times. So, though all begin in 1820, some end with 1929, some with 1939 and some with 1945." The emphasis in this book is not on the post-World War II period.

TIME PERIOD: 1820-1952. It appears that for wars of magnitude greater than $3\frac{1}{2}$ (3,163 deaths), only wars up to 1949 were included, but that for wars of magnitudes in the range of $3\pm\frac{1}{2}$ (3,162 to 317 deaths), wars up to 1952 were included.

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: No restrictions

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: The author included seventeen post-World War II conflicts. (This number counts the Greek Civil War twice, first from 1944 to 1945, and then from 1946 to 1949. This number also includes the conflicts in 1945 in Algeria and in the Levant.)

The conflicts were listed by magnitude (number of deaths). The post-1945 wars which were included follow:

- I. Wars with magnitudes in the range $6\pm\frac{1}{2}$ (3,162,277 to 316,228 deaths)
 1. Communal riots in the Indian peninsula 1946-48
- II. Wars with magnitudes in the range $5\pm\frac{1}{2}$ (316,227 to 31,623 deaths)
 2. Greek Civil War, 1946-49
- III. Wars with magnitudes in the range $4\pm\frac{1}{2}$ (31,622 to 3,163 deaths)
 3. Greek Civil War, 1944-45
 4. In Palestine, 1940-49
- IV. Wars with magnitudes in the range $3\pm\frac{1}{2}$ (3,162 to 317 deaths)
 5. In Algeria, 1945
 6. In the Levant, 1945
 7. In Bolivia, 1946
 8. In Formosa, 1947
 9. In Madagascar, 1947
 10. In Paraguay, 1947
 11. Hyderabad, 1948
 12. In Colombia, 1948
 13. In Southern Korea, 1948
 14. In Java, 1945-49
 15. In Kashmir, 1947-49
 16. In Colombia, 1949
 17. In Bolivia, 1952

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF "DEADLY QUARRELS": It was stated that:

By a deadly quarrel is meant any quarrel which caused death to humans. The term thus includes murders, banditries, mutinies, insurrections, and wars small and large; but it excludes accidents, and calamities such as earthquakes and tornadoes. Deaths by famine and disease are included if they were immediate results of the quarrel, but not otherwise.

For a "deadly quarrel" to be included in the study, it had to involve 317 or more deaths (or, in exponential terms, be of magnitude greater than 2.5).

Richardson (cont'd.)

More precisely, deaths which were counted included:

1. armed personnel who were killed either as a result of "malicious acts of their enemies", or from disease or exposure;
2. civilians who were killed because of "malicious acts of their enemies"

Further, wars had to have ended to be included in the study.

VARIABLES: Information on individual wars was presented in Chapter II. The following variables were included:

1. beginning and ending dates of the conflict
2. the contestants (and sometimes the aims of the contestants, such as "for retention of control", or "for independence")
3. dates when any two contestants fought one another
4. the result of the conflict (in one or more sentences such as "The French regained control.")

COMMENT: The descriptive paragraphs in the 1969 SIPRI Yearbook contains minor inaccuracies.

Richardson, R.P., and Waldron, S.
An Analysis of Recent Conflicts

Center for Naval Analyses, Institute of Naval Studies, January 1966 (reissued January 1970, reprinted July 1972), study sponsored by the Department of the Navy.

OVERVIEW: The major objectives of this study were: (1) to examine assumptions about limited warfare situations in the period 1946-64, (2) to identify the major variables involved in the various kinds of recent conflicts, and (3) to provide a data base from which important implications about the nature of recent conflicts may be derived.

TIME PERIOD: 1 January 1946 to 31 December 1974 (though some conflicts had begun in 1945 or earlier).

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: All areas of the world were covered. However, internal conflicts in the U.S. and Canada were excluded "as irrelevant to the problem under investigation," even though some internal disorders in the U.S. were larger than many conflicts that were included in their study.

Further, the authors arbitrary (undefined) decision as to whether a state was "stable" or "unstable" determined whether an incidence of civil disorder was included for study. Thus, "it is possible that some civil disorders occurring in Europe may have been excluded while the same type of conflict occurring elsewhere very likely found its way into the study." Their rationale was that civil disorders that do not threaten the existence of the state in an area such as Europe could bring down a government in a less stable area of the world." Still, twelve civil disorders occurring in Europe were listed.

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: 380 conflicts (of which 377 were initiated after 1946). Further, 323 of the conflicts were internal and the remaining 57 were international. Of the 323 internal conflicts, there were 122 civil disorders, 87 coups, 31 military revolts or mutinies, 39 insurrections, 27 guerrilla wars and 17 civil wars. And of the 57 international conflicts, there was 28 border conflicts, 7 limited wars, 15 covert invasions, 4 blockades (quarantines) and 3 threats or shows of force.

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS CONFLICT: A "conflict" was defined as "any event involving two or more groups in which the use of force or the threat of the use of force was a significant factor in the event and the event itself was of at least national significance."

Thus, under this definition both internal "conflicts" and international "conflicts" were included as cases in the study.

The types of internal "conflicts" were civil disorders, coups d'etat, military revolts or mutinies, insurrections, civil wars and guerrilla wars. (All these categories were defined in the study).

The types of international "conflicts" were limited wars, border wars, blockades, threats or shows of force, and unconventional or covert invasions. These were also defined in the study.

Conflicts continuing over time were divided into distinct cases "whenever a change in the nature or direction of a conflict was of such significance as to present a picture in which essential variables were different."

As noted above, internal "conflicts" in the U.S. and Canada were excluded and some civil disorders in Europe may also have been excluded. Otherwise, cases satisfying the definition of "conflict" were included.

VARIABLES: This study analyzed conflicts mainly by the use of frequency distributions (for example, the number of civil disorders in Latin America from

Richardson (cont'd.)

1952-1958 were compared to the number elsewhere for the same time period).

Trends in variables were studied by dividing the years 1946-1964 into three equal time periods. "The first period began in 1946 with three conflicts held over from 1945, and ended in April 1952. The second period ended in August 1958 and the third period ended on 31 December 1964.

The authors studied the following variables for conflicts:

1. date of origin
2. duration
3. conflict magnitude
 - a. force size for each side
 - b. casualties
 - c. disruptive effects
4. geographical distribution
5. distribution of conflicts by type (the types of conflicts were listed above under "Criteria for inclusion")
6. warning time (the amount of time, prior to the outbreak of a conflict, in which it is known that the threat or use of force is imminent).
7. degree of internal control exercised by the "threat party" - the party seeking to change the status quo (whether there was: no systematic control, unauthorized actions by units ostensibly under control, occasional central control, central, unified control, etc.)
8. Tempo of operations (whether there was: no engagement at one or more locations lasting duration of conflict, continual separate engagements with apparent "escalation", etc.)
9. force employment
 - a. use of ground, sea and air operations
 - b. initial movement of forces
 - c. resupply of forces
10. level of weapons (whether there were: makeshift, hand-carried, or heavy weapons)
11. primary motivation of the "threat party" (the primary issue on behalf of which the threat party enters into the conflict; the primary motivation could be ethnic, religious, economic, nationalist, political, etc.)
12. ultimate objectives of the threat party (possible objectives were: preserve status quo, increase internal political control, etc.)
13. outcomes (such as: conflict continuing, threat party lost, threat party won, etc.)
14. third party support (support, if any, given to the parties of the conflict by U.S., UK/France, Communist bloc, etc.)
15. Accessibility of conflict from sea (distance from the point of conflict to the nearest point of sea access)
16. U.S. involvement in conflict (whether there was: no interest, interest but no action, or interest with action).
17. likelihood of renewal of conflict (the possible categories for this variable included "renewal unlikely", "renewal (likely) along similar lines", "renewal likely but manner uncertain" and "renewal impossible.")
18. party identification (whether threat party was an ethnically or religiously based group, etc.)

Richardson (cont'd.)

Each of the 380 conflicts were listed with its "title" and starting date.

Otherwise, only when the authors studied U.S. involvement in conflicts did they provide data on individual conflicts. Here, the 49 conflicts in which the United States acted were listed and the party the U.S. supported as well as the outcome in each of these conflicts was given. Furthermore, the conflicts that the U.S. acted in, where there had been zero warning time and the conflict duration was five days or less were listed. And the conflicts that the U.S. had an interest in, but took no action on, were listed along with the reason for the lack of action (such as, it was politically unfeasible or it was the responsibility of a U.S. ally).

	1951	1952	1953	1954
"Assassinations"	11	8	11	31
"General Strikes"	7	22	7	44
"Military Wars"	2	6	2	10
"Government Changes"	11	7	11	39
"Riots"	18	11	18	47
"Revolutions"	31	43	31	105
"Anti-Communist Demonstrations"	40	30	40	110
"Revolutions"	15	13	15	43
"Anti-Communist Demonstrations"	70	66	70	206
"Negative Reactions"	7	12	7	26
"Protests"	63	58	63	184
"Favorance of Historical Relations"	2	2	2	6
"Expulsion or Recall of Ambassador"	2	10	2	14
"Expulsion or Recall of Consul"	2	10	2	14
"Official"	6	12	6	24
"Protests"	42	36	42	120
"Military Action"	11	13	11	35
"War"	0	6	0	6
"Group Movements"	2	11	2	15
"Mobilization"	1	7	1	9
"Assassinations"	110	107	110	327

Rummel, Rudolph J.

"Dimensions of Conflict Behavior Within and Between Nations"

General Systems Yearbook, 8, 1963, pp. 1-50.

OVERVIEW: This study attempted to: 1. "find the dimensions of variation among nations with respect to their domestic and foreign conflict behavior during a period of contemporary history", 2. "determine the approximate position of each nation along these dimensions", and 3. "ascertain what relationship exists between the dimensions of foreign conflict behavior on the one hand, and the domestic conflict behavior dimensions on the other."

TIME PERIOD: 1955, 1956, 1957

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: Data were collected on all nations for the period 1955, 1956, and 1957 which met the following criteria:

"1. sovereign statehood for at least two years, as evidenced by diplomatic relations with other countries and the existence of a foreign ministry or its equivalent.

"2. a minimum population of 800,000, which eliminates aberrations within the nation-state system like Monaco and Liechtenstein."

The number of nations which met this criteria was 77. And these nations were listed in an appendix.

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: The author provided data on nine measures of domestic conflict behavior and thirteen measures of foreign conflict behavior. (All these measures will be explained below.) These data were given for each country in each of the three years. Among the information listed was the number of certain acts of conflict for each country in each year. The number of these acts of conflict for all 77 countries was as follows:

	<u>1955</u>	<u>1956</u>	<u>1957</u>	<u>Total</u>
"Assassinations"	11	8	13	32
"General Strikes"	7	22	15	44
"Guerrilla Wars"	5	6	6	9 ^a
"Government Crises"	11	7	17	35
"Purges"	18	11	7	36
"Riots"	31	197	83	311
"Demonstrations"	40	70	33	143
"Revolutions"	15	15	13	43
"Anti-Foreign Demonstrations"	70	103	68	241
"Negative Sanctions"	7	15	7	29
"Protests"	63	99	56	218
"Severance of Diplomatic Relations"	3	6	5	14
"Expulsion or Recall of Ambassador"	5	5	10	20
"Expulsion or Recall of Lesser Officials"	8	12	35	55
"Threats"	45	50	31	126
"Military Action"	11	13	11	35
"War"	0	6	1	7
"Troop Movements"	8	11	4	23
"Mobilization"	1	7	2	10
"Accusations"	210	307	341	858

^aThe number which is given is the number of different countries which experienced guerrilla war in at least one of the three years. Simply counting up the numbers seemed to be double-counting since the author's measure was the "presence or absence of guerrilla warfare" in the year and one guerrilla war could extend over a two or three year period.

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS "CONFLICT BEHAVIOR": A more thorough definition of "conflict" and "conflict behavior" was provided in a later paper by Rummel, "Testing Some Possible Predictors of Conflict Behavior Within and Between Nations". Since the data base was not changed, that definition is also relevant here. Thus, see the review of that paper for the definition of "conflict" and "conflict behavior".

As in the other studies of Rummel, nine measures of domestic and thirteen measures of foreign conflict behavior were chosen.

The nine measures of domestic conflict behavior along with a brief definition of the conflict act or occurrence are as follows:

- "1. Number of assassinations: any politically motivated murder or attempted murder of a high government official or politician.
2. Number of general strikes: any strike of 1,000 or more industrial or service workers that involves more than one employer and that is aimed at national government policies or authority.
3. Presence or absence of guerrilla warfare: any armed activity, sabotage or bombings carried on by independent bands or citizens or irregular forces and aimed at the overthrow of the present regime.
4. Number of major government crises: any rapidly developing situation that threatens to bring the downfall of the present regime -- excluding situations of revolt aimed at such an overthrow.
5. Number of purges: any systematic elimination by jailing or execution of political opposition within the ranks of the regime or the opposition.
6. Number of riots: any violent demonstration or clash of more than 100 citizens involving the use of physical force.
7. Number of revolutions: any illegal or forced change in the top governmental elite, any attempt at such a change, or any successful or unsuccessful armed rebellion whose aim is independence from the central government.
8. Number of anti-government demonstrations: any peaceful public gathering of at least 100 people for the primary purpose of displaying or voicing their opposition to government policies or authority, excluding those demonstrations of a distinctly anti-foreign nature.
9. Number of people killed in all forms of domestic violence: any deaths resulting directly from violence of an intergroup nature, thus excluding deaths by murder and execution."

The thirteen measures of foreign conflict behavior along with a brief definition are as follows:

- "1. Number of anti-foreign demonstrations: any demonstration or riot by more than 100 people directed at a particular foreign country (or group of countries) or its policies.
2. Number of negative sanctions: any nonviolent act against another country -- such as boycott, withdrawal of aid -- the purpose of which is to punish or threaten that country.
3. Number of protests: any official diplomatic communication or governmental statement, the purpose of which is to complain about or object to the policies of another country.

Rummel/Yearbook (cont'd.)

4. Number of countries with which diplomatic relations severed: the complete withdrawal from all official contact with a particular country.
5. Number of ambassadors expelled or recalled: any expelling of an ambassador from, or recalling for other than administrative reasons an ambassador to, a particular country -- this does not involve expulsion or recall resulting from the severance of diplomatic relations.
6. Number of diplomatic officials of lesser than ambassador's rank expelled or recalled: any expelling of an official of lesser than ambassador's rank from, or recalling for other than administrative reasons an official of lesser than ambassador's rank to, a particular country -- this does not involve expulsion or recall resulting from the severance of diplomatic relations.
7. Number of threats: any official diplomatic communication or governmental statement asserting that if a particular country does or does not do a particular thing, it will incur negative sanctions.
8. Presence or absence of military action: any military clash of a particular country with another and involving gunfire, but short of war as defined below.
9. Number of wars: any military clash of a particular country with another and in which more than .02 percent of its population are militarily involved in the clash.
10. Number of troop movements: any rapid movement of large bodies of troops, naval units, or air squadrons to a particular area for the purpose of deterring the military action of another country, gaining concessions, or as a show of strength.
11. Number of mobilizations: any rapid increase in military strength through the calling up of reserves, activation of additional military units, or the de-mothballing of military equipment.
12. Number of accusations: any official diplomatic or governmental statement involving charges and allegations of a derogatory nature against another country.
13. Number of people killed in all forms of foreign conflict behavior: the total number of deaths resulting directly from any violent interchange between countries."

Rummel has defined each of these measures in a way to make them mutually exclusive and thus each datum is used only once. More extensive definitions of some of these measures as well as examples were provided in an appendix.

The criteria that were given for choosing these 22 measures were the same as in the other studies by Rummel. Thus, see the review of "Testing Some Possible Predictors of Conflict Behavior Within and Between Nations" under "Criteria for Inclusion" for the five criteria used to choose indices of conflict behavior.

VARIABLES: Besides the 22 measures of conflict listed above, the author included two measures to guard against systematic error in the analysis: a measure for censorship and a measure of the amount of world interest in the country. Both censorship and a lack of world interest in the country would be factors tending to cause an underreporting of acts of conflict behavior.

The censorship measure was a three-point scale based on data from a 1955 Associated Press survey of the world's press and from the Worldmark Encyclopedia of Nations (1960). World interest in a particular nation was measured by the number of countries with foreign embassies and legations in that nation.

Other than examples of acts of conflict that were provided in the definitions in the appendix, there was no description or identification of the acts of conflict that were listed by country and year.

Rummel, Rudolph J.

"Testing Some Possible Predictors of Conflict Behavior Within and Between Nations"

Peace Research Society, Paper I, Chicago Conference, 1963, pp. 79-111

OVERVIEW: This paper attempts "to determine the degree to which certain structural and behavioral attributes of nations account for the variation in their domestic and foreign conflict behavior.

TIME PERIOD: Two sets of data were analyzed by Rummel. First data that the author had collected for "domestic and foreign conflict behavior" in the years 1955-1957 were used. Then, as a control, data collected by Harry Eckstein ("The Incidence of Internal Wars 1946-1959") were used to analyze "domestic conflict behavior" in the years 1946-1959.

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: This study analyzed conflict behavior of independent nations. The analysis of the 1955-1957 conflict behavior data encompassed 69 nations while the analysis of Eckstein's data was for 66 countries. Both these sets of nations are listed.

However, no criteria for inclusion of the independent nations were provided in this paper. Since conflict behavior data were collected on 77 independent nations for the years 1955, 1956 and 1957, it was especially unclear why in this study Rummel chose only 69 nations for his analysis.

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: In this paper, Rummel did not provide any listing of the acts of conflict he had found. However, in a previous paper ("Dimensions of Conflict Behavior Within and Between Nations", General Systems Yearbook, 1963), the author listed the number of acts of conflict by category which occurred in each of the included countries. There were twenty categories of domestic and foreign conflict among the 22 measures of conflict behavior. (These 22 measures will be explained below.) The number of conflict acts by category is given in the review of "Dimensions of Conflict Behavior Within and Between Nations".

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF A CASE AS "CONFLICT BEHAVIOR": "Conflict" was defined as "a situation in which the goals or values of two or more parties are incompatible or mutually exclusive. Thus, there might be latent conflict in which the goals or values of two parties are exclusive, but the parties are unaware of each other. Or, there might be a situation of manifest conflict in which there are both an exclusiveness of values or goals and an awareness on the part o(f) each that the other party holds such exclusive incompatible goals or values."

"Conflict behavior" was distinguished from "conflict" in that "(w)hereas 'conflict' denotes a situation, 'conflict behavior' involves action". More precisely, "conflict behavior may be either a discrete act (e.g., assassination, threat) or a set of similar acts (e.g., guerrilla warfare) designed to destroy, injure, thwart, or otherwise control another party or parties..." Further, "(s)ince conflict behavior is overt action and thus necessarily entails awareness, conflict behavior involves manifest conflict."

Thus, "conflict behavior" could be either domestic or foreign, but it had to involve overt action.

Rummel/Chicago (cont'd.)

Twenty-two measures of "conflict behavior" were chosen for the 1955-1957 data. The nine measures of domestic conflict behavior were:

1. number of assassinations
2. number of general strikes
3. presence of absence of guerrilla war
4. number of major government crises
5. number of purges
6. number of riots
7. number of revolutions
8. number of anti-government demonstrations
9. number of people killed in domestic inter-group conflict

The thirteen measures of foreign conflict behavior were:

1. number of anti-foreign demonstrations
2. number of negative sanctions
3. number of protests
4. number of countries with which diplomatic relations severed
5. number of ambassadors expelled or recalled
6. number of diplomatic officials of lesser than ambassadorial rank expelled or recalled
7. number of threats
8. presence or absence of military action
9. number of wars
10. number of troop movements
11. number of mobilizations
12. number of accusations
13. number killed in all forms of international conflict

Brief definitions of all these measures were provided in this paper. These same definitions were given in "Dimensions of Conflict Behavior Within and Between Nations" and were listed in the review of that paper. More extensive definitions of some of the measures as well as examples were provided in an appendix to that paper.

The 22 measures of conflict behavior were chosen according to five criteria:

- "1. capability of empirical delimitation
2. data availability
3. applicability to all countries (e.g., 'colonial violence' if made a measure would not be applicable to those countries without colonies)
4. coverage of as many different kinds of conflict behavior as possible
5. occurrence of such conflict acts in or with respect to at least seven countries for the period being considered (in order for the regression to be based upon marginal that are not too unequal)."

VARIABLES: The first set of independent variables to be used in regression analysis were Brian Berry's four "basic patterns" (Brian Berry, "Basic Patterns of Economic Development", in Norton Ginsburg, Atlas of Economic Development, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1961).

These "basic patterns" were:

1. a "technology pattern" comprising indices of, for example, transportation, trade, industrialization, technology
2. a "demography pattern" including variables such as population growth rate, population density, per capita foreign trade, per capita energy consumption, per capita telephones

Rummel/Chicago (cont'd.)

3. a "contrast in income and external relations pattern" which, according to Berry, "associates total national product, total energy consumption, and intensity of freight movement on the railroads inversely with population growth rates, per capita foreign trade, and per capita international mail flows."

4. a "size (the large and the small) pattern" which contrasts very large countries (those with low indices per unit area such as small population density, high indices per capita and high energy reserves) with the very small countries (those with high indices per unit area, low indices per capita and low energy reserves).

These "basic patterns" were derived from 43 variables which are listed in an appendix.

Another set of independent variables were three domestic conflict dimensions-- "turmoil", "revolutionary", and "subversion" which were derived from the nine measures of domestic conflict behavior.

Other independent variables were three foreign conflict dimensions -- "war", "diplomatic" and "belligerency" which were derived from the thirteen measures of foreign conflict behavior.

Dependent variables included the 22 measures of foreign and domestic conflict behavior. The other dependent variables were twelve measures of domestic conflict behavior for 1946-1959 that Eckstein collected data on and a thirteenth measure which was derived from Eckstein's tables by Rummel.

The twelve measures that Eckstein presented data on were:

- | | |
|--------------------------|---|
| 1. internal warfare | 9. administrative action |
| 2. turmoil | 10. quasi-private violence |
| 3. rioting | 11. total number of unequivocal acts of violence |
| 4. large-scale terrorism | 12. total number of unequivocal plus equivocal acts of violence |
| 5. small-scale terrorism | |
| 6. mutiny | |
| 7. coups | |
| 8. plots | |

The thirteenth measure derived from Eckstein's tables was:

13. extended violence

The definitions of Eckstein's measures were provided by Rummel in an appendix.

COMMENTS: This paper provided no additional data on individual acts of conflict behavior. However, this study did briefly describe the four "major situations of manifest foreign conflict" during 1955-1957. These were:

1. The situation of hostility between Israel and the Arab countries (which included border clashes.)
2. The rise of Arab nationalism (which led to the Suez war)
3. The Hungarian Revolution
4. The Cold War

A few examples of "secondary manifest conflicts" were also provided. But no definition of "major" or "secondary" was given.

Rummel, Rudolph J.
"Some Dimensions in the Foreign Behavior of Nations"

Journal of Peace Research, No. 3, 1966, pp. 201-24.

OVERVIEW: Rummel states that: "As part of a larger study, research was undertaken by the author to determine empirically and systematically what some of the dimensions in the foreign behavior of nations were for the mid-1950s. In brief, the design consisted of collecting data on 94 foreign behavior variables, transforming their distributions to normality (where possible) eliminating extreme data values, assessing the correlations between the 94 variables, factoring the correlations, and rotating the results to an orthogonal solution. This essay is a report on the results."

This paper does not provide data which were collected on the variables.

TIME PERIOD: With respect to the thirteen foreign conflict variables (which are listed and explained in the review of Rummel's 1963 paper), data were collected for the years 1955-57 (as in Rummel's other studies).

However, for other variables such as "defense expenditure", "economic aid received", "possession of colonies", "foreign mail", etc., data were collected for different years in the period from 1950 to 1960.

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: The total number of nations in the analysis was 82. This number included all nations which were legally sovereign in 1955 ("nations which had a foreign ministry and exchanged ambassadors with other nations") and had a population greater than 750,000. However, data for the thirteen conflict variables were collected for 77 nations (as in the other studies).

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: As indicated, data on the variables were not provided in this paper. See Rummel's 1963 paper.

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE: Conflict variables were not explained in this paper. See Rummel's 1963 paper for explanations.

VARIABLES: As noted, there were 94 variables in the study of which thirteen were the conflict variables. The others were in the following categories:

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Military Domain | 7. International Politics |
| 2. International Collaboration Domain | 8. Political Geography |
| 3. Colonialism Domain | 9. International Population Movement |
| 4. International Communications Domain | 10. International Trade Domain |
| 5. Diplomatic Domain | |
| 6. International Organization | |

All 94 variables were listed in Appendix I along with the number of nations for which data on the variables were collected, and the year(s) of the data.

Rummel, Rudolph J.

"A Social Field Theory of Foreign Conflict Behavior"

Peace Research Society (International) Papers, 4, 1966, pp. 131-50

OVERVIEW: "This paper is concerned with applying a social field theory to international relations and particularly international conflict. The first section of the paper will summarize the theory and the second section will be concerned with the application to foreign conflict. The methodological context for testing the theory's deductions will be discussed in the subsequent section. Remaining sections will describe the findings, discuss these results and present a brief summary."

Data were not provided on individual conflicts. But results of the analyses were presented.

TIME PERIOD: Rummel utilized conflict data for the years 1955-57.

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: Seventy-seven nations for the conflict data (as in Rummel's other studies).

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: Not given in this paper. See Rummel, 1963.

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION: The criteria were not given in this paper. But there were twelve indicators of foreign conflict. These were:

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Anti-foreign demonstrations | 7. Protests |
| 2. Negative sanctions | 8. Threats |
| 3. Expel-recall Ambassador | 9. Mobilizations |
| 4. Expel-recall diplomatic | 10. Troop movements |
| | 11. Military action |
| 5. Severance of diplomatic relations | 12. War |
| 6. Accusations | |

See Rummel 1963 for explanations of these terms.

VARIABLES: Variables included:

1. attributes of a country such as population and exports/GNP,
2. political attributes such as whether the country was communist and,
3. dimensions of U.N. General Assembly voting (Xth Session) such as "admission of new members".

There were 36 attributes in all, and they were given for 82 nations.

Rummel, Rudolph J.
"Dimensions of Dyadic War, 1820-1952"

Journal of Conflict Resolution, 6 (2), June 1967, pp. 176-83.

REASON FOR NOT USING THIS STUDY: This paper analyzed Lewis Fry Richardson's published data on 211 violent conflicts ending during 1820-1952. (Richardson, Statistics of Deadly Quarrels, 1960). The present author used 21 variables.

Thus, this paper does not give a list of conflicts itself, but only uses another list of conflicts. This paper does not list the conflicts, nor does it give any information about individual post-World War II conflicts. Nor is the 1820-1952 period divided into time periods.

Rummel, Rudolph J.

"Some Attributes and Behavioral Patterns of Nations"

Journal of Peace Research, No. 2, 1967, pp. 196-206

OVERVIEW: The purpose of this "communication" was to "make available some of the latest empirical results of the Dimensionality of Nations Project... in as non-technical fashion as possible."

Data was not presented on individual conflicts.

TIME PERIOD: 1955

GEOGRAPHICAL AREA: 82 nations (other Rummel studies had used 77 nations)

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: Rummel states that there were 2,139 conflict acts recorded for 1955.

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION: There were two lists of foreign conflict variables, both comprising 2,139 conflict acts.

In "Display 5. Dyadic Conflict patterns", Rummel presented sixteen foreign conflict variables concerning one nation's behavior relative to another ("analyzing Nation A's behavior to B"). These dyad conflict variables were:

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| 1. violent acts | 10. oral negative communications |
| 2. planned violent acts | 11. written or oral negative communications |
| 3. incidence of violence | 12. unclassified negative communications |
| 4. discrete military acts or clashes | |
| 5. days of violence | 13. accusations |
| 6. negative acts | 14. representations or protests |
| 7. diplomatic rebuffs | 15. warnings |
| 8. negative communications | 16. anti-foreign acts |
| 9. written negative communications | |

These terms were not explained in this paper and data were not presented on the variables.

In "Display 8. By-nation conflict dimensions" which gave "the pattern in the total frequency of conflict acts by Nation A, by Nation B, by Nation C, etc." Rummel listed 26 foreign conflict variables. These nation conflict variables were:

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. warning and defensive acts | 14. written negative communications |
| 2. strengthening forces | 15. oral negative communications |
| 3. alerts, mobilizations, military movements | 16. written or oral negative communications |
| 4. violent acts | 17. unclassified negative communications |
| 5. planned violent acts | 18. accusations |
| 6. unplanned violent acts | 19. representations or protests |
| 7. incidence of violence | 20. warnings |
| 8. discrete military acts or clashes | 21. threats |
| 9. days of violence | 22. denunciations |
| 10. negative acts | 23. violent anti-foreign attacks |
| 11. boycotts and embargoes | 24. attacks on embassies |
| 12. diplomatic rebuffs | 25. non-violent anti-foreign acts |
| 13. negative communications | 26. anti-foreign demonstrations |

Rummel/1967 (cont'd.)

Again, these terms were not further explained and data on them were not presented in the paper.

VARIABLES: Rummel stated that there were 236 cross-national characteristics (including the foreign conflict variables). The 236 variables were not listed, but the types of characteristics were provided in Display 1.

There were 138 internal characteristics of nations in the following types:

- | | |
|---------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. agricultural | 10. military |
| 2. arts and culture | 11. political |
| 3. communication | 12. resources |
| 4. demographic | 13. science and technology |
| 5. economic | 14. social |
| 6. educational | 15. transportation |
| 7. geographic | 16. values |
| 8. health | 17. domestic conflict |
| 9. history | |

There were 42 external characteristics in nations of the following types:

- | | |
|---------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. foreign conflict | 6. international organization |
| 2. collaboration | 7. political geography |
| 3. colonialism | 8. population movements |
| 4. IR communication | 9. trade |
| 5. diplomacy | 10. international politics |

Further, there were six data error measures.

In this paper, Rummel groups:

1. nations which had similar characteristics on the basis of the 236 cross-national variables (Display 2)
2. dyads (pairs of nations) which had similar foreign conflict patterns on the basis of the sixteen variables listed under "Criteria" (Display 6), and,
3. nations which had similar foreign conflict behavior on the basis of the 26 variables listed under "Criteria" (Display 9).

Rummel, Rudolph J.

"The Relationship Between National Attributes and Foreign Conflict Behavior"

Quantitative International Politics: Insights and Evidence, J.D. Singer (ed.),
The Free Press, New York, 1968

OVERVIEW: This paper attempts to determine whether there is a relationship between a nation's foreign conflict behavior and a nation's characteristics such as size and economic development.

TIME PERIOD: 1955-1957

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: Data for thirteen foreign conflict measures (further discussed below) were collected on 77 nations for the years 1955-57.

Data for 217 non-conflict variables (also discussed further below) were collected for the mid-1950s for 82 nations.

This paper does not list the nations that were included, nor does it provide the criteria that were used to choose the nations. However, the 77 nations on which foreign conflict behavior data were collected are listed along with the criteria for their inclusion in Rummel's earlier paper "Dimensions of Conflict Behavior Within and Between Nations".

Still, the list of 82 nations on which non-conflict data were collected and the criteria for their inclusion is unknown.

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: No listing of acts of conflict was provided in this paper, but the data was given in "Dimensions of Conflict Behavior Within and Between Nations". Thus, see the review of that paper for the number of acts of conflict (by category and by year).

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS "CONFLICT BEHAVIOR": See the review of Rummel, "Testing Some Possible Predictors of Conflict Behavior Within and Between Nations" for the criteria for inclusion of cases in the study. Also see the review of "Dimensions of Conflict Behavior Within and Between Nations" for definitions of the thirteen foreign conflict measures.

VARIABLES: Data were collected on 230 variables of which thirteen were foreign conflict behavior measures and the other 217 were non-conflict variables regarding national characteristics.

The thirteen foreign conflict behavior measures are the same as in Rummel's other papers.

The 217 non-conflict variables were given in Table 1 of the paper. These variables were grouped in 25 categories. The categories, along with examples of the variables in each category, are:

1. Agriculture (Agr. Prod/GNP; Agr. Pop./Pop.)
2. Arts and culture (Library circulation/Pop.)
3. Communications (telephone/Pop.)
4. Demographic (Birth/Pop.)
5. Economic (GNP/Pop.)
6. Education (Pupils in secondary and higher education/Pop.)
7. Geographical (National area, average rainfall)
8. Health (Pop./Physicians; Proteins/calories)
9. History (Age of Country)

Rummel/1968 (cont'd.)

10. Military (Defense expenditure)
11. Political (Freedom of opposition, press censorship)
12. Resources (Total energy resources potentially available)
13. Science and Technology (steel production)
14. Social (Native born/pop.)
15. Transportation (vehicles in use)
16. Values (Religious Book titles/Book titles; minimum voting age)
17. Collaboration (Economic aid received; No. of treaties)
18. Colonialism (Colonies or not)
19. IR Communication (Foreign mail sent and received)
20. Diplomatic (Embassies and legations in other countries)
21. International Organization (U.N. Representatives)
22. International Politics (Bloc allegiance)
23. Political Geography (Nations contiguous)
24. Population movement (Immigrants)
25. Trade (Trade/GNP)

The relationship of the following attributes of a nation to the foreign conflict behavior of a nation was more closely examined:

1. The level of economic or technological development of a nation
2. The level of international communications or transaction of a nation
3. The amount of cooperation of a nation with others
4. The totalitarianism of a nation's government
5. The power of a nation
6. The instability of a nation
7. The military capabilities of a nation
8. The psychological motivations of a nation's people
9. The values of a nation
10. The number of borders of a nation
11. The interaction of combinations of the above characteristics, such as economic development, instability and totalitarianism.

COMMENTS: This paper provided no additional data on individual countries or individual acts of conflict behavior.

Correlations between the national characteristics and the thirteen measures of foreign conflict behavior were provided.

Russett, Bruce M.

"The Calculus of Deterrence"

Journal of Conflict Resolution, 7 (2), June 1963, pp. 97-109

OVERVIEW: This study analyzed the subject of deterrence using seventeen cases where one or more nations had sought to deter one or more other nations from attacking another and smaller nation in the period 1935-1961. Russett stated that: "We shall explore the question of what makes a threat credible by asking what threats in the past have been believed and which disregarded."

TIME PERIOD: 1935-1961

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: No restrictions

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: 10 - These were:

- | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Iran 1946 | 6. Cuba 1961 |
| 2. Turkey 1947 | 7. Guatemala 1954 |
| 3. Berlin 1948 | 8. Hungary 1956 |
| 4. Egypt 1956 | 9. South Korea 1950 |
| 5. Quemoy-Matsu 1954-55, 1958 | 10. North Korea 1950 |

(As further explained below, the first six cases are cases of "successful deterrence"; the next two cases are cases of unsuccessful deterrence where the defending nation does not fight and the "pawn lost"; and the last two cases listed above are cases of unsuccessful deterrence where the defending nation fights and thus "war (is) not avoided".)

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION: Cases of both successful and unsuccessful deterrence were included. Formally, the author stated: "In this paper we shall examine all the cases during the last three decades where a major power 'attacker' overtly threatened a (smaller nation) pawn with military force, and where the (major power) defender either had given, prior to the crisis, some indication of an intent to protect the pawn or made a commitment in time to prevent the threatened attack." Russett also writes that: "These definitions are employed purely in an analytical sense with no intention of conveying moral content."

In the post-war period, "major powers" were the U.S., Great Britain, France, the Soviet Union and Communist China. "Pawns" included such small nations as Iran, Turkey, Egypt, South Korea and Hungary.

There could be more than one major power 'defender' or 'attacker' in a case.

It was noted that "we have excluded instances of protracted guerrilla warfare. While preventing and defeating guerrilla war is a major problem, the differences from the matters considered here require that it be treated separately."

"Successful deterrence" was defined "as an instance when an attack on the pawn is prevented or repulsed without conflict between the attacking forces and regular combat units of the major power defender."

Deterrence was said to fail "when the attacker decides that the defender's threat is not likely to be fulfilled."

Russett (cont'd.)

VARIABLES: Russett provided, in Tables 1 and 2, the following information for the cases of deterrence:

1. Date (year or years)
2. The nations which were the "pawn", the "attacker(s)", and the "defender(s)".
3. Whether deterrence was: successful; a failure because "pawn lost"; or a failure because "war not avoided"
4. Pawn's population as percent of defender's population
5. Pawn's GNP as percent of defender's GNP.

In an appendix, the author indicated for each case the "presence or absence of various factors alleged to make deterrent threats credible".

These factors were:

1. Pawn 20 percent+ of defender's population
2. Pawn 5 percent+ of defender's GNP
3. Formal commitment prior to crisis
4. Defender has strategic superiority
5. Defender has local superiority
6. Defender is dictatorship
7. Pawn-defender military cooperation
8. Pawn-defender political interdependence
9. Pawn-defender economic interdependence.

Singer, David J., and Melvin Small
The Wages of War 1816-1965: A Statistical Handbook

John Wiley and Sons, New York, 1972.

OVERVIEW: This volume provided the data on international wars that were collected for a project "designed to identify the variables that are most frequently associated with the onset of war during the century and a half since the Congress of Vienna." Data were reported on the "frequency, magnitude, severity and intensity of war in the international system."

TIME PERIOD: 1 January 1816 - 31 December 1965.

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: The authors stated that: "The geographical lock are... of limited interest... Our major concern is with the political systems within which, and among which, international war occurs." In other words, wars were not excluded on the basis of their geographical location.

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: Twelve "international wars" were identified in the post-1945 period. Of these, six were "interstate wars," and six were "extra-systemic wars." And of the six "extra-systemic wars," five were "colonial wars" and once was an "imperial war." (These terms will be discussed below).

The "international wars" that were included for the post-1945 period were as follows:

Interstate wars

- | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Palestine (1948-1949) | 4. Sinai (1956) |
| 2. Korean (1950-1953) | 5. Sino-Indian (1962) |
| 3. Russo-Hungarian (1956) | 6. Second Kashmir (1965) |

Extra-systemic wars

1. Indonesian (1945-1946) - colonial
2. Indochinese (1945-1954) - colonial
3. Madagascan (1947-1948) - colonial
4. First Kashmir (1947-1949) - imperial
5. Algerian (1954-1962) - colonial
6. Tibetan (1956-1959) - colonial

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF A CASE AS AN "INTERNATIONAL WAR": "International wars" which were included were either "interstate wars" or "extra-systemic wars". Criteria will be given separately for the two categories of "international war".

An "interstate war" was a conflict in which:

1. at least one member of the "interstate system" was a "participant" on each side of the war, and
2. there was a minimum of 1,000 battle fatalities among all of the system members which participated.

An "extra-systemic war" was a conflict in which:

1. forces of one or more members of the "interstate system" participated on one side of the war and fought against forces of a political entity which was not a qualified system member, with the war being beyond a participating system member's "own metropolitan territory", and

Singer and Small (cont'd)

2. the system member and system member allies, if any, sustained an average of at least 1,000 battle deaths per year.

Thus, for the authors to identify "interstate wars" and "extra-systemic wars", using the above criteria, they had to decide whether the political entities involved in the war were members of the "interstate system", and whether political entities which were members had been sufficiently involved in the war to count as "participants".

Criteria were provided for making these two determinations as follows:

1. In the period 1920-1965, for a national political entity to be classified as an "interstate system" member, it had to either:
 - a. have been a member of the League of Nations or the United Nations at any time during its existence, or
 - b. have had a population of at least 500,000 and received diplomatic missions from any two major powers where the major powers in the post-World War II period were the USSR, the United States, England, France, and Communist China (from 1950).

The authors stated that "several intuitive exceptions" were made to the above rules for classification of an entity as a system member. Two exceptions in the post-1945 period were the Ukraine and Byelorussia.

The national entities which were ultimately considered as members of the interstate system were listed in Table 2.1.

2. An individual member of the "interstate system" was said to be a "participant" if it had "regular, uniformed, national military personnel in sustained combat" within the war theater, and those forces either
 - a. numbered at least 1,000, or
 - b. sustained a minimum of 100 battle-connected fatalities.

Thus, there was no minimum period of time that a member's force had to be involved in active combat, for the member to have been a "participant".

Under the definitions of "interstate" and "extrasystemic" war, a "standard" civil war between a member government and its domestic insurgents was excluded, unless it became "internationalized" by the intervention of another system member on one of the sides.

Further, wars which had not ended by 31 December 1965 were excluded.

As noted earlier, "extra-systemic wars" were designated as "colonial" or "imperial". This classification depended on the political status of the non-system member adversary against which the system member's forces fought.

A "colonial" war was an "extra-systemic war" in which the adversary was "a colony, dependency, or protectorate composed of ethnically different people and located at some geographical distance from the given system member, or at least peripheral to its center of government".

An "imperial" war was an "extra-systemic war" in which the adversary was "an independent political entity which did not qualify for membership because of serious limitations on its independence, a population insufficiency, or a failure of other states to recognize it as a legitimate member."

A third possible type of "extra-systemic war" was an "internationalized" civil war in which "the adversary was an insurgent or rebellious group located within the territory of another system member, and in which the first system member intervened on the side of the regime against its insurgents." However, none of the "extra-systemic wars" were identified as "internationalized" civil wars.

Singer and Small (cont'd.)

VARIABLES: As stated above, data were reported on the "frequency, magnitude, severity and intensity of war".

In Tables 4.2 and 4.4, the following information was provided for each included "international war":

1. the system member participants
2. the beginning and ending dates (year, month, and day) of the war. And for those member nations which only participated in part of the war, the dates of such participation are also given.
3. duration in months of the war
4. magnitude in "nation months" -- the sum of all the participating nations' separate months of active involvement in each war
5. number of battle-connected fatalities among military personnel (the total number for all participants and the number for each participant are given.)
6. prewar populations of participating system members
7. size of prewar armed forces for participating system members
8. three intensity ratios for the wars and for each qualifying participant:
 - a. battle deaths per nation month
 - b. battle deaths per capita based on total population
 - c. battle deaths per capita based on armed forces size
9. the victorious side in the interstate wars was indicated in Table 4.2

In Table 4.3, the interstate wars in which at least one of the participants -- on either side -- was a major power were listed. Wars which included a major power on each side were indicated. Data were not provided for the adversaries of system members in "extra-systemic wars". Data were only provided for system members.

In Table 14.4, the authors listed the system members who won and the system members who lost in extra-systemic combat.

In Table 14.7, for five of the six post-World War II "interstate wars" (omitting Korea), the initiator of hostilities was identified. It was indicated whether the initiator was victorious. Further, both simple battle death ratios between initiators and their opponents and battle death ratios normalized for national population were provided.

In Appendix C, the authors listed five wars that were continuing after 31 December 1965 and thus were excluded.

In Appendix D -- "Epilogue" -- the authors stated that "several interstate wars began and ended between 1966 and 1971, and two of them met our criteria for inclusion." These two wars were: 1. the Six Day War in the Middle East/ June 1967, and 2. the "Football War" between Honduras and Salvador/ July 1969.

For these two wars, the authors provided the following information which they termed "tentative":

- a. participants
- b. beginning and ending dates (year, month and day)
- c. battle deaths

In Table 5.2, the authors compared their list of included wars with the lists of Lewis Richardson, Quincy Wright and Pitirim Sorokin. (The last author's study extended only to 1925.) The reason for the present study excluding a war included by one of the other studies was given. The four possible reasons were:

1. "the war did not meet our minimum battle death requirements"
2. "the participants were not qualified system members according to our criteria"
3. "the war was civil rather than international in nature"
4. "the war continued beyond 31 December 1965"

SIPRI Yearbook of World Armaments and Disarmament, 1968/69
Part 4A, "Post-World War II armed conflicts and disputes" of Section 4. Conflicts

OVERVIEW: This was a first try at a survey of other surveys of post-World War II wars and conflicts. A short section of the very first SIPRI Yearbook, it had two portions. The first contained very short synopses of eleven other studies. The information in these eleven studies was then tabulated. However, this was only a limited portion of the literature that was available at the time, and which should have been included and summarized. In the second portion, the list of conflicts derived from other authors, which ended with the year 1965 and which totaled 101 events, was brought up to date by a "List of Conflicts, 1965-1968".

(In addition, section 4B of the 1968/69 SIPRI Yearbook, directly following on pages 374-80, contained a very useful summary of worldwide international boundary conflicts, as of 1967/68. These are not discussed here.)

In the first portion of the material, all the conflicts in the postwar period which were included by eleven other studies were listed. This "list of lists" was provided in "Table 4A.1. Summary of eleven lists of post-World War II conflicts". There were a total of 101 "conflicts" in this table. The information which was provided for these "conflicts" included:

1. "type" of conflict. Possible types were:
 - a. civil
 - b. international
 - c. no hostilities
 - d. border conflict
2. "size" of conflict. Number of deaths according to Richardson's scale.
3. parties to the conflict
4. "duration" of conflict as given by the authors of the studies who had included the conflict. (Most of the list was taken up by discrepancies in dates given by various authors!)

The following synopsis concerns only the second portion of the material.

TIME PERIOD: 1965-1968 (Some included conflicts began in 1961.)

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: No restriction

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: 19

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS A "CONFLICT": Both interstate and intrastate conflicts were included.

Inter-state or international conflict includes all organised armed hostility between two or more states, in which armed forces of a state or any force supported by a state across a recognised boundary, cease-fire or armistice line. Since the UN intervenes in hostilities only if there is a breach of, or threat to, international peace, every case in which the UN was or is presently involved is considered as an international conflict. This means that civil conflicts -- like the Congolese war -- in which the UN intervenes are also indicated as international conflicts.

And,

Intra-state or civil conflict includes all hostility in which the organised armed forces of a state are used on at least one side. For a

SIPRI 1968/69 (cont'd.)

conflict of this type to be included in our list, it should either be brought up for consideration in a regional or international organisation (for example, the Organisation of American States, the Organisation of African Unity, the United Nations, etc.) or it should have a casualty list of 500 killed in any one year period. Most civil riots and most, but not all, military coups and unscheduled and illegal changes of government are excluded by this definition. Conflicts need not have ended by 1968 to be included.

VARIABLES: For each included conflict, the compilation provided the following:

1. "duration" of the conflict -- the beginning date and ending date (if the conflict ended)
2. location of the conflict -- conflicts are listed by the following geographic areas: Europe, Middle East, Far East, Latin America, and Africa.
3. type of conflict -- the conflicts were "civil", or "international", or both
4. the opposing parties to the conflict
5. whether there were bilateral negotiations -- that is, direct negotiations between the belligerents
6. action taken by the United Nations
 - a. whether "(r)esolution passed in either the General Assembly or Security Council, or both"
 - b. whether "UN intervention either with observers or with military force"
 - c. whether "UN mediation efforts"
7. whether there was mediation outside the UN
8. whether there were "(a)ny multilateral meetings or conferences -- of the great powers, for example -- to attempt to resolve the conflict outside the UN"
9. whether there were any "references to or decisions by the International Court of Justice, or by any ad hoc commissions for arbitration"
10. whether hostilities are still continuing, at 30 June 1969
11. whether an instrument of settlement was signed -- "this indicates formal termination of the conflict and/or existence of a negotiated agreement between the belligerents"

For seven of the nineteen conflicts, the "size" of the conflict was provided -- the number of deaths using Richardson's scale.

Skjelsbaek, Kjell

"Shared Membership in Intergovernmental Organizations and Dyadic War, 1865-1964"

in The United Nations: Problems and Prospects, Edwin Fedder (ed.), Center for International Studies, University of Missouri-St. Louis, November 1971, pp. 31-62

OVERVIEW: This paper studied the relationship between wars and intergovernmental organizations. It did not provide any list of wars, though it did discuss the criteria for their inclusion in the study. The criteria were primarily derived from Singer and Small, However, the author did say there were 37 wars included in the analysis, for the period 1865-1964. These wars apparently came from the list of wars in Singer and Small, The Wages of War.

Tanter, Raymond

"Dimensions of Conflict Behavior Within and Between Nations, 1958-1960"

Journal of Conflict Resolution, 9 (1), March 1966, pp. 41-64.

OVERVIEW: This study was essentially a replication of Rudolph Rummel's 1963 study, "Dimensions of Conflict Behavior Within and Between Nations," General Systems Yearbook, pp. 1-50. The author stated that: "The goals of the replication are to obtain additional evidence relative to the dimensions of conflict behavior and the relationship between domestic and foreign conflict behavior. Data have been collected across eighty-three nations for 1958, 1959 and 1960 on the same twenty-two measures of conflict behavior used in the previous study." Rummel's study had covered the years 1955, 1956 and 1957.

However, Tanter did not present in this paper the data which he had collected on conflict behavior for each nation.

TIME PERIOD: 1958-1960

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: "To be included in this study, nations had to be sovereign for at least two years and have a population equal to or greater than 800,000 in 1958." (This was the same criteria used by Rummel except that the year is 1958 rather than 1955). The author went on to write that: "As a result of more nations being able to meet these criteria for 1958 than for 1955, the population size increased to eighty-three from the seventy-seven in the 1955-57 study..." The nations which were included were listed in Appendix II.

NUMBER OF CASES: Unknown in general. However, the author did write that: "During 1955-57 (N=77) there were 17 codings for the presence of guerrilla warfare and 44 revolutions, on the other hand during 1958-60 (N=83), there were 58 codings for the presence of guerrilla warfare and 83 revolutions.

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF A CASE: The same 22 conflict behavior measures used by Rummel, were used in this study. See the review of Rummel, "Dimensions of Conflict Behavior Within and Between Nations" (1963) for a listing and explanation of these measures.

VARIABLES: Tanter used an additional error measure in his study -- a second measure of world interest. This error measure was derived from one of the data sources, Deadline Data on World Affairs, and was "the number of index cards per country in the card file itself."

Tanter, Raymond

"Dimensions of Conflict Behavior Within and Between Nations, 1958-60"

Journal of Conflict Resolution, No. 10, 1966, pp. 41-64.

Also, reprinted in Conflict Resolution: Contributions of the Behavioral Sciences, C.G. Smith (ed.), University of Notre Dame Press, 1971.

OVERVIEW: This paper is a replication of Rudolph Rummel's study, "Dimensions of Conflict Behavior Within and Between Nations", General Systems Yearbook, 8, 1963, pp. 1-50. "The goals of the replication are to obtain additional evidence relative to the dimensions of conflict behavior and the relationship between domestic and foreign conflict behavior."

TIME PERIOD: 1958, 1959, 1960 (Rummel's time period was 1955, 1956, 1957)

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: Eighty-three nations were included in this study. The criteria were that nations had to be sovereign for at least two years and have a population equal to or greater than 800,000 in 1958. (These criteria are the same as Rummel's except that the year studied is 1958 rather than 1955.)

The population size in this study was larger than that in Rummel's study as a result of more nations being able to meet the criteria for 1958 than for 1955.

The list of nations included was provided in an appendix.

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: This study does not provide any listing of individual acts of conflict. But in the paper, the author does state that "during 1958-60 (N=83), there were 58 codings for the presence of guerrilla warfare and 83 revolutions with means of .70 and 1.00 respectively." As also noted in the review of Rummel's paper, that there were 58 codings for the presence of guerrilla warfare does not mean there were 58 guerrilla wars because one guerrilla war may last more than one year. No other information on the number of acts of conflict was provided.

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS CONFLICT BEHAVIOR: The same criteria for inclusion were used as in Rummel's paper. And there were the same 22 measures of conflict behavior.

VARIABLES: Tanter included an additional error measure to the ones used by Rummel. This variable was a second measure of world interest which was derived from one of the datasources, Deadline Data on World Affairs. It was the number of index cards per country in the card file itself.

As stated above, the 22 measures of conflict behavior used in this study were the same as in Rummel's study.

No data on individual conflicts were provided in this paper.

Tanter, Raymond and Manus Midlarsky
"A Theory of Revolution"

Journal of Conflict Resolution, 11 (3), September 1967, pp. 264-80.

OVERVIEW: "The focus of this study is an empirical examination of some causes of revolution." Further, a typology of revolution is presented in this paper.

TIME PERIOD: The study primarily analyzes successful revolutions occurring in the years 1955-1960. However, there is some discussion of revolutions in other years, such as the Russian Revolution in 1917. And a list of revolutions that were "illustrative" of the different categories of revolutions (Table 2) contains revolutions from 1776 to 1963.

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: No restriction

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: Twenty cases of successful revolutions from 1955 to 1960 were identified (Table 3). However, two of these cases, Sudan (1958) and Laos (1960), were excluded from the study because of missing data and another case, Thailand (1958), was excluded from subsequent analysis because of its relationship to the 1957 revolt in Thailand. (The authors' reasons for excluding the 1958 Thai revolt were that: "Both the 1957 and 1958 Thai revolts were initiated by the same individual, the commander-in-chief of the army, Sarit Thanarat. In addition, the 1958 coup took place with the express agreement of the 'ousted' Kittikachorn government.")

For "illustrative" purposes as discussed above, nine other post-World War II revolutions, both successful and unsuccessful ones, were listed in Table 2.

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF A CASE AS A "SUCCESSFUL REVOLUTION" FOR 1955-1960:

The authors define a "revolution" as existing "when a group of insurgents illegally and/or forcefully challenges the governmental elite for the occupancy of roles in the structure of political authority."

A "successful revolution" occurs "when, as a result of a challenge to the governmental elite, insurgents are eventually able to occupy principal roles within the structure of the political authority." The authors go on to write that "(t)his is not to say that once the insurgents have occupied these roles, the structure of political authority will remain unchanged... (C)hanges in the personnel of the governmental elite often are the precondition for meaningful changes in the political and social structure. If the insurgents intend major political and social changes, they must first occupy these roles within the political structure. This definition then, sets a lower bound or minimum criterion for the existence of revolution."

In addition to excluding unsuccessful revolutions from this list, the authors also excluded colonial revolutions.

Furthermore, the criterion for a revolution to have "occurred between 1955 and 1960" and thus be included by the author was "that the revolt ended sometime within that period." (That is, the insurgents seized principal roles within the structure of political authority within the time period.)

However, the authors did not explicitly define what were "principal roles within the structure of political authority."

In the list of revolutions that was meant to be illustrative (Table 2), both unsuccessful revolutions and colonial revolutions were included.

Tanter and Midlarsky (cont'd.)

VARIABLES: The following information was provided for the successful revolutions from 1955 to 1960 in Table 3:

1. The year in which the insurgents seized the roles in the structure of political authority
2. The duration in days of the revolution. This is the time from when active hostilities first broke out against the regime in power, to when the insurgents occupied principal roles in the political structure
3. The number of deaths as a result of domestic group violence, per million population, in the country where the revolution occurred, for the period 1955-1962. That is, the authors examined the number of deaths prior to the revolution and after its occurrence in each of the countries, rather than only during the period of the revolution itself. Their reason was that "the number killed during a revolutionary coup lasting a few days may not be indicative of the characteristics of that revolution."

Table 3 did not provide any information on duration or deaths from domestic violence for the revolutions in Sudan (1958) and Laos (1960), but it did include Thailand (1958). (As noted earlier, Thailand/1958 was omitted from the subsequent correlation analysis.)

Each of the successful revolutions which was identified (the only exclusion here being Laos/1960) was categorized by type (Table 2). There were four types ordered in the basis of increasing intensity:

1. "palace revolution"
2. "reform coup"
3. "revolutionary coup"
4. "mass revolution"

1. A "palace revolution" was said to have no mass participation and to be of very short duration, with virtually no domestic violence. In a "palace revolution", the insurgents intend virtually no change.
2. A "reform coup" was said to have very low mass participation and to be of short, sometimes moderate, duration with a low level of domestic violence. In a "reform coup", the insurgents intend moderate changes in the structure of political authority.
3. A "revolutionary coup" was said to have low mass participation and to be of short to moderate duration with a low to moderate level of domestic violence. In a "revolutionary coup", the insurgents intend fundamental changes in the structure of political authority and possibly some changes in the social system.
4. A "mass revolution" was said to have high mass participation and to be of long duration with a high level of domestic violence. In a "mass revolution", the insurgents intend fundamental changes in the structure of political authority and the social system.

Of the nineteen successful revolutions which were categorized, six were "palace revolutions", eleven were "reform coups", one was a "revolutionary coup" and one was a "mass revolution".

Furthermore, the time rate of change of GNP per capita calculated for the seven year period preceding the revolution was provided (except where the data were not available to the authors.)

In addition, a measure of the level of educational attainment of the country prior to the revolution was given. This measure was the primary school ratio -- the number enrolled in primary school divided by the total population aged five to fourteen.

A measure of inequality in land distribution -- the "Gini index" -- was provided for ten of the countries which experienced successful revolutions and for other countries which did not.

U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency ("ACDA List")
Casualties of Armed Conflicts in the Twentieth Century (1900-1970)

Washington, D.C., 1971, (mimeographed staff report), (At the end of the table, there was the following: ACDA/E, ROThara: bjs: January 7, 1971).

OVERVIEW: The table provided military casualties, civilian casualties, and total casualties (sum of military and civilian casualties) for armed conflicts in the twentieth century. This does not appear to be a list that was prepared by ACDA itself, or from the open literature for many of the entries given.

TIME PERIOD: 1900-1970

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: No apparent restriction.

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: 81 "armed conflicts"

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS AN "ARMED CONFLICT": No criteria were provided. But among the types of conflicts which were included were:

1. civil wars
2. interstate wars
3. revolts
4. mutinies
5. coups d'etat

There did not appear to be any minimum number of casualties required for a conflict to be included. For example, the Es-Samu Incident, 11/13/66, had sixteen military casualties.

VARIABLES: The dates of each conflict were provided.

Military and civilian casualties (along with total casualties) were not provided for all of the included conflicts. But it appeared that sources for most of the casualty figures listed were provided.

U.S. Department of Defense
Commanders Digest, 7 (17), 24 January 1970

OVERVIEW: An issue of a newsletter provided to U.S. military officers. The issue concerned the "Use of U.S. Power Abroad; Our National Commitments". It contained a table headed "U.S. Involvement Since World War II", with a breakdown of 28 international events into three categories.

- a. Direct Involvement in International Crises -- with nine events listed
- b. Partial U.S. Involvement -- with eight events listed
- c. No Direct Involvement -- with eleven events listed

TIME PERIOD: 1945-1969

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: worldwide

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: 28, as grouped above

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE IN THE THREE CATEGORIES: Of course, none were even hinted at.

COMMENT: Unbelievably inadequate

Vengroff, Richard, Department of Political Science, Texas Tech University
"Domestic Instability and Foreign Conflict, Behavior in Black Africa"

Paper presented at the International Studies Association, Saint Louis, Missouri,
March 1976

OVERVIEW: This paper examines the relationship between domestic and foreign conflict behavior for Black African nations. In particular, "this study represents an effort to reexamine the findings of Collins (1973) ("Foreign Conflict Behavior and Domestic Disorder in Africa," pp. 251-293 in Wilkenfeld (ed), Conflict Behavior and Linkage Politics, New York, McKay) and Copson (1973) ("Foreign Policy Conflict Among African States 1964-60", pp. 189-217 in P. McGowan (ed.), Sage International Yearbook of Foreign Policy Studies, v. 1, Beverly Hills: Sage.")

Data on individual conflicts were not presented in this paper, but the results of analyses were given.

TIME PERIOD: Data for the independent variables which were concerned with domestic conflict of nations was from the time of the country's independence until 1969. For the cases of Liberia and Ethiopia, the year 1960 was used as the starting point.

Data for the dependent variables which were concerned with foreign conflict were from January 1966 to August 1969.

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: Vengroff includes 27 Black African nations in the study. These nations were listed in the footnotes following the paper.

He states that: "The north African-Middle Eastern nations have been excluded because of fundamental differences between these nations and Black African nations, both domestically and in terms of involvement in international conflict (i.e., the Arab-Israeli conflict.)"

NUMBER OF CASES: Unknown

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS DOMESTIC CONFLICT OR FOREIGN CONFLICT: The criteria were not provided in this paper. As discussed below, Vengroff drew the data on domestic conflict from one source, and the data on foreign conflict from another source.

VARIABLES: In this study, domestic conflict was the independent variable and foreign conflict behavior was the dependent variable. That is, in general, it was assumed that domestic conflict led to foreign conflict behavior. Vengroff did state, however, that: "Undoubtedly the impact of the two variables is to some degree reciprocal.")

More specifically, he wrote: "The independent variables included here encompass a wide range of types of domestic conflict from the time of independence until 1969. Twenty-one variables were drawn from the Black Africa, A Comparative Handbook, (Morrison, et. al, 1972)." These included the number of riots, the number of unsuccessful coup attempts, the number of successful coups, the number of mutinies, etc.

And: "The dependent variables include summary measures of the cooperative and conflictual acts sent by each nation for the period from January 1966 to August 1969. The data, based on the World Events Interaction Survey (WEIS), are drawn from McGowan and O'Leary (1971) (Comparative Foreign Policy Analysis

Vengroff (cont'd.)

Materials, Chicago; Markham). The data include total cooperative acts sent, cooperative acts sent to the U.S., U.S.S.R., to the region and outside the region, total conflict acts sent, conflict acts sent to the U.S., U.S.S.R., to the region and outside the region. A final measure composed of the total number of foreign policy acts, both cooperative and conflictual, was constructed for each nation for the period."

Wainhouse, David W., et. al.
International Peace Observation: A History and Forecast

The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1966.

OVERVIEW: This book provided case studies of some of the "international situations, to which some form of peace observation under official international auspices has been applied." Most of the post-World War II cases which were included, were under the United Nations or the Organization of American States.

TIME PERIOD: 1920-1965

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: Conflicts which were included occurred in all parts of the world. However, one of the sections of case studies dealt only with Latin American cases.

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: In section B, the authors included 27 post-war Latin American cases which were before "Inter-American organizations" such as the OAS Council.

In section C, 22 post-war cases involving either "peace-observation" activities by the United Nations or multinational arrangements for peace observation (such as the International Control Commission for IndoChina) were included.

(This number includes conflicts which involved different organizations during their duration only once, and it excludes the section "Other Requests for Peace Observation" under "13. Other United Nations Cases." Further, "The Problem of Palestine" was considered by the reviewer as three cases: 1947-1949, 1949-1956, and 1956-present. The "1958 Middle East Crisis" was considered by the reviewer as two cases: 1) Lebanon; and 2) Jordan).

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF A CASE: As noted above, the authors included some of the "international situations to which some form of peace observation under official international auspices has been applied." Thus the authors do not provide an inclusive list of cases.

The study drew a distinction between "peace observation" and "peace-keeping." The study stated that: "Peace-keeping is a form of collective action by which a considerable military force is used to bring about a cessation of hostilities. Peace observation, on the other hand, does not rely primarily on military force." More formally, the authors stated that: "Peace Observation is an international device that came into use after World War I to denote international action to deter, discourage, prevent, or terminate threatened or actual hostilities. The concept may be closely allied to or may include other responsibilities, such as efforts to settle a dispute, for example, mediation or conciliation, or action based on the use of force to maintain law and order, and to suppress or prevent the spread of hostilities, for example, peace-keeping."

As noted earlier, possible "official international auspices" included the U.N. and O.A.S.

VARIABLES: For the included conflicts, the following was among the information provided in the case studies:

1. nature of the "peace observation" mission
2. dates
3. participants
4. outcome

COMMENT: The descriptive paragraph in the 1969 SIPRI Yearbook contains some minor inaccuracies.

Wilkenfeld, Jonathan
"Domestic and Foreign Conflict Behavior of Nations"

Journal of Peace Research, No. 1, 1968, pp. 56-69

OVERVIEW: "This study is concerned with the relationship between the domestic and foreign conflict behavior of nations." More specifically, "The purpose of the present study is the re-evaluation of Rummel's data in an effort to both retain and properly identify any relationships which had previously been obscured, due to the method used by Rummel to analyze his data. The method adopted in the present study is the rearrangement of the nations under consideration into groups, according to type of nation, in an effort to determine whether type of nation has any bearing on the relationship between internal and external conflict behavior."

Wilkenfeld used the data of Tanter who had essentially replicated the original Rummel study for a later period.

Information was not provided on individual conflicts. But the results of analyses were presented.

(The references for the studies noted above are:

1. Rudolph Rummel, "Dimensions of Conflict Behavior Within and Between Nations", General Systems Yearbook 8 (1963, pp. 1-50.
2. Raymond Tanter, "Dimensions of Conflict Behavior Within and Between Nations, 1958-60", Journal of Conflict Resolution, 10, March 1966, pp. 41-64.)

TIME PERIOD: 1955-1960 (Rummel's study covered the years 1955-57, and Tanter's study covered the years 1958-60.)

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: No restriction. There were 74 nations in the population divided into three groups: "personalist", "centrist", and "polyarchic". These nations were listed in Table 2.

Thus, of the original 77 nations in the Rummel study, three nations were excluded here. (China/Formosa, Syria and Yemen.)

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: Not given in this paper. As noted before, this re-evaluated data collected by others.

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION: The data on domestic and foreign conflict acts were from Rummel and from Tanter. See the review of Rummel, "Dimensions of Conflict Behavior Within and Between Nations" (1963) for explanations of the measures used.

VARIABLES: As noted earlier, Wilkenfeld divided nations into "personalist", "centrist", and "polyarchic" nations.

Wood, David
Conflict in the Twentieth Century

Adelphi Papers, No. 48, The Institute for Strategic Studies, London, June 1968.

OVERVIEW: The aim of this study was "to give a brief survey of the most identifiable wars and local conflicts that have taken place in the seventy years since 1898."

TIME PERIOD: 1898-1967

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: All areas of the world.

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: 81. (There were 128 "conflicts" in the whole period from 1898-1967).

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS "CONFLICT":

A "conflict" was defined as "a situation where the regular armed forces of a country or community are involved (either on both sides, or on one side only) and where weapons of war are used by them with intent to kill or would over a period of at least one hour."

Hence, this definition

excludes civil riots where only the police or para-military security forces are involved, mutinies and coups d'etat where force is threatened but not used, and many types of frontier incident when shots are exchanged but no attempt is made to advance across the frontier or to change it permanently. It also excludes unopposed movement of military forces into the territory of a foreign country, as, for example, with the German occupation of Austria and Czechoslovakia in 1938 and 1939, and maritime blockades or 'quarantines' where no actual fighting results, for example, in the Taiwan 'interposition' lasting from 1950 to the present or the Cuban missile crisis of 1963.

The author admits that the list may not be complete. "There have almost certainly been some omissions, especially in the less well documented first half of the century..."

VARIABLES: A chronology of "wars and armed conflicts" from 1898-1967 is given with a short description of each conflict. For a conflict, the duration, parties to the conflict, and how the conflict ended is given. For some conflicts, the number of casualties is given (where a "casualty" is a member of the armed forces who is killed or dies or wounds as a result of combat.)

In one table at the end of the paper, the number of conflicts by decade and area is given with the regions being:

1. Europe (including European Russia)
2. Middle East
3. Asia
4. Africa, and
5. North and South America

In another table, the number of conflicts by decade and type is given with the types of conflicts being:

1. Inter-state wars or conflicts
2. Insurgency-type conflicts
3. Civil Wars
4. Coups d'Etat, Mutinies, etc.

COMMENTS: The descriptive paragraph in the 1969 SIPRI Yearbook contains several major inaccuracies.

Wright, Quincy
A Study of War, Second Edition, with a Commentary on War since 1942

University of Chicago Press, 1965

OVERVIEW: This edition of A Study of War is a reissue of the edition which appeared in 1942. A commentary on war since 1942 has been added at the end of the volume. "Appendix C" to the commentary - "Hostilities 1945-1964" - presented a list of wars from 1945-1964, and "Appendix E" - "Political Disputes and Situations before the United Nations 1945-64" - presented a list of such disputes.

TIME PERIOD: The time period covered by this edition was 1500-1964. The appendices noted above dealt with the time period 1945-1964.

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: No restriction

* * * * *

This review discusses each of the two appendices separately.

APPENDIX C. "HOSTILITIES 1945-1964"

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: Thirty wars were listed. Of these, twelve were "civil" only, five were "international" only, and thirteen were listed as both "civil" and "international".

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF A CASE AS A "WAR": The list was "designed to include all hostilities in which more than 317 persons were killed". The number was designated by an exponential figure, as was done by Lewis F. Richardson in Statistics of Deadly Quarrels, 1960. An additional criterion was that "unorganized revolutionary activities" even if they caused more than 317 deaths, as in Kenya (Mau Mau, 1952-56) and Zanzibar (1964), were not included. For the author stated "(i)t seemed best to limit the present list to hostilities of sufficient size and organization to justify the designation 'war' in the material sense."

However, there was no explicit definition of "sufficient...organization". Further, neither was a definition of "hostilities" provided.

VARIABLES: 1. Wright provided the duration of each war (the "beginning" year and the "end" year). More precisely "(t)he dates indicate the period within which hostilities were intense. Often guerrilla activities occurred before or after these dates".

2. The magnitude of each of the wars, in terms of persons killed, was provided. There were four possible magnitudes for the included wars. These were:

- | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------|
| a. 317 to 3,162 deaths | c. 31,623 to 316,227 deaths |
| b. 3,163 to 31,622 deaths | d. 316,228 to 3,162,277 deaths |

Again, these numbers were designated by exponential figures.

3. Each war was characterized by type. Wars were classified as "civil" or "international" or both. "Civil" wars were defined as being "between two factions within a state or between a government de facto or de jure and insurgents, guerrillas, or irregular forces within its territory as determined by generally recognized boundary, ceasefire or armistice line." Wars were considered "international" if they were "between governments on opposite

Wright (cont'd.)

sides of such a line".

The author went on to state that "(s)ince the United Nations is permitted to intervene in hostilities only if there is a breach of, or threat to, international peace, every case in which United Nations forces participated or observed was considered international." Further, "(i)n many cases the hostilities were primarily civil, but the intervention of outside forces also made them international."

4. The participants in each war were listed. Participants were "designated as states when recognized as such" and "unrecognized participants" were designated as "peoples" (such as Laotians and Algerians). Fifty-seven different participants in the 30 wars were listed in the table. Thirty were states which were, or have become, members of the United Nations; six were de facto states which had not become members by 1965; twenty were unrecognized "peoples" and one was the United Nations itself.

The table also showed the number of wars each of these 57 participants was involved in.

Further, the state or group believed to have initiated the hostilities (and thus in a legal sense, the aggressor) was indicated. In some cases, each side was listed as the initiator, such as in the India-Pakistan hostilities of 1947.

5. The motivations of the forces which initiated hostilities was indicated. Possible motivations were:

- | | |
|---------------------------|----------------------------------|
| a. "self-determination" | d. defense of "legal...claims" |
| b. "Communist revolution" | e. defense of "political claims" |
| c. "other revolution" | |

In some cases, two of the above motivations were listed for the initiator (such as both self-determination and communist revolution in the case of Vietnam, 1961-64). However, definitions of the motivations were not provided in the appendix.

APPENDIX E. "POLITICAL DISPUTES AND SITUATIONS BEFORE THE UNITED NATIONS, 1945-1964"

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: Seventy-seven "disputes" were listed. Of these, hostilities occurred in 28 cases. It was noted that there was an immediate threat of hostilities in fifteen cases, though these latter cases were not explicitly listed.

Further, Wright stated that "(o)f the seventy-seven cases listed, sixteen concerned the Middle East, fifteen Africa, eleven eastern Europe, ten the Far East, seven south and central Asia, seven America, six Southeast Asia, and five western Europe".

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF A CASE AS A "DISPUTE" BEFORE THE UNITED NATIONS:

Disputes and situations listed were on the agenda of United Nations organs. All of the cases listed originated either in the Security Council or General Assembly. The Secretary-General took an initiative in some cases and the International Court of Justice also played a role in a few cases.

In general, disputes or situations taken up by the Security Council or the General Assembly are considered "to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security." The General Assembly also has the broader competence to consider situations "which it deems likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations." Issues within the domestic jurisdiction of a state are generally not taken up by United Nations organs.

Wright (cont'd.)

Wright did not include in the list all the disputes or situations taken up by the United Nations. Issues that were "placed before the United Nations for propaganda purposes, usually in connection with the 'Cold War' or the anti-colonialism movement" and which United Nations organs subsequently took no action on, were not included. In addition, issues which were raised concerning the emancipation of trusteeship or non-self-governing territories were not included in the list "unless they involved a clear conflict between states".

However, the author did not explicitly define the terms "propaganda purposes" or "clear conflict" used in the above criteria.

VARIABLES: The following information was provided for each dispute or situation:

1. the date that the case was before the UN. (The author noted that "(f)orty of the 77 cases remain on the agenda of United Nations organs, or recommendations concerning them remain unobserved; and a dozen of these have been unfinished business for twelve or more years.")
2. the agency or agencies taking up the dispute. U.N. agencies were:
 - a. Security Council
 - b. General Assembly
 - c. Secretary-General
 - d. International Court of Justice
3. The complaint which was brought before the U.N. Cases arose from such complaints as aggression, occupation, intervention, threat of aggression and demands for self-determination, among others. (Wright noted that 34 cases arose from complaints of aggression, occupation, intervention, or threats.)
4. the parties to the dispute
5. whether hostilities occurred
6. whether a United Nations cease-fire or armistice was accepted by the parties
7. whether the U.N. declared a state to be guilty of aggression or a threat to the peace. (There were six cases in which the Security Council or General Assembly found a state to be guilty of aggression or a threat to the peace)
8. whether sanctions were voted
9. whether a United Nations military or peace-keeping force was utilized
10. whether settlement recommendations were made
11. whether a settlement of "apparent permanence" was reached. It was also indicated whether a settlement occurred "by dictation by one of the parties contrary to U.N. procedures."

COMMENT: The descriptive paragraph in the 1969 SIPRI Yearbook for this paper contains several inaccuracies.

Wright, Quincy
"The Escalation of International Conflicts"

Journal of Conflict Resolution, 4 (4), pp. 434-449, December 1965.

OVERVIEW: "This study suggest(ed) a method for judging the probability that international conflicts will escalate or terminate rapidly, and test(ed) it by application to a number of conflicts since 1914. It suggest(ed) the relative importance of national interest, national power, and world opinion on the one hand, and international law and organization on the other, in influencing the course of these conflicts."

This study provided a list of selected conflicts rather than an inclusive list and these selected conflicts were from Wright, A Study of War (1965).

TIME PERIOD: 1914-1965

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: No restriction

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: Thirty post WW II international conflicts were included in this study.

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS A "CONFLICT": Wright states that there is both a "broad sense" of the term "conflict" and a "narrow sense" of the term. "In the broad sense of the term, (conflict) may be divided into four stages: 1) awareness of inconsistencies; 2) rising tensions; 3) pressures short of military force to resolve the inconsistencies and; 4) military intervention or war to dictate a solution." "(Conflict in a narrow sense refers to a situation in which the parties are taking action against each other, i.e., to the last two stages of conflict in the broad sense." Further, "conflict in the narrow sense does not exist unless international action is taken by one or both parties in the form of diplomatic protest, subversive intervention, retaliatory or retaliatory economic measures, or military attack."

The international conflicts listed by Wright were conflicts in the "narrow sense" of the term. But, as noted earlier, the conflicts included in this study were not all the international conflicts which had occurred. Rather, "(t)he 45 conflicts were selected from lists of 160 since World War I." However, Wright does not discuss how he selected these conflicts.

VARIABLES: Conflicts were categorized as follows:

1. Conflicts with no military hostilities
2. Conflicts in which military hostilities did not escalate
3. Conflicts in which military hostilities escalated
4. World wars

For each conflict, Wright provides the date and the participants.

Furthermore, in Table 1, for the opposing parties in each of the conflicts, Wright provides "subjective estimates" generally on a scale of 100 "of the magnitude of significant factors inducing the escalation of international conflicts."

These factors were:

1. degree of "national interest which a party believes is at stake in the conflict.
2. "the armed force which the parties believe are actually engaged in the conflict or immediately available to them, expressed as a percentage of the total armed force in the world at that time."

Wright (cont'd.)

3. "the cost of the hostilities perceived by the parties at a given stage in the conflict in budgetary expenditures, losses of military personnel and material, destruction of civilian life and property, and deterioration of national morale and standards, expressed as a percentage of national wealth in these values."
4. "the degree of pressure by world opinion demanding preservation of peace or cessation of hostilities as perceived by the parties."
5. "the military power likely to be available to a party if the war escalates to the limit, measured as a percentage of the total military power in the world at the time."
6. "the vulnerability foreseen by a party to the destruction of its armed forces, wealth, population, national unity, and culture in event of an escalation of hostilities."

In Table 2, Wright used a formula relating the motivations discussed above to determine the "probable escalation of international conflicts."

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INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTS. PART II: MILITARY COUPS

This introductory section is only to provide:

- some comments on the lists that follow
- to explain why several sources could not be used
- and to indicate several other references, which though they provide no lists of coups or attempted coups, do provide other useful data involving military coups

To begin with, the term "Military Coup" was used in this paper to mean only a coup by one or more of the military services of a state. It was not used in the sense of an armed coup by a civilian group, which some authors also term a "military" coup. Hoadley provides a somewhat broader usage of the first kind:

...the definition of military coup d'etat was broadened to include all major disturbances of a nation's constitutional and political order caused by or associated with unorthodox behavior of that nation's military officers (1).

The number and events that Hoadley provided -- ostensibly on the basis of these criteria -- were used. One or more other authors also use "military intervention" in this sense.

Several of the lists of military coups that appear on the following pages, both successful and unsuccessful attempts, did not appear as separate lists by the authors (Richardson, Christensen, Kellogg). They were embedded in larger lists of wars, crises, conflicts, etc. However, they were identified as successful or unsuccessful military coups by the authors, and we extracted them. One or two authors (Kellogg, Richardson) happily had short synopses or descriptions for the events they called "coups", or military coups, and it was possible to winnow out those not carried out by the military. These synopses also permit one to guess that a very substantial number of the "coups" in Li and Thompson's paper were not made by military groups; in fact, some may not be "coups" of any kind. However, we let them stand in the compiled table, but in some instances placed a small cross adjacent to ones that are rather certainly not military coups. It was impossible to use Greaves' list, since military coups, attempted ones, ~~revolts~~ ^{"revolts."} and several other kinds of events were all indicated similarly, and one could

not separate one from the other (2). Similarly, on obtaining a computer printout of some of Rummel's ostensibly relevant data, we found it to be useless (3). Variable 359 "Legitimacy of Present Government" is an aggregated indice of any attempt at a "revolutionary" change, successful or unsuccessful, and by any source in the society. In addition, no dates were provided for the "change" How anyone can use such material to make judgments about anything is not clear to us.

There are several other studies which should be mentioned for the relevant material that they contain:

- McKinlay and Cohan have extensive data on military regimes, without however indicating the dates of individual coups (4).
- Jackman provides the duration of military rule, without again giving dates of coups (5).
- Thompson also contains relevant data, again without supplying particulars about specific coups (6).

* * * * *

Notes and References

- (1) Hoadley, J.S., "Social Complexity, Economic Development, and Military Coups D'Etat in Latin America and Asia", Journal of Peace Research, Nos. 1-2, 1973, p.
- (2) Greaves, F.L., "Peace in Our Time", Military Review 42 (12), Dec. 1962, pp. 55-58.
- (3) ICPSR, Guide to Resources and Services, 1976-1977, p. 100.
- (4) McKinlay R.D. and A.S. Cohan, "A Comparative Analysis of the Political and Economic Performance of Military Civilian Regimes", Comparative Politics 8 (1), October 1975; see also, McKinlay and Cohan, "Performance and Instability in Military and Nonmilitary Regime Systems", American Political Science Review 70 (3), September 1976, pp. 850-64.
- (5) Jackman, P., "Politicians in Uniform", American Political Science Review 70 (4), December 1976, pp. 1078-97.
- (6) Thompson, W.R., "Regime Vulnerability and the Military Coup", Comparative Politics 7 (4), July 1975, pp.

Table 1

Studies with

Lists of Successful Post WWII Military Coups

Name of Study	Year of Completion of Study	Years Surveyed	Geographical Area Surveyed	Number of Successful Coup Events Reported
1. Dupuy, T.N., Blanchard, W., <u>The Almanac of World Military Power</u> (Bowker, N.Y., 2nd edition) 1974.	1974	1950-74	worldwide	84
2. Veliz, C., <u>The Politics of Conformity in Latin America</u> , 1967	1966	1945-66	Latin America only	49
3. First, R., <u>The Barrel of a Gun; Political Power in Africa and the Coup D'Etat</u> , 1970	1969	1952-69	Africa only	24
4. Fossum, E., "Factors Influencing the Occurrence of Military Coups D'Etat in Latin America," <u>Journal of Peace Research</u> , 4, (3), 1967, pp. 228-251 (Appendix I)	1966	1945-66	Latin America only	47
5. Li, R.P.Y., Thompson, W.R., "The Coup Contagion Hypothesis," <u>Journal of Conflict Resolution</u> , 19, (1), March 1975, pp. 63-88.	1970	1946-70	worldwide	140
6. Hoadley, J.S., <u>Soldiers and Politics in Southeast Asia</u> , 1975	1975	1945-71	Asia only	27
7. Kellogg, J.C., <u>A Synopsis of Military Conflict, 1945-64</u> , Beneix Corporation, 1965	1964	1945-64	worldwide	23
8. Christensen, Cheryl, Memorandum, MIT, 1974	1974	1945-70	worldwide	49
9. Luttwak, E., <u>Coup D'Etat</u> , (A. A. Knopf, New York) 1969.	1967	1945-67	worldwide	66
10. Decalo, S., <u>Coups and Army Rule in Africa</u> , 1976	1975	1963-75	Sub-Saharan Africa only	32
11. Finer, S.E., <u>The Man on Horseback</u> , (2nd edition) 1976	1976	1958-73	worldwide	91
12. Morrison, et. al., <u>Black Africa, A Comparative Handbook</u> , 1972	1972	1955-72	Africa only	26
13. Richardson, R.P., <u>An Analysis of Recent Conflicts</u> , Center for Naval Analysis, 1966	1966	1946-65	worldwide	55

Studies with

Table 2. List of Post World War II Unsuccessful Military Coups

Name of Study	Year of Completion of Study	Years Surveyed	Geographical Area Surveyed	Number of Unsuccessful Coups
1. Kellogg, J.C., <u>A Synopsis of Military Conflict, 1945-1964</u> , Bendix Corporation, 1965	1964	1945-64	worldwide	14
2. First, R., <u>The Barrel of A Gun, Political Power in Africa, and the Coup D'Etat</u> , 1970	1969	1952-69	Africa only	15
3. Luttwak, E., <u>Coup D'Etat</u> , (A.A. Knopf, New York), 1969.	1967	1945-67	worldwide	30
4. Li, R.P.Y., Thompson, W.R., "The Coup Contagion Hypothesis," <u>Journal of Conflict Resolution</u> , 19 (1), March 1975	1970	1946-70	worldwide	134
5. Dupuy, T.N., Blanchard, W., <u>The Almanac of World Military Power</u> , (2nd edition) 1974	1974	1950-74	worldwide	25
6. Finer, S.E., <u>The Man on Horseback</u> , (2nd edition) 1976	1976	1958-73	worldwide	39
7. Christensen, Cheryl, Memorandum, MIT, 1974	1974	1945-70	worldwide	18
8. Morrison, D.G., et. al., <u>Black Africa, A Comparative Handbook</u> , 1972	1972	1955-72	Africa only	17
9. Richardson, R.P., <u>An Analysis of Recent Conflicts</u> , Center for Naval Analysis, 1966	1966	1946-65	worldwide	35

TABLE 3: SUCCESSFUL MILITARY COUPS

Region	1945-50	1951-55	1956-60	1961-65	1966-70	1971-75	76-77*
1. Europe	--	--	2	--	1	4	--
2. Africa	--	--	2	13	23	12	2
3. Latin America	20	15	12	19	7	5	--
4. Middle East	3	5	3	6	6	--	1
5. Asia	3	6	12	16	6	3	1
TOTAL	26	26	31	54	43	24	4

*very incomplete

Total (208)

TABLE 4: SUCCESSFUL MILITARY COUPS

REGION	1945-55	1956-65	1966-75	76-77
1. Europe	--	2	5	
2. Africa	--	15	35	2
3. Latin America	35	32	12	
4. Middle East	8	8	6	1
5. Asia	9	28	9	1
TOTAL	52	85	67	4

Total (208)

TABLE 5: UNSUCCESSFUL MILITARY COUPS

Region	1945-50	1951-55	1956-60	1961-65	1966-70	1971-75	76-77*
1. Europe	3	--	1	3	1	1	
2. Africa	--	2	4	17	27	11	2+
3. Latin America	20	14	25	18	5	4	
4. Middle East	--	--	3	6	3	--	
5. Asia	7	2	6	11	3	--	
TOTAL	30	18	39	55	41	16	2+

*very incomplete

Total (199)

TABLE 6: UNSUCCESSFUL MILITARY COUPS

Region	1945-55	1956-65	1966-76	1976-77
1. Europe	3	4	2	
2. Africa	2	21	38	2+
3. Latin America	34	43	9	
4. Middle East		9	3	
5. Asia	9	17	3	
TOTAL	48	94	55	2+

Total (199)

Dupuy (cont'd.)

Year Country

B. WESTERN ASIA (cont'd.)

1969 Syria
1970 Iraq
1970 Muscat & Oman
1970 Syria

C. EUROPE

1960 Turkey
1967 Greece
1971 Turkey
1974 Portugal
1974 Cyprus

D. AFRICA

1958 Sudan
1960 Congo-Kinshasa
1963 Dahomey
1963 Togo
1965 Algeria (multiple)
1966 Congo-Kinshasa
1966 Dahomey
1966 Upper Volta
1966 Burundi
1966 Central African Republic
1966 Ghana
1966 Congo-Brazzaville
1966 Nigeria
1967 Dahomey
1967 Togo
1968 Mali
1968 Sierra Leone
1968 Congo-Brazzaville
1969 Libya
1969 Sudan
1969 Dahomey
1971 Uganda
1971 Chad
1972 Ghana
1972 Malagasy Republic
1972 Dahomey
1973 Rwanda

Dupuy (cont'd.)

Year	Country
E. SOUTH ASIA	
1947	Thailand
1957	Thailand
1958	Pakistan
1958	Burma
1962	Burma
1963	South Vietnam
1965	Indonesia
1970	Cambodia
1973-74	Thailand (multiple)

Veliz, Successful Military Coups

[Latin America only, 1945-1966, 49 Coups]

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APPENDIX

Successful Military Coups, 1920-66

- Argentina*: September 1930; June 1943; February 1944; September 1955; November 1955; March 1962; June 1966.
- Bolivia*: June 1930; November 1934; May 1936; July 1937; December 1943; July 1946; May 1951; April 1952; November 1964.
- Brazil*: October 1930; October 1945; August 1954; August 1961; April 1964.
- Chile*: June 1932; September 1932.
- Colombia*: June 1953; May 1957.
- Costa Rica*: May 1948.
- Cuba*: August 1933; September 1933; March 1952; January 1959.
- Dominican Republic*: February 1930; January 1962; September 1963; April 1965.
- Ecuador*: August 1931; October 1931; August 1932; August 1935; October 1937; May 1944; August 1947; November 1961; July 1963.
- El Salvador*: May 1944; October 1944; December 1948; January 1949; October 1960; January 1961.
- Guatemala*: December 1930; July 1944; October 1944; June 1954; October 1957; March 1963.
- Haiti*: January 1946; May 1950; December 1956; May 1957; June 1957.
- Honduras*: October 1956; October 1963.
- Nicaragua*: June 1936.
- Panama*: October 1941; November 1949; May 1951.
- Paraguay*: February 1936; August 1937; June 1948; January 1949; February 1949; September 1949; May 1954.
- Peru*: August 1930; February/March 1931; October 1948; June 1962.
- Venezuela*: October 1945; November 1948; December 1952; January 1958.

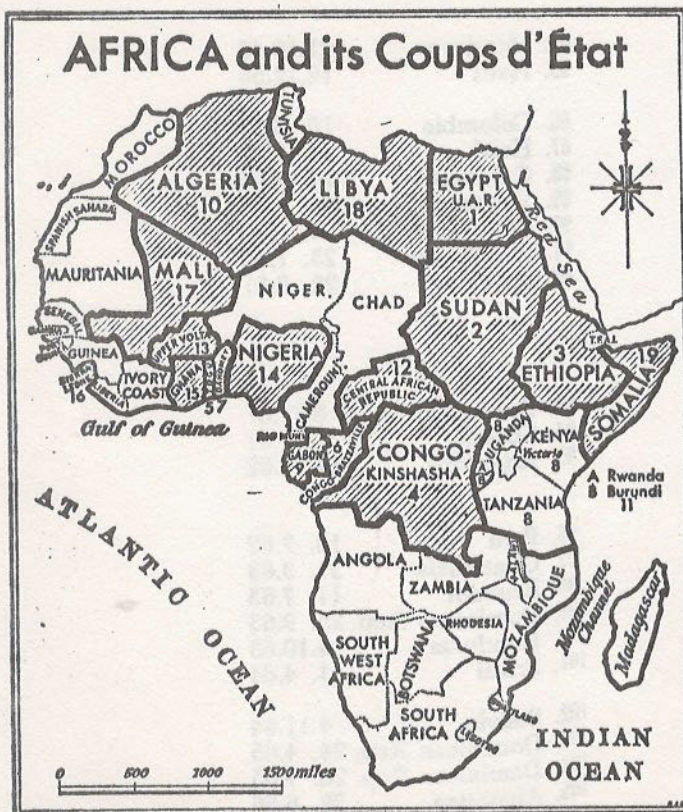
First, The Barrel of a Gun, Successful Military Coups
(Africa Only, 1952-69, 24 Coups)

Date	Location of Coup
July 1952	UAR
Nov. 1958	Sudan
1960	Congo-Kinshasa
Jan. 1963	Togo
Aug. 1963	Congo-Brazzaville
Dec. 1963	Dahomey
June 1965	Algeria
Oct. 1965	Burundi
Nov. 1965	Congo-Kinshasa
Nov.-Dec. 1965	Dahomey
Jan. 1966	Central African Republic
Jan. 1966	Upper Volta
Jan. 15, 1966	Nigeria
Feb. 1966	Ghana
July 29, 1966	Nigeria
Nov. 1966	Burundi
March 1967	Sierra Leone
Dec. 1967	Dahomey
April 1968	Sierra Leone
Sept. 1968	Congo-Brazzaville
Nov. 1968	Mali
May 1969	Sudan
Sept. 1969	Libya
Oct. 1969	Somalia

First, Successful (and Unsuccessful) Military Coups
(Africa Only, 1952-69, 24 Successful and 15 Unsuccessful)

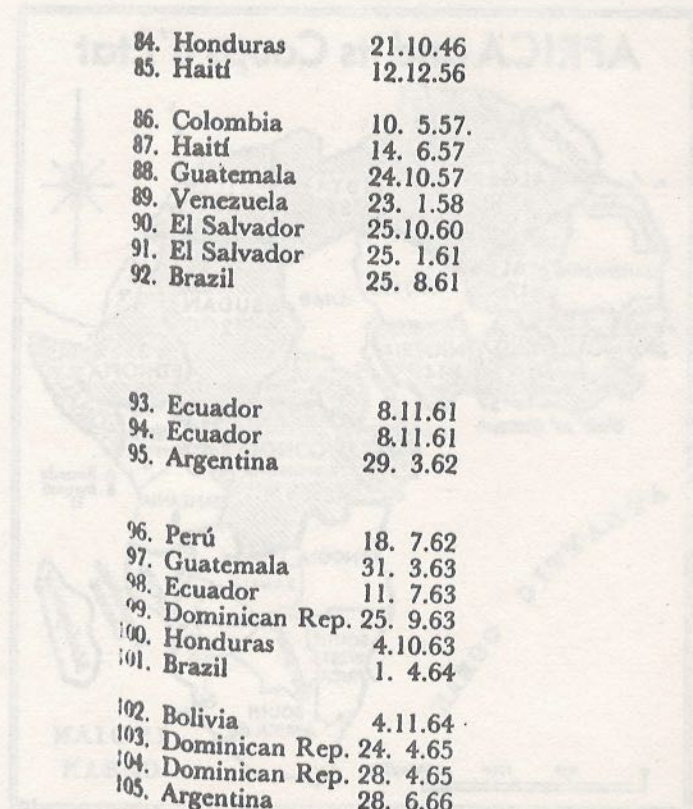
1. *United Arab Republic (Egypt)*. July 1952. Monarchy overthrown by Free Officers' Movement.
2. *Sudan*. November 1958. General Abboud seizes power, military junta rules till 1964.
May 1969. Free Officers' Movement seizes power for popular front government.
3. *Ethiopia*. December 1960. Abortive coup d'état against the Emperor by the Imperial Guard.
4. *Congo-Kinshasa*. General Mobutu seizes power temporarily in 1960, and again in November 1965.
5. *Togo*. January 1963. President Olympio killed in coup, power handed to President Grunitzky.
6. *Congo-Brazzaville*. August 1963. Abbé Youlou overthrown, army oversees handing over of power to Massemba-Debat.
June 1966. Abortive coup attempt.
September 1968. Captain Raoul takes power, to be succeeded as President by Colonel Ngouabi.
7. *Dahomey*. December 1963. Colonel Soglo overthrows President Maga, re-arranges the government.
December 1965. General Soglo intervenes again in November, and December. December 1967. Soglo is deposed and a government headed by Colonel Alley is installed.
8. *Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda*. January 1964. Army mutinies, put down with the help of British forces.
9. *Gabon*. February 1964. Coup d'état reversed by French intervention.
10. *Algeria*. June 1965. Ben Bella deposed by Colonel Boumedienne.
December 1967. Coup led by Colonel Zbiri defeated.
11. *Burundi*. October 1965. Army officers overthrow monarchy.
November 1966. Captain Micombero and a group of army officers take power.
12. *Central African Republic*. January 1966. Colonel Bokassa deposes President David Dacko.
13. *Upper Volta*. January 1966. Colonel Lamizana deposes President Yameogo.
14. *Nigeria*. 15 January 1966. Coup d'état initiated by young officers taken control of by General Ironsi.
29 July 1966. Coup wrests power from Ironsi, installs Gowon government.
15. *Ghana*. February 1966. General Ankrah and Police Commissioner Harley form a government after the deposition of Nkrumah.
April 1967. Abortive coup led by Lieutenant Arthur.
16. *Sierra Leone*. March 1967. Lieutenant-Colonel Juxon-Smith heads a government which takes power from Sir Albert Margai.
April 1968. A coup from the ranks results in the return to civilian rule, under Siaka Stevens.
17. *Mali*. November 1968. Young officers' coup headed by Lieutenant Moussa Traoré removes the Modibo Keita government.
18. *Libya*. September 1969. A Revolutionary Command Council which includes two army officers deposes the monarchy.
19. *Somalia*. October 1969. A group of lieutenant-colonels and colonels installs a Revolutionary Council in place of the Somali Youth League government.
And, in the years between and after, numbers of other coups d'état, like abortive attempts in Niger (December 1963), in Senegal in 1962, in the Ivory Coast in 1963; the attempted overthrow of Colonel Ojukwu's government in Biafra, several attempts to unseat the government that rules Mali; and a reported coup attempt in Congo-Brazzaville in November 1969.

SCOREBOARD



Fossum, JPR, Successful Military Coups
(Latin America Only, 1945-66, 47 Coups)

59. Brazil	29.10.45
60. Venezuela	18.11.45
61. Haiti	11. 1.46
62. Bolivia	22. 7.46
63. Nicaragua	. .47
64. Ecuador	25. 8.47
65. Ecuador	3. 9.47
66. Paraguay	3. 6.48
67. Perú	29.10.48
68. Venezuela	24.11.48
69. El Salvador	14.12.48
70. Paraguay	31. 1.49
71. Panamá	24.11.49
72. Haití	10. 5.50
73. Panamá	10. 5.51
74. Bolivia	16. 5.51
75. Cuba	10. 3.52
76. Venezuela	3.12.52
77. Colombia	13. 6.53
78. Paraguay	5. 5.54
79. Guatemala	29. 6.54
80. Brazil	24. 8.54
81. Argentina	19. 9.55
82. Brazil	11.11.55
83. Argentina	13.11.55
84. Honduras	21.10.46
85. Haití	12.12.56
86. Colombia	10. 5.57.
87. Haití	14. 6.57
88. Guatemala	24.10.57
89. Venezuela	23. 1.58
90. El Salvador	25.10.60
91. El Salvador	25. 1.61
92. Brazil	25. 8.61
93. Ecuador	8.11.61
94. Ecuador	8.11.61
95. Argentina	29. 3.62
96. Perú	18. 7.62
97. Guatemala	31. 3.63
98. Ecuador	11. 7.63
99. Dominican Rep.	25. 9.63
100. Honduras	4.10.63
101. Brazil	1. 4.64
102. Bolivia	4.11.64
103. Dominican Rep.	24. 4.65
104. Dominican Rep.	28. 4.65
105. Argentina	28. 6.66



Li & Thompson, JCR, Successful and Unsuccessful Military Coups
(worldwide, 1946-1970, 140 Successful and 134 Unsuccessful)

APPENDIX A MILITARY COUPS 1946-1970 ^a		S	U	C	Total
Algeria	6/31/62(S); 9/29/63(C); 6/30/64(U); 6/19/65(S); 12/14/67(U).	2	2	1	5
Argentina	9/18/51(U); 6/16/55(U); 9/16/55(S); 11/13/55(S); 6/9/56(U); 6/20/59(U); 6/13/60(U); 11/30/60(U); 8/11/61(U); 3/28/62(S); 8/8/62(C); 9/19/62(S); 12/11/62(U); 4/2/62(U); 6/27/66(S); 6/8/70(S).	6	9	1	16
Bolivia	6/13/46(U); 7/18/46(S); 8/27/49(U); 7/22/50(U); 5/16/51(S); 4/9/52(S); 1/6/53(U); 6/20/53(U); 11/9/53(U); 10/4/57(U); 5/14/58(U); 10/21/58(U); 6/26/59(U); 3/19/60(U); 11/3/64(S); 9/26/69(S); 10/4/70(U); 10/6/70(S).	6	12	-	18
Brazil	8/22/54(S); 11/11/55(S); 11/21/55(S); 2/11/56(U); 12/3/59(U); 8/25/61(C); 9/12/63(U); 3/30/64(S); 8/31/69(S).	5	3	1	9
Burma	9/26/58(S); 3/2/62(S).	2	-	-	2
Burundi	10/18/65(U); 7/8/66(S); 11/29/66(S).	2	1	-	3
Cambodia	3/18/70(S).	1	-	-	1
Ken. Afr. Rep.	12/31/65(S); 4/10/69(U).	1	1	-	2
Colombia	6/13/53(S); 5/10/57(S); 5/2/58(U); 10/11/61(U).	2	2	-	4
Congo (B)	8/15/63(S); 6/27/66(C); 8/2/68(C); 8/30/68(S); 3/22/70(U).	2	1	2	5
Costa Rica	4/2/49(U).	-	1	-	1
Cuba	3/10/52(S); 4/29/56(U); 9/5/57(U).	1	2	-	3
Dahomey	10/28/63(S); 11/29/65(S); 12/22/65(S); 12/17/67(S); 12/10/69(S).	5	-	-	5
Dom. Rep.	5/30/61(U); 7/7/61(U); 1/16/62(U); 1/18/62(S); 9/25/63(S); 4/24/65(C).	2	3	1	6
Ecuador	3/14/47(U); 8/23/47(S); 8/30/47(S); 11/9/47(U); 7/26/49(U); 7/15/50(U); 3/3/52(U); 12/23/54(U); 8/7/56(U); 11/7/61(C); 7/11/63(S); 3/29/66(S).	4	7	1	12
Egypt	7/23/52(S); 2/24/54(C).	1	-	1	2
El Salvador	12/14/48(S); 1/5/49(S); 10/26/60(S); 1/24/61(S).	4	-	-	4
Eq. Guinea	3/4/69(U).	-	1	-	1
Ethiopia	12/14/60(U).	-	1	-	1
France	5/13/58(C); 4/21/61(U).	-	1	1	2
Gabon	2/17/64(U).	-	1	-	1
Ghana	2/24/66(S); 4/17/67(U).	1	1	-	2
Greece	4/21/67(S); 12/13/67(U).	1	1	-	2
Guatemala	7/18/49(U); 3/29/53(U); 6/27/54(U); 6/29/54(S); 1/20/55(U); 10/24/57(S); 11/13/60(U); 11/25/62(U); 3/30/63(S).	3	6	-	9
Haiti	1/11/46(S); 5/10/50(S); 12/12/56(S); 4/2/57(S); 5/21/57(C); 4/24/70(U).	4	1	1	6

APPENDIX A (Continued)		S	U	C	Total
Honduras	8/1/56(U); 10/21/56(S); 2/7/59(U); 7/12/59(U); 9/8/61(U); 10/3/63(S).	2	4	-	6
Indonesia	10/11/56(U); 11/16/56(U); 12/22/56(U); 2/10/58(U); 3/11/66(S).	1	4	-	5
Iran	8/13/53(S).	1	-	-	1
Iraq	7/14/58(S); 3/7/59(U); 2/8/63(S); 7/3/63(U); 11/13/63(U); 11/18/63(S); 9/16/65(U); 6/29/66(U); 7/17/68(S); 7/30/68(S); 1/20/70(U).	5	6	-	11
Jordan	4/13/57(U).	-	1	-	1
Laos	12/31/59(C); 8/9/60(S); 9/10/60(S); 12/8/60(U); 4/19/64(C); 1/31/65(U); 3/28/65(U); 4/16/65(U); 10/21/66(U).	2	5	2	9
Lebanon	12/30/61(U).	-	1	-	1
Libya	9/1/69(S).	1	-	-	1
Mali	11/19/68(S).	1	-	-	1
Nepal	12/15/60(S).	1	-	-	1
Nicaragua	5/25/47(S).	1	-	-	1
Nigeria	1/14/66(C); 7/28/66(C); 5/30/67(U); 8/9/67(U).	-	2	2	4
Oman	7/23/70(S).	1	-	-	1
Pakistan	10/7/58(S); 10/27/58(S); 3/25/60(S).	3	-	-	3
Panama	11/19/49(S); 5/9/51(S); 9/7/62(U); 10/11/68(S); 12/14/69(U).	3	2	-	5
Paraguay	6/9/46(U); 3/7/47(U); 6/3/48(S); 10/25/48(U); 1/30/49(S); 2/26/49(U); 5/4/54(S); 12/21/55(U).	3	5	-	8
Peru	7/4/48(U); 10/3/48(U); 10/27/48(S); 6/14/50(U); 8/10/54(U); 2/16/56(U); 7/18/62(S); 3/3/63(S); 10/3/68(S).	4	5	-	9
Portugal	10/10/46(U); 4/10/47(U); 1/1/62(U).	-	3	-	3
Senegal	12/17/62(U).	-	1	-	1
Sierra Leone	3/21/67(U); 3/23/67(S); 4/17/68(S).	2	1	-	3
Somalia	12/10/61(U); 10/21/69(S).	1	1	-	2
S. Korea	10/19/48(U); 5/16/61(S).	1	1	-	2
S. Vietnam	11/10/60(U); 2/27/62(U); 11/1/63(S); 1/30/64(S); 9/13/64(U); 12/19/64(S); 1/27/65(S); 2/19/65(C); 6/12/65(S).	5	3	1	9
S. Yemen	3/20/68(U).	-	1	-	1
Sudan	11/17/58(S); 3/2/59(C); 5/22/59(U); 11/9/59(U); 10/26/64(S); 12/27/66(U); 5/24/69(S).	3	3	1	7
Syria	3/30/49(S); 8/14/49(S); 12/19/49(S); 11/29/51(S); 2/25/54(S); 9/28/61(S); 3/28/62(U); 3/30/62(C); 3/8/63(S); 7/18/63(U); 2/23/66(S); 9/7/66(U); 2/26/69(C); 11/13/70(S).	9	3	2	14
Thailand	11/8/47(S); 4/6/48(S); 9/22/48(U); 2/26/49(U); 6/29/51(U); 11/29/51(S); 9/16/57(S); 10/20/58(S).	5	3	-	8
Togo	1/13/63(S); 1/12/67(S).	2	-	-	2
Turkey	5/27/60(S); 2/22/62(U); 5/20/63(U).	1	2	-	3
Uganda	2/22/66(S).	1	-	-	1
Upper Volta	1/3/66(S).	1	-	-	1
Venezuela	12/10/46(U); 7/26/47(U); 9/12/47(U); 11/24/48(S); 9/29/52(U); 11/30/52(S); 1/1/58(U); 1/22/58(S); 7/21/58(U); 9/7/58(U); 4/19/60(U); 9/12/60(U); 12/21/60(U); 2/20/61(U); 6/26/61(U); 5/4/62(U); 6/2/62(U); 10/30/66(U).	3	15	-	18
Yemen	2/17/48(U); 4/2/55(U); 9/26/62(S); 11/4/67(S); 8/23/68(C).	2	2	1	5
Zaire	9/14/60(S); 11/25/65(S); 7/5/67(U).	2	1	-	3
		122	128	19	273

a. Coup outcomes: S=successful; U=unsuccessful; C=compromise. Coded data is available for all 274 coups, but sufficient grievance data are restricted primarily to an n of 229.

Hoadley,* Successful Military Coups *
(Asia Only, 1945-71, 27 Coups *)

Table 7. Number and Dates of Military Interventions in Civilian Politics of Asian Nations Since National Independence or End of World War II

Number of Interventions	Nation and dates of intervention
0	India; Japan; Malaysia; Nepal; Philippines; Republic of China (Taiwan); Singapore
1	Ceylon (1961); South Korea (1961)
2	Burma (1958, 1962); Cambodia (1959, 1970); Pakistan (1958, 1969)
3	Laos (1959, 1960, 1964)
4	Indonesia (1952, 1955, 1957-1959, 1965 - 1966)
5	South Vietnam (1960, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1964) ¹
6	-----
7	Thailand (1947, 1948, 1948, 1951, 1957, 1958, 1971) ¹

¹ Nations experiencing two interventions in one year.

Source: Main text of the present book, especially the case study chapters. See especially Chapter 9, footnote 3, for examples of excluded cases.

From: J. Stephen Hoadley, Soldiers and Politics in Southeast Asia, Shenkman Publishing Co., Cambridge, 1975, p. 291.

*Note: See Introductory Comments to Section on Military Coups for Hoadley's definition of "military intervention". The use of the word "coup" in the caption above is probably inappropriate.

Kellogg (Bendix), Successful Military Coups
(worldwide, 1945-64, 23 Coups)

Date	Location
5/26/47	Nicaragua
8/23/47	Ecuador
12/14/48	El Salvador
1/6/49	El Salvador
5/10/50	Haiti
5/16/51	Bolivia
6/13/53	Colombia
6/16/55	Argentina
11/13/55	Argentina
10/21/56	Honduras
5/21/57	Haiti
6/14/57	Haiti
9/17/57	Thailand
1/21/58	Venezuela
10/20/58	Thailand
11/17/58	Sudan
10/26/60	El Salvador
5/17/61	South Korea
12/14/60	Ethiopia
9/28/61	Syria
3/28/62	Syria
7/18/62	Peru
3/2/62	Burma

Christensen, 1970 Memo, Successful Military Coups
(worldwide, 1945-70, 49 Coups)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Location</u>
1947	Thailand
1949	Syria
1949	Syria
1950	Haiti
1950	Panama
1951	Bolivia
1951	Syria
1952	Cuba
1953	Iran
1953	Nepal
1954	Guatemala
1954	Argentina
1955	Honduras
1955	Thailand
1958	Burma
1958	Pakistan
1958	Ecuador
1958	Sudan
5/1960	Turkey
1960	El Salvador
1961	Ecuador
1961	El Salvador
1961	Somalia
1962	Argentina
1962	Burma
1963-65	Dahomey
1963	Dominican Republic
1963	Ecuador
1963	Guatemala
1963	Iraq
1963	Panama
1963	South Vietnam
1963	Togo
1964	Bolivia
1964	Brazil
1964	Gabon
6/1965	Algeria
1966	Argentina
1966	Ecuador
1966	Nigeria
1966	Syria
1966	Upper Volta
1967	Dahomey
1967	Togo
1968	Sierra Leone
1968	Mali
1968	Peru
1969	Libya
1969	Sudan

Luttwak, Coup D'Etat, Successful Military Coups
(worldwide, 1945-67, 66 Coups)

COUP D'ÉTAT / 204

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TABLE 2

Basic list of coups and attempted coups, 1945-67

R = Coup has acted as a vehicle for state-directed revolutionary change.

Date	Main party	Outcome
LATIN AMERICA		
<i>Argentina</i>		
Sept. 28, 1951	elements from three services	failed
June 16, 1955	navy faction	failed
Sept. 16, 1955	elements from three services	successful
Nov. 13, 1955	army faction	successful
June 13, 1960	army faction	failed
Mar. 28, 1962	elements from three services	successful
Aug. 8, 1962	troop mutiny	failed
Apr. 2, 1963	generals' faction in army	failed
<i>Bolivia</i>		
Apr. 9, 1952	political and army faction	successful R
Nov. 3, 1964	army faction	successful
<i>Brazil</i>		
Oct. 29, 1945	elements from three services	successful
Nov. 11, 1955	army faction	successful
Apr. 1, 1964	elements from three services	successful
<i>Cuba</i>		
Mar. 10, 1952	army faction	successful R
<i>Dominican Republic</i>		
Jan. 16, 1962	army faction	failed
Sept. 25, 1963	army faction	successful
<i>Ecuador</i>		
Aug. 23, 1947	elements from three services	failed
Nov. 3, 1961	" " " "	successful
July 11, 1963	" " " "	successful
<i>El Salvador</i>		
Dec. 14, 1948	army faction	successful
Oct. 26, 1960	mixed army-political faction	successful
Jan. 25, 1961	right-wing faction	successful

<i>Guatemala</i>		
July 9, 1949	army faction	failed
Jan. 20, 1955	mixed political faction	failed
Mar. 30, 1963	army faction	successful
Nov. 13, 1960	left-wing elements and army faction	failed
<i>Honduras</i>		
Oct. 3, 1963	army faction	successful
<i>Haiti</i>		
May 10, 1950	army faction	successful
<i>Nicaragua</i>		
May 25, 1947	army faction	successful
<i>Panama</i>		
Nov. 20, 1949	police	successful
May 9, 1951	army-political faction	successful
<i>Paraguay</i>		
Mar. 7, 1947	army faction	failed
June 3, 1948	political party faction	successful
Dec. 30, 1948	political party faction	successful
Feb. 26, 1949	political party faction	successful
May 5, 1954	army faction	successful
<i>Peru</i>		
Oct. 3, 1948	navy faction	failed
Oct. 27, 1948	right-wing army faction	successful
Feb. 16, 1956	right-wing army faction	failed
July 18, 1962	elements from three services	successful
Mar. 3, 1963	elements from three services	successful
<i>Venezuela</i>		
Nov. 23, 1948	political and army faction	successful
Nov. 11, 1950	political faction	failed
May 4, 1962	right-wing navy faction	failed
June 3, 1962	left-wing navy faction	failed
June 24, 1960	foreign-financed faction	failed
ASIA		
<i>Burma</i>		
Mar. 2, 1962	elements from three services	successful
<i>Ceylon</i>		
Jan. 28, 1962	elements from three services	failed

Date	Main party	Outcome
ASIA (continued)		
<i>Indonesia</i>		
Dec. 3, 1950	navy faction	failed
Nov. 16, 1965	elements from three services	failed
Apr. 26, 1950	elements from two services	failed
<i>Korea, Republic</i>		
Oct. 20, 1948	army faction	failed
1962	elements from three services	successful
<i>Laos</i>		
Aug. 9, 1960	neutralist army faction	successful
Apr. 19, 1964	right-wing army faction	successful
<i>Nepal</i>		
Dec. 15, 1960	king plus army faction	successful
<i>Pakistan</i>		
1958	elements from three services	successful
<i>Thailand</i>		
Nov. 9, 1947	army faction	successful
June 29, 1951	navy faction	failed
Nov. 29, 1951	army faction	successful
Sept. 16, 1957	army faction	successful
Oct. 20, 1958	army faction	successful
<i>Vietnam, Republic</i>		
Nov. 1, 1963	elements from three services	successful
MIDDLE EAST		
<i>Iraq</i>		
July 14, 1958	army faction	successful R
Mar. 7, 1959	left-wing army faction	failed
Feb. 8, 1963	army and air force faction	successful
<i>Lebanon</i>		
Dec. 31, 1961	army-tribal faction	unsuccessful
<i>Syria</i>		
Mar. 30, 1949	army faction	successful
Aug. 14, 1949	army faction	successful
Dec. 17, 1949	army faction	successful
Nov. 28, 1951	army faction	successful
Feb. 25, 1954	army faction	successful
Sept. 28, 1961	army-political faction	successful

<i>Syria (continued)</i>		
Apr. 1, 1962	Nasserist army faction	failed
Mar. 8, 1963	left-wing army faction	successful R
AFRICA		
<i>Congo (Brazzaville)</i>		
Aug. 12, 1963	army faction	successful
<i>Egypt</i>		
July 23, 1952	army faction	successful R
<i>Ethiopia</i>		
Dec. 14, 1961	palace guard	failed
<i>Gabon</i>		
Feb. 17, 1964	army faction	failed
<i>Sudan</i>		
Aug. 18, 1955	army-tribal faction	failed
Nov. 17, 1958	army faction	successful
<i>Tanzania</i>		
Jan. 20, 1964	troop mutiny	failed
<i>Togo</i>		
Jan. 13, 1963	army-tribal faction	successful
<i>Uganda</i>		
Jan. 23, 1964	troop mutiny	failed
EUROPE		
<i>Czechoslovakia</i>		
Feb. 21, 1948	Communist Party	successful R
<i>Turkey</i>		
May 21, 1960	elements from three services	successful
Feb. 22, 1962	army faction	failed
May 20, 1963	army and air force faction	failed

In 1965 there were successful coups in: Algeria; Congo (Brazzaville); Congo (Kinshasa); Dahomey; and Indonesia.

In 1966 there were successful coups in: Burundi; Central African Republic; Ghana; Nigeria; Rwanda; Sierra Leone; Upper Volta; Argentina; and Syria.

In 1967 there were successful coups in: Dahomey and Greece.

TABLE 3

The efficiency of the coup d'état

Outcome as a function of conflict type

Type	Con- flict		Lost	Half and half		Don't know
	In- con- tinu- ing	con- clu- sive		Won		
Civil disorder	4	25	47	26	18	3
Coup d'état	0	0	24	2	62	
Military revolt	0	3	17	0	3	
Military/insurrection	0	4	33	8	2	
Guerrilla war	5	2	6	4	8	1
Civil war	1	2	4	4	6	
Border conflict	8	14	3	3	0	
Limited war	0	1	3	1	1	
Covert invasion	2	5	7	1	1	
Blockade, etc.	0	0	2	2	0	
Threat	1	1	0	0	1	
	21	57	146	51	102	4

TABLE 4

The frequency of the coup d'état

Time distribution of type of conflict 1946-64 (based on starting date of conflict)

Time periods: A January 1, 1946-April 30, 1952
 B May 1, 1952-August 31, 1958
 C September 1, 1958-December 31, 1964

Type of conflict	Time period		
	A	B	C
Internal:			
civil disorder	35	32	56
localized internal:			
coup d'état	25	18	44
military revolt/mutiny	8	6	17
insurrection	15	12	12
widespread internal:			
guerrilla war	11	10	5
civil war	4	7	6
International:			
conventional:			
border conflict	7	12	9
limited war	3	2	1
other:			
covert invasion	6	3	7
blockade, etc.	2	1	1
threat	0	2	1
TOTAL:	116	105	159

Decalo, Successful Military Coups
(Sub-Saharan Africa Only, 1963-75, 32 Coups)

Date	Coup Location
Sept. 14, 1960	Zaire
Jan. 13, 1963	Togo
Aug. 15, 1963	Congo-Brazzaville
Oct. 23, 1963	Dahomey
Nov. 25, 1965	Zaire
Nov. 29, 1965	Dahomey
Dec. 22, 1965	Dahomey
Jan. 1, 1966	Central African Republic
Jan. 3, 1966	Upper Volta
Jan. 15, 1966	Nigeria
Feb. 24, 1966	Ghana
July 29, 1966	Nigeria
Nov. 28, 1966	Burundi
Jan. 13, 1967	Togo
March 21, 1967	Sierra Leone
March 23, 1967	Sierra Leone
Dec. 17, 1967	Dahomey
Apr. 18, 1968	Sierra Leone
Aug. 4, 1968	Congo-Brazzaville
Nov. 19, 1968	Mali
Oct. 21, 1969	Somalia
Dec. 10, 1969	Dahomey
Jan. 25, 1971	Uganda
Jan. 13, 1972	Ghana
May 18, 1972	Malagasy
Oct. 26, 1972	Dahomey
July 5, 1973	Rwanda
Feb. 8, 1974	Upper Volta
Apr. 15, 1974	Niger
Sept. 12, 1974	Ethiopia
Apr. 14, 1975	Chad
July 29, 1975	Nigeria

Finer, Man on Horseback, Successful Military Coups
(worldwide, 1958-73, 91 Coups)

APPENDIX I

A CHRONOLOGICAL CHECKLIST OF
MILITARY INTERVENTIONS, 1958-73

1958
Burma
France
Iraq
Pakistan
Sudan
Thailand
Venezuela

1959
*Iraq**
*Sudan**

1960
Congo (K)
Ethiopia*
Laos
Salvador
Turkey

1961
Brazil
Ecuador
*France**
Lebanon*
Salvador
S. Korea
Syria
*Venezuela**

1962
Argentina
Burma
Peru
Syria
*Syria**
*Turkey**
Yemen

I HAVE defined interventions as being (a) overt - that is to say that there has been a movement of troops, even though no blood has been shed. (b) Actual - that is to say the events are not alleged *ex post facto* in some kind of trial proceedings. Where this occurs I would classify the events not as 'intervention' but a plot, and such 'plots' are not included in the list. (c) There are one or two cases, e.g. Burma 1958, Pakistan 1958, where the civil government has handed over power to the army in an apparently constitutional way but where I have reason to suspect that significant army pressure was exercised in inducing the civil authorities to act in this fashion. I have included such instances as interventions.

An * denotes an unsuccessful coup.

Where the name of the state is italicized this indicates that it has already been affected by military intervention for some precedent year, commencing from 1958.

1963
*Algeria**
Dahomey
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
Guatemala
Honduras
Iraq
*Iraq**
Iraq
*Laos**
Peru
S. Vietnam
Syria
*Syria**
Togo
*Turkey**

1964
Bolivia
Brazil
Gabon*
Sudan
S. Vietnam*

1965
Algeria
Burundi*
Congo (K)
Dahomey
Dahomey
Indonesia*
*Iraq**
S. Vietnam*

1966
Argentina
Burundi
C.A.R.
Congo-Brazzaville*
Ecuador
Ghana
Indonesia
*Iraq**
Nigeria
Nigeria
Syria
*Syria**
Upper Volta

1967
*Algeria**
Dahomey
*Ghana**
Greece
Sierra Leone
Togo
Yemen

1968
Congo-Brazzaville
Iraq
Mali
Panama
Peru
Sierra Leone
S. Yemen

1969
Bolivia
*Congo-Brazzaville**
Dahomey
Libya
Panama N/S*
Somalia
S. Yemen
Sudan

1970
Bolivia
Cambodia
Syria
*Togo**

1971
Argentina
*Bolivia**
Morocco*
*Sierra Leone**
Sudan
Sudan
Thailand
Turkey
Uganda

1972
*Burundi**
*Congo-Brazzaville**
Dahomey
Ecuador
*El Salvador**
Ghana
Malagasy Republic?
*Morocco**

1973
Afghanistan
*Chile**
Chile
Greece
Ruanda
Uruguay

1974
Upper Volta
Ethiopia
*Portugal**
*Uganda**
Niger
Portugal
*Bolivia**
Yemen
Cyprus
*Bolivia**

APPENDIX II

Libya	1969
Somalia	1969
Morocco	1971 1972
Uganda	1971 1974
Malagasy Republic	1972
Ruanda	1973
Niger	1974
LATIN AMERICA	
Venezuela	1958 1961
El Salvador	1960 1961 1972
Brazil	1961 1964
Ecuador	1961 1963 1966 1972
Argentina	1962 1966 1971
Peru	1962 1963 1968
Dominican Republic	1963
Guatemala	1963
Honduras	1963
Bolivia	1964 1969 1970 1971 1974 ¹ 1974 ²
Panama	1968 1969
Chile	1973 ¹ 1973 ²
Uruguay	1973

APPENDIX II

CHECKLISTS OF MILITARY INTERVENTIONS
IN AFRICA, ASIA AND LATIN AMERICA,
BY COUNTRY AFFECTED

ASIA	
Burma	1958 1962
Iraq	1958 1959 1963 ¹ 1963 ² 1963 ³ 1965 1966 1968
Pakistan	1958
Thailand	1958 1971
Laos	1960 1963
Turkey	1960 1962 1963 1971
Lebanon	1961
S. Korea	1961
Syria	1961 1962 ¹ 1962 ² 1963 ¹ 1963 ² 1966 ¹ 1966 ² 1970
Yemen	1962 1967 1974
S. Vietnam	1963 1964 1965
Indonesia	1965
S. Yemen	1968 1969
Cambodia	1970
Afghanistan	1973
AFRICA	
Sudan	1958 1959 1964 1969 1971 ¹ 1971 ²
Ethiopia	1960 1974
Zaire	1960 1965
Algeria	1963 1965 1967
Dahomey	1963 1965 ¹ 1965 ² 1967 1969 1972
Togo	1963 1967 1970
Gabon	1964
Burundi	1965 1966 1972
C.A.R.	1966
Congo-Brazzaville	1966 1968 1969 1972
Ghana	1966 1967 1972
Nigeria	1966 ¹ 1966 ²
Upper Volta	1966 1974
Sierra Leone	1967 1968 1971
Mali	1968

Morrison et. al., Black Africa, Successful Military Coups
(Africa Only, 1955-72, 26 Coups)

Date	Location
11/17/58	Sudan
9/14/60	Zaire
1/13/63	Togo
10/28/63	Dahomey
11/25/65	Zaire
12/22/65	Dahomey
1/66	Central African Republic
1/3/66	Upper Volta
1/15/66	Nigeria
2/22/66	Uganda
2/24/66	Ghana
7/8/66	Burundi
7/29/66	Nigeria
11/28/66	Burundi
1/13/67	Togo
3/21/67	Sierra Leone
12/17/67	Dahomey
4/18/68	Sierra Leone
11/19/68	Mali
5/19/69	Sudan
10/21/69	Somalia
12/10/60	Dahomey
1/30/70	Lesotho
3/22-23/70	Congo-Brazzaville
1/25/71	Uganda
1/13/72	Ghana

Richardson & Waldron (CNA), Successful Military Coups
(worldwide, 1946-65, 55 Coups)

Date	Location	Date	Location
1/11/46	Haiti	5/10/57	Columbia
5/25/47	Nicaragua	9/16/57	Thailand
11/9/47	Thailand	10/20/58	Thailand
		11/17/58	Sudan
		8/9/60	Laos
10/27/48	Peru	10/25/60	El Salvador
11/23/48	Venezuela	12/15/60	Nepal
12/14/48	El Salvador		
		5/16/61	S. Korea
		9/28/61	Syria
3/30/49	Syria	11/3/61	Ecuador
8/14/49	Syria	3/2/62	Burma
		3/28/62	Argentina
12/17/49	Syria	3/28/62	Syria
4/26/50	Indonesia	7/18/62	Peru
5/10/50	Haiti	9/25/62	Yemen
5/9/51	Panama	2/8/63	Iraq
6/29/51	Thailand	3/3/63	Peru
11/28/51	Syria	3/8/63	Syria
11/29/51	Thailand	3/30/63	Guatemala
3/10/52	Cuba	4/2/63	Argentina
4/9/52	Bolivia	7/11/63	Ecuador
11/30/52	Venezuela	9/25/63	Dominican Republic
6/13/53	Columbia	10/3/63	Honduras
8/16/53	Iran	11/1/63	South Vietnam
2/25/54	Syria	1/30/64	South Vietnam
5/5/54	Paraguay	4/1/64	Brazil
9/16/55	Argentina	4/19/64	Laos
11/11/55	Brazil	9/13/64	South Vietnam
11/13/55	Argentina	11/3/64	Bolivia
10/21/56	Honduras		

Dupuy and Blanchard - Unsuccessful Military Coups

[worldwide, 1950-1974, 25 coups]

<u>Date</u>	<u>Location</u>
1959	Sudan
1960	Ethiopia
1961	Somalia
1962	Tunisia
1963	Liberia
1964	Gabon
1966	Sudan
1967	Algeria
1967	Congo-K
1967	Ghana
1967	Sierra Leone
1969	Libya
1969	Uganda
1970	Iraq
1970	Sudan (multiple)
1970	Congo-B
1970	Somalia
1970	Libya
1970	Dahomey
1970	Sierra Leone
1971	Sierra Leone
1971	Somalia
1971	Burundi
1971	Chad
1973	Burundi

First, The Barrel of a Gun, Unsuccessful Military Coups
(Africa Only, 1952-69, 15 Coups)

Date	Location of Attempted Coup
Dec. 1960	Ethiopia
1962	Senegal
1963	Ivory Coast
Dec. 1963	Niger
Jan. 1964	Tanzania
Jan. 1964	Kenya
Jan. 1964	Uganda
Feb. 1964	Gabon
June 1966	Congo-Brazzaville
April 1967	Ghana
Dec. 1967	Algeria
	Mali (at least three)
Nov. 1969	Congo-Brazzaville

Luttwak, Coup D'Etat - Unsuccessful Military Coups

[worldwide, 1945-1967, 30 coups]

<u>Date</u>	<u>Location</u>
3/7/47	Paraguay
8/23/47	Ecuador
10/3/48	Peru
10/20/48	Republic of Korea
7/9/49	Guatemala
4/26/50	Indonesia
12/3/50	Indonesia
6/29/51	Thailand
9/28/51	Argentina
6/16/55	Argentina
8/18/55	Sudan
2/16/56	Peru
3/7/59	Iraq
6/13/60	Argentina
11/13/60	Guatemala
12/14/61 < 12/31/61	Ethiopia < Lebanon
1/16/62	Dominican Republic
1/28/62	Ceylon
2/22/62	Turkey
4/1/62	Syria
5/4/62	Venezuela
6/3/62	Venezuela
8/8/62	Argentina
4/2/63	Argentina
5/20/63	Turkey
1/20/64	Tanzania
1/23/64	Uganda
2/17/64	Gabon
11/16/65	Indonesia

Kellogg (Bendix), Unsuccessful Military Coups
(worldwide, 1945-64, 14 Coups)

Date	Location
12/46	Hungary
12/11/46	Venezuela
9/12/47	Venezuela
9/28/51	Argentina
1/57	Morocco
4/14/57	Jordan
1/1/58	Venezuela
9/7/58	Venezuela
3/7/59	Iraq
3/19/60	Bolivia
10/21/60	Argentina
2/20/61	Venezuela
12/31/61	Lebanon
2/22/62	Turkey

Cheryl Christensen - Unsuccessful Military Coups

[worldwide, 1945-1970, 18 coups]

<u>Date</u>	<u>Location</u>
1956	Argentina
1959	Iraq
1960	Ethiopia
1960	Ethiopia
1961	Lebanon
1962	Borneo
1962	Syria
1962	Tunisia
1964	Uganda
1964	Kenya
1964	Tanzania
1965	Indonesia
1966	Congo
1967	Algeria
1967	Congo
1967	Ghana
1970	Turkey
1970	Iraq

Finer, Man on Horseback - Unsuccessful Military Coups

[worldwide, 1958-1973, 39 coups]

<u>Year</u> <u>Date</u>	<u>Location</u>
1959	Iraq, Sudan
1960	Ethiopia
1961	France, Lebanon, Venezuela
1962	Syria, Turkey
1963	Algeria, Iraq, Laos, Syria, Turkey
1964	Gabon, S. Vietnam
1965	Burundi, Indonesia, Iraq, S. Vietnam
1966	Congo Brazzaville, Iraq, Syria
1967	Algeria, Ghana
1969	Congo Brazzaville, Panama
1970	Togo
1971	Bolivia, Morocco, Sierra Leone
1972	Burundi, Congo Brazzaville, El Salvador, Morocco
1973	Chile
1974	Portugal, Uganda, Bolivia (2 coups)

Morrison, et. al., Black Africa - Unsuccessful Military Coups

[Africa only, 1955-1972, 17 coups]

<u>Date</u>		<u>Location</u>
1/24/55		Lesotho
5/21-22/59		Sudan
11/9/59		Sudan
12/14-17/60		Ethiopia
12/10/61		Somalia
12/17/63		Senegal
8/15/63		Congo-Brazzaville
11/19/63		Zaire
2/18-20/64		Gabon
10/18/65		Burundi
11/21/66		Togo
12/18/66		Sudan
4/17/67		Ghana
8/3/68		Congo-Brazzaville
8/29-9/1/68		Congo-Brazzaville
3/23/71		Sierra Leone
7/20-22/71		Sudan

Richardson and Waldron (CNA) - Unsuccessful Military Coups

[worldwide, 1946-65, 35 coups]

<u>Date</u>	<u>Location</u>
2/19/46	India
8/23/47	Ecuador
10/3/48	Peru
10/20/48	S. Korea
7/18/49	Guatemala
9/28/51	Argentina
4/2/55	Yemen
8/18/55	Sudan
2/16/56	Peru
11/16/56	Indonesia
4/13/57	Jordan
1/1/58	Venezuela
7/14/58	Iraq
3/7/59	Iraq
5/21/60	Turkey
6/13/60	Argentina
11/13/60	Guatemala
2/20/61	Venezuela
12/14/61	Ethiopia
12/31/61	Lebanon
1/1/62	Portugal
1/16/62	Dominican Republic
1/28/62	Ceylon
2/22/62	Ankara
4/1/62	Syria
5/4/62	Venezuela
6/3/62	Venezuela
4/2/63	Argentina
5/20/63	Turkey
12/17/63	Senegal
1/20/64	Tanganyika
1/23/64	Kenya
1/23/64	Uganda
2/17/64	Gabon
6/16/65	Argentina

Compendium List of Successful Military Coups (Listed Chronologically)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Other Dates</u>
10/45	Venezuela V	
10/29/45	Brazil B, F, L	
11/18/45	Venezuela F	
1/11/46	Haiti V, J, F, A	
7/18/46	x Bolivia J	(7/22/46 V, F)
5/25/47	Nicaragua L, J, A	(1947 K, F)
8/23/47	Ecuador J	(8/25/47 F) (8/47 V)
8/30/47	Ecuador J, A	(9/3/47 F)
11/9/47	Thailand L, A	(11/8/47 J, 1947 P, C)
4/6/48	Thailand J	(1948, H, 2 coups)
5/48	Costa Rica V	
6/3/48	Paraguay V, J, F	
10/27/48	Peru J, L, A	(10/29/48 F, 10/48 V)
11/23/48	Venezuela L, A	(11/24/48 J, F, 11/48 V)
12/14/48	El Salvador J, K, L, F, A	(12/48 V)
1/5/49	El Salvador K, J, V	
1/31/49	Paraguay F	(1/30/49 J, 1/49 V)
2/49	Paraguay, V	
3/30/49	Syria J, L, A	(1949 P, C)
8/14/49	Syria J, L, A	
9/49	Paraguay V	
11/19/49	Panama J	(11/24/49 F, 11/49 V)
12/17/49	Syria L, A	(12/19/49 J)
4/26/50	Indonesia, A	
5/10/50	Haiti F, J, L, A	(1950 C, K, V)
1950	Panama C	
5/9/51	Panama J, L, A	(5/4/54 J, 5/51 V)
5/16/51	Bolivia J, F	(5/51 V, 1951 C, K)
6/29/51	Thailand A	
11/28/51	Syria L, A	(11/29/51 J, 1951 P, C)
11/29/51	Thailand J, A, L	(1951 H)
3/10/52	Cuba J, F, L, V, A	(1952 P, C)
4/9/52	x Bolivia L, J, V, A	

Compendium List of Successful Military Coups (Listed Chronologically)
(continued)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Other Dates</u>
6/52	Peru V	
7/23/52	UAR L, J, R	(1952 P)
11/30/52	Venezuela J, A	(12/3/52 F, 12/52 F)
1952	Indonesia H	
6/13/53	Columbia F, K, J, V, A	(1953 P)
8/15/53	Iran J	(1953 C, 8/16/53 A)
1953	Nepal C	
2/25/54	Syria L, J, A	(1954 P)
5/5/54	Paraguay L, A	(5/4/54 J, 5/54 V, 1954 P)
6/29/54	* Guatemala F, J	(1954 P, 1954 C)
1954	Argentina C	
8/22/54	Brazil J	(8/24/54 F, 8/54 V)
9/16/55	Argentina L, J, A	(9/19/55 F, 1955 P)
11/11/55	Brazil L, F, J, A	
11/13/55	Argentina F, J, L, K, A	
11/21/55	Brazil J	
1955	Honduras C,P	
1955	Thailand C	
1955	Indonesia H	
10/21/56	Honduras V, J, F, A	
12/12/56	Haiti V, J, F	(1956-57 K)
5/10/56	Columbia J	(1956 P)
4/2/57	Haiti J	
5/10/57	Columbia V, J, F, A	
5/21/57	Haiti V, J	(1957 P)
6/14/57	Haiti V, K, F	
9/16/57	Thailand L, K, J, A	(1957 P, H)
10/24/57	Guatemala J, F, V	
1957-59	Indonesia H	
1/22/58	Venezuela K, J	(1/23/58 F, 1/58 V, 1958 I)
5/13/58	France J, I	
7/14/58	* Iraq J, L	(1958 I)
9/26/58	Burma J	(1958 I, P, C, H)
10/7/58	* Pakistan J	(1958 I, P, C,)
10/20/58	Thailand K, J, L, A	(1958 I, H)

Compendium List of Successful Military Coups (Listed Chronologically)

(continued)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Other Dates</u>
10/27/58	Pakistan J	(1958 L, H)
11/17/58	Sudan R, A, J, L, B	(1958 I, P, C, 1958-59 K)
1958	Ecuador C	
1/59	Cuba V	
1959	Laos H	
1959	Cambodia H	
1959	Indonesia H	
5/21/60	Turkey L	(1960 I, P, C, 5/27/60 J)
8/9/60	Laos L, J, A	(1960 I, H)
9/10/60	Laos J	
9/14/60	Zaire J, D, B	(1960 P, R, I)
10/26/60	El Salvador L, J	(10/25/60 F, A, 10/60 V, 1960, I, C, K)
12/15/60	Nepal J, L, A	
1960	S. Vietnam H	
1960-62	S. Korea	(1961 I, K, H)
1/25/61	El Salvador F,	(1/24/61 J, 1/61 V, 1961 I, C, P)
5/16/61	S. Korea J, A	
8/25/61	Brazil J, F, V	(1961 I)
9/28/61	Syria J, L, A	(1961 I, P, 1961-62 K)
11/7/61	Ecuador J	(11/8/61 F, 11/61 V,
12/31/61	Lebanon, L	1961 I) (11/3/61 L, A)
1961	Ceylon H	
1961	Dominican Republic P	
1/18/62	Dominican Republic J	(1/62 V)
3/2/62	Burma L, J, A	(1962 K, C, P, I, H)
3/28/62	Argentina J, L, A	(3/29/62 F, 3/62 V, 1962 I, C)
3/30/62	Syria J	(1962 I, P, 3/28/62 A)
6/31/62	Algeria J	
7/18/62	Peru F, J, L, A	(1962 I, P, K)
9/19/62	Argentina J	
9/26/62	Yemen J	(1962 I) (9/25/62 A)
1962	S. Korea L	
1962	S. Vietnam H	

Compendium List of Successful Military Coups (Listed Chronologically)
(continued)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Other Dates</u>
1/13/63	Togo J, D, L, R, B	(1963 I, P, C)
2/8/63	Iraq J, L, A	
3/3/63	Peru J, L, A	(1963 I)
3/8/63	Syria J, L, A	(1963 I)
3/30/63	Guatemala J, L, A	(3/31/63 F, 3/63 V, 1963 I, P, C)
4/2/63	Argentina A	
7/11/63	Ecuador L, V, J, F, A	(1963 I, P, C)
9/25/63	Dominican Republic J, V, L, F, A	(1963 I, P, C)
8/15/63	Congo-Brazzaville D, J	(8/12/63 L, 8/63 R)
9/29/63	Algeria J	
10/3/63	Honduras J, L, A	(10/4/63 F, 10/63 V, 1963 I)
10/23/63	Dahomey D	(10/28/63 J, B, 1963 I, P)
11/1/63	S. Vietnam J, L, A	(1963 I, C, P)
11/18/63	Iraq J	(1963 C, P, (I 2 coups))
12/63	Dahomey R	
1963	Panama C, P	
1963	Laos I	
1/30/64	S. Vietnam A, J	(1964 H, 2 coups)
4/1/64	Brazil L, F, V, A	(3/30/64 J, 1964 I, P, C)
4/19/64	Laos J, A, L	(1964 H)
9/13/64	S. Vietnam A	
10/26/64	Sudan J	
11/3/64	Bolivia J, L, A	(11/4/64 F, 11/64 V, 1964 I, P, C)
12/19/64	S. Vietnam J	
1964	Gabon C, P	
1/27/65	S. Vietnam J	
4/24/65	Dominican J, F	
4/28/65	Dominican Republic F	(4/65 V)
6/12/65	S. Vietnam J	
6/19/65	Algeria R, J	(1965 C, I, P, L)
11/25/65	Zaire D, B, J	(11/65 R, 1965 L, I, P)
11/29/65	Dahomey D, J	
12/22/65	Dahomey D, J, B	(1965 L, C, P (I 2 coups))

Compendium List of Successful Military Coups (Listed Chronologically)

(continued)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Other Dates</u>
1965	Indonesia L, H, P	
1965	Congo-Brazzaville L	
1/1/66	Central African Republic D, R	(1966 I, L, P) 12/31/65 J, 1/66 B)
1/3/66	Upper Volta J, D, R, B	(1966 I, L, P, C)
1/14/66	Nigeria J	(1/15/66 D, B, 1966 J, R, I)
2/22/66	Uganda J, B	
2/23/66	Syria J	(1966 I, P, C, L)
2/24/66	Ghana D, J, R, B	(1966 I, P, L)
3/11/66	Indonesia J	(1966 I, H)
3/29/66	Ecuador J	(1966 I, C)
6/27/66	Argentina J	(6/28/66 F, 6/66 V, 1966 L, P, C)
7/8/66	Burundi J, B	(1966 I, P, L)
7/29/66	Nigeria D, R, B	(7/28/66 J, 1966 I, P, C, L)
11/28/66	Burundi D, B,	(11/29/66 J, 11/66 R, 1966 I)
1966	Rwanda L	
1966	Sierra Leone L	
1/12/67	Togo J	(1/13/67 D, B, 1967 C, J)
3/23/67	Sierra Leone J, D	(3/67 R, 1967 I, C, 3/21/ 67 B)
4/21/67	Greece J	(1967 I, P, L)
11/4/67	Yemen J	(1967 I)
12/17/67	Dahomey D, J, R, B	(1967 I, P, L, C)
4/17/67	Sierra Leone J	(4/18/68 D, B, 4/68 R, 1968 I, P, C)
7/17/68	Iraq J	(1968 I)
7/30/68	Iraq J	(1968 I)
8/2/68	Congo-Brazzaville J	(8/4/68 D, 9/68 R, 1968 I)
8/23/68	Yemen J	(1968 I)
8/30/68	Congo-Brazzaville J	(9/68 R, 1968 P)
10/3/68	Peru J	(1968 P, I, C)
10/11/68	Panama J	(1968 P, I)
11/19/68	Mali J, B	(11/68 R, 1968 P, I, C, 11/18/68 D)

Compendium List of Successful Military Coups (Listed Chronologically)

(continued)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Other Dates</u>
2/26/69	Syria J	(1969 P)
1969	Bolivia I, P	
3/25/69	Pakistan J	(1969 H)
5/24/69	Sudan J	(5/69 R, 1969 I, P, C, 5/19/69 B)
8/31/69	Brazil J	
9/1/69	Libya J, R	(1969 I, P, C)
10/21/69	Somalia J, D, B	(10/69 R, 1969 I)
12/10/69	Dahomey J, D, B	(1969 I, P)
1969	S. Yemen I	
1/30/70	Lesotho B	
3/18/70	Cambodia J	(1970 I, P, H)
3/22-23/70	Cango B, B	
6/8/70	Argentina J	(1970 P)
7/23/70	Oman J	(1970 Muscat and Oman P)
10/6/70	Bolivia J	(1970 P, I)
11/13/70	Syria J	(1970 I, P)
1971	Bolivia P	
1/25/71	Uganda D, B	(1971 I, P)
1971	Argentina I	
1971	Thailand H, I	
1971	Turkey I, P	
1971	Sudan I	(2 coups)
1/13/72	Ghana D, B	(1972 I, P)
5/18/72	Malagasy D	(1972 I, P)
10/26/72	Dahomey D	(1972 I, P)
1972	Ecuador I, P	
7/5/73	Rwanda D	(1973 I)
1973	Afghanistan I	
1973	Chile I, P	
1973	Greece I	
1973	Uruguay I	
1973-74	Thailand P	
2/8/74	Upper Volta D	(1974 I)
4/15/74	Niger D	(1974 I)

Compendium List of Successful Military Coups (Listed Chronologically)
(continued)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Other Dates</u>
1974	Yemen I	
9/12/74	Ethiopia D	(1974 I)
1974	Portugal I, P	
1974	Cyprus I	
4/14/75	Chad D	
7/29/75	Nigeria D	
10/6/76	Thailand	
1976	Ethiopia (2)	
7/15/77	Pakistan, <u>Far Eastern Economic Review</u>	

Compendium List of Unsuccessful Military Coups

<u>Date</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Other Dates</u>
12/46	Hungary K	
2/19/46	India A	
6/9/46	Paraguay J	
6/13/46	Bolivia J	
10/10/46	Portugal J	
12/10/46	Venezuela J, K	
3/7/47	Paraguay J, L	
3/14/47	Ecuador J	
4/10/47	Portugal J	
7/26/47	Venezuela J	
8/23/47	Ecuador A, L	
9/12/47	Venezuela J, K	
11/9/47	Ecuador J	
2/17/48	Yemen J	
7/4/48	Peru J	
9/22/48	Thailand J	
10/3/48	Peru J, L, A	
10/19/48	R. of Korea J	(10/20/48 A, L)
10/25/48	Paraguay J	
2/26/49	Thailand J	
2/26/49	Paraguay J	
4/2/49	Costa Rica J	
7/18/49	Guatemala J, A	(L 7/9/49)
7/26/49	Ecuador J	
8/27/49	* Bolivia J	
6/14/50	Peru J	
4/26/50	Indonesia L	
7/15/50	Ecuador J	
7/22/50	* Bolivia J	
12/3/50	Indonesia L	
6/29/51	Thailand J, L	

Compendium List of Unsuccessful Military Coups
(continued)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Other Dates</u>
9/18/51	Argentina J	(9/28/51A, L, K)
3/3/52	Ecuador J	
3/29/52	Guatemala J	
9/29/52	Venezuela J	
1/6/53	Bolivia J	
5/2/53	Columbia J	
6/26/53	Bolivia J	
11/9/53	Bolivia J	
6/26/54	Guatemala J	
8/10/54	Peru J	
12/23/54	Ecuador J	
1/20/55	* Guatemala J	
1/24/55	Lesotho B	
4/2/55	Yemen J, A	
6/16/55	Argentina J, L	
12/21/55	* Paraguay J	
8/18/55	Sudan L, A	
2/11/56	Brazil J	
2/16/56	Peru J, L, A	
4/29/56	Cuba J	
6/9/56	Argentina J, C	
8/1/56	Honduras J.	
8/7/56	Ecuador J	
10/11/56	Indonesia J	
11/16/56	Indonesia J, A	
12/22/56	Indonesia J	
4/13/57	Jordan J, A, K	
9/5/57	Cuba J	
10/4/57	Bolivia J	
1/57	Morocco K	
1/1/58	Venezuela J, A, K	

Compendium List of Unsuccessful Military Coups
(continued)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Other Dates</u>
2/10/58	Indonesia J	
5/14/58	* Bolivia J	
7/14/58	Iraq A	
7/21/58	Venezuela J	
9/7/58	Venezuela J, K	
10/21/58	Bolivia J	
2/7/59	Honduras J	
3/7/59	* Iraq J, L, A, I, C, K	
5/22/59	Sudan J, B	(1959, I, P)
6/20/59	Argentina J	
6/29/59	* Bolivia J	
7/12/59	Honduras J	
11/9/59	Sudan J, B	(1959 P)
12/3/59	Brazil J	
3/19/60	Bolivia J, K	
4/19/60	Venezuela J	
5/21/60	Turkey A	
6/13/60	Argentina J, L, A	
9/12/60	* Venezuela J	
11/10/60	* S. Vietnam J	
11/13/60	Guatemala J, L, A	
11/30/60	* Argentina J, K	(10/12/60, K)
12/8/60	Laos J	
12/14/60	Ethiopia B, J	(1960 P, R, I, C-2 coups)
12/21/60	Venezuela J	
2/20/61	Venezuela J, A, K	
4/21/61	France J	(1961, I)
5/30/61	Dominican Republic J	
6/26/61	Venezuela, J	(1961 I)
7/7/61	Dominican Republic J	
8/11/61	Argentina J	
9/8/61	Honduras J	

Compendium List of Unsuccessful Military Coups

(continued)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Other Dates</u>
10/11/61	Columbia J	
12/10/61	Somalia J, B	(1961 P)
12/14/61	Ethiopia L, A	
12/31/61	Lebanon J, K, L, A	(1961 I, C)
1/1/62	* Portugal A, J	
1/16/62	Dominican Republic J, L, A	
1/28/62	Ceylon L, A	
2/22/62	Turkey J, L, A, K	(1962 I)
2/27/62	S. Vietnam J	
3/8/62	Syria J	(4/1/62, L, A, 1962, I, C)
4/2/62	Argentina J	
5/4/62	Venezuela J, L, A	
6/2/62	Venezuela J	(6/3/62 L, A)
8/8/62	Argentina L	
9/7/62	Panama J	
1962	Borneo C	
11/25/62	Guatemala J	
12/11/62	Argentina J	
12/17/62	Senegal J	(1962 R)
1962	Tunisia P, C	
4/2/63	Argentina L, A	
5/20/63	Turkey J, L, A	(1963 I)
7/3/63	Iraq J	
7/18/63	Syria J	(1963 I)
8/15/63	Congo-Brazzaville B	
9/12/63	Brazil J	
11/13/63	Iraq J	(1963 I)
11/19/63	Zaire B	
12/17/63	Senegal B, A	
1963	Liberia P	
1963	Algeria I	
1963	Ivory Coast R	
1963	Laos I	

Compendium List of Unsuccessful Military Coups

(continued)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Other Dates</u>
12/63	Niger R	
1/20/64	Tanzania L, R, A	(1964 C)
1/23/64	Uganda L, R	(1964 C)
1/64	Kenya R	(1964 C, 1/23/64 A)
2/17/64	Gabon J, P, R, A, L	(2/18-20/64 B, 1964 I)
6/30/64	Algeria J	
9/13/64	S. Vietnam J	(1964 I)
1/31/65	Laos J	
3/28/65	Laos J	
4/16/65	Laos J	
6/16/65	Argentina A	
9/16/65	Iraq J	(1965 I, P)
10/18/65	Burundi J, B	(1965 I)
11/16/65	Indonesia L	(1965 I, C)
1965	S. Vietnam I	
6/29/66	Iraq J	(1966 I)
6/66	Congo-Brazzaville R	(1966 J, C, I)
9/7/66	Syria J	(1966 I)
10/21/66	Laos J	
10/30/66	Venezuela J	
11/21/66	Togo B	
12/27/66	Sudan J	(12/18/66 B, 1966 P)
3/21/67	Sierra Leone J	(1967 P)
4/17/67	Ghana J, R, B	(1967 P, I, C)
5/30/67	Nigeria J	
7/5/67	Zaire J, C	
8/9/67	Nigeria J	
12/13/67	Greece J	
12/14/67	Algeria J, R	(1967 P, I, C)
3/20/68	S. Yemen J	
8/3/68	Congo-Brazzaville B	
?	Mali R (at least three)	
8/29-9/1/68	Congo-Brazzaville B	

Compendium List of Unsuccessful Military Coups
(continued)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Other Dates</u>
3/4/69	Equatorial Guinea J	
4/10/69	CAR, J	
9/26/69	Bolivia J	
11/69	Congo-Brazzaville R	(1969 I)
12/14/69	Panama J	(1969 I)
1969	Libya P	
1969	Uganda P	
1/20/70	Iraq J	(1970 C, P)
3/22/70	Congo-Brazzaville J	(1970 P)
4/24/70	Haiti J	
10/4/70	Bolivia J	
1970	Sudan P (multiple)	
1970	Congo-Brazzaville, P	
1970	Somalia P	
1970	Turkey C	
1970	Libya P	
1970	Dahomey P	
1970	Sierra Leone P	
1970	Togo I	
3/23/71	Sierra Leone B	(1971 I, P)
7/20-22/71	Sudan B	
1971	Bolivia I	
1971	Morocco I	
1971	Somalia P	
1971	Burundi P	
1971	Chad P	
1972	Burundi I	
1972	Congo-Brazzaville I	
1972	El Salvador I	
1972	Morocco I	
1973	Burundi P	
1973	Chile I	
1974	Portugal I	

List of Source Identifications for the Two Compendiums,

Successful and Unsuccessful Military Coups

- 1) P Dupuy, T.N., Blanchard, W., The Almanac of World Military Power (Bowker, N.Y., 2nd edition) 1974.
- 2) V Veliz, C., The Politics of Conformity in Latin America (Oxford University Press) 1967 (Appendix, pp. 278)
- 3) R First, R., The Barrel of a Gun; Political Power in Africa and the Coup D'Etat, (Penguin Books) 1970, pp. XII - XIII.
- 4) F Fossum, E., "Factors Influencing the Occurrence of Military Coups D'Etat in Latin America," Journal of Peace Research, 4 (3), 1967, pp. 228-251.
- 5) J Li, R.P.Y., Thompson, W.R., "The Coup Contagion Hypothesis," Journal of Conflict Resolution, 19, (1), March 1975, pp. 63-88.
- 6) H Hoadley, J.S., Soldiers and Politics in Southeast Asia; Civil-Military Relations in Comparative Perspective, (Schenkman, Cambridge) 1975, (Table 7, p. 291.)
- 7) K Kellogg J.C., A Synopsis of Military Conflict, 1945-1964, Bendix Corporation, 1965.
- 8) C Cheryl Christensen, Memorandum, MIT, 1974.
- 9) L Luttwak, E., Coup D'Etat, (A.A. Knopf, New York) 1969.
- 10) D Decalo, S., Coups and Army Rule in Africa, (Yale University Press, New Haven) 1976.
- 11) I Finer, S.E., The Man on Horseback: The Role of the Military in Politics, (Penguin Books, 2nd edition) 1976. (Appendix I and Appendix II, pp. 269-273.)
- 12) B Morrison, D.G., et. al., Black Africa, A Comparative Handbook, (The Free Press, New York) 1972.
- 13) A Richardson, R.P., Waldron, S., An Analysis of Recent Conflicts, Center for Naval Analysis, 1966.

Ahn, Chung-Si

"Conflict and Conflict Resolution in Asian Perspective — an Exploratory Macro-Analysis of Armed Conflict in Asia during the Post-War Era (1945-1970)" Korea and World Affairs, Vol. 1, No.3, Seoul, Korea, Fall 1977.

Fall 1977.

OVERVIEW: The purpose of this paper is a macro-analysis of Asian armed conflicts and conflict resolution. "By a macro-analysis, it is meant that a primary attention is given to the classification, characterization and delineation of international conflicts and patterns of conflict interaction in broader regional perspectives." Ahn's hypothesis is that the succession of states in conflict situations in post-war Asia is not random. The data base of the study is provided in a single table, which includes the type of conflict, "the issue of conflict", the motivations of the initiators and the power — relationships of the parties involved.

TIME PERIOD: 1945-1970

GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION: The study is restricted to cases of conflict in Asia.

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: Ahn lists 25 cases of conflict in Asia from 1945-1970.

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS ARMED CONFLICT:

Conflicts may go through a distinctive and significant succession of phases. A violent conflict occurs when "one or both sides actually employ the means of violence to resolve the conflict situation. In international relations it usually signifies the employment of military force across national countries, inflicting of casualties and destroying property of other sides in a systematic way."

Armed conflicts are defined further as "those conflicts in which, throughout the duration, approximately more than one thousand of conflict-related human victims are recorded among those who directly engaged in a conflict situation."

VARIABLES: Ahn establishes six sets of factors "conceived to be the most important factors of conflict interaction processes." These are:

- 1) the actors or parties and their power relationships,
- 2) the issues involved in conflict situations,
- 3) great power involvement,
- 4) internal and external political factors of the region,
- 5) actions or control mechanisms processed in the conflict interactions,
- 6) the extent to which these control mechanisms or procedures used in the conflict resolution process have been successful in controlling and resolving the conflicts.

There were then 33 variables within these six categories:

- 1) International war
- 2) Civil war
- 3) Civil-international war
- 4) Colonial issue
- 5) Ethnic issue
- 6) Territorial issue
- 7) Revolutionary issue
- 8) Major vs. major (state)
- 9) Major vs. minor "
- 10) Minor vs. minor "

- 11) Non-Asian party
- 12) Asian parties
- 13) Great power involvement
- 14) Years of duration
- 15) Human cost
- 16) Bilateral negotiation attempts
- 17) Successful bilateral negotiations
- 18) Mediation attempts
- 19) Successful mediations
- 20) International organization attempts
- 21) Successful international organization attempts
- 22) Multilateral conference attempts
- 23) Successful multilateral conference attempts
- 24) U.N. settled or helped settle
- 25) Referred to U.N., but not settled by
- 26) Not referred to U.N.
- 27) Conquest, annexation
- 28) Forced submission, withdrawal
- 29) Compromise
- 30) Frozen
- 31) Ongoing
- 32) Total number of settlement attempts (Bilateral + mediation + international organization + multilateral conference)
- 33) Total number of successful attempts.

Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, US Dept. of State.
Casualties of Armed Conflicts in the Twentieth Century
Mimeographed Staff Report, Washington D.C., 1971

1971

OVERVIEW: This staff report is simply a list of 125 armed conflicts which took place in the twentieth century. It includes data on each conflict, providing the starting and ending dates, as well as casualty totals — both military and civilian.

TIME PERIOD: 1900-1970.

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: Worldwide.

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES:

Of the 125 armed conflicts listed, 81 were post-1945. One case, the Soviet-Iran hostilities actually began in 1941, but continued through 1947, and is thus included ~~among the 81~~ among the 81.

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS ARMED CONFLICT: No criteria were presented.

VARIABLES: No information provided.

Beer, Francis A.

How Much War in History: Definitions, Estimates, Extrapolations and Trends.

Sage Publications, Inc., 1974.

1974.

OVERVIEW: This study reviews past definitions and estimates of war "to show how they fit together in a coherent pattern forming part of a larger mosaic including wars of different dimensions." It makes estimates regarding the "likely amounts of different kinds of war in history" and draws conclusions about "a complex pattern of long-range secular change." It includes a list of wars from 1480-1965, and data on number of war casualties.

TIME PERIOD: 1480-1965.

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: Worldwide.

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: 12 cases are listed as taking place after 1945.

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS A WAR:

Beer defines war as "the presence of direct international violence" and peace as its absence. However this definition contains a "political condition" so that war is taken to include only "violence between states. Violence within states, between groups or individuals, is excluded" (e.g. civil war, revolution and race war). The author includes another restriction as well: only direct violence, in which people harm or kill each other immediately is included in the definition of war. Indirect violence such as disease, poverty or repression is excluded.

VARIABLES: The variables used include ending and beginning dates, name of war, name of ^{peace} treaty if applicable, major or minor world wars and regional major wars, number of casualties and number of wars.

Bobrow, Davis; Chan, Steve and Kringen, John.
"Understanding How Others Treat Crises"
International Studies Quarterly, Vol. 21, No.1, March 1977

March 1977.

OVERVIEW: This is an interim research report on the crisis perceptions and behavior of the People's Republic of China. The study includes a list of international crises of concern to China. [REDACTED]

TIME PERIOD: 1959-1968.

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: People's Republic of China.

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: The authors compare three studies and give the statistics for each; The Chinese list (Writing Team of the Shanghai People's Publishing House, 1974) includes 28 crises, Istvan Kende's 1971 study includes 35 crises, and the Phillips-Moore study (1975) includes 34 crises for the ten year period.

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS A CRISIS: No information provided.

VARIABLES: No information provided.

Bouthoul, Gaston and René Carrère.

La Violence Mondiale en 1977 (Comparaison avec 1968-1976).

"Etudes Polemologiques", Vol. 23, Institut Français de Polemologie

1977

OVERVIEW: This is the 1977 edition of an annual study of worldwide political violence. It constitutes a brief survey of manifestations of collective violence in the world for a given year, and includes a comparison with the previous decade. The authors write that "it constitutes, in our annual series, a useful and necessary yardstick in understanding the evaluation of world violence." It includes a list of active conflicts in progress during 1977.

TIME PERIOD: The study covers violence in 1977, however data on violence in the 1968-1976 period is also discussed.

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: Unrestricted.

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: The study concludes that there were 4 major armed conflicts in 1977, 30 armed interstate 'micro-conflicts', and 509 internal micro-conflicts totalling 543 cases of violence on the worldwide scale.

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS A CONFLICT: The authors outline three levels of conflict: Major armed conflicts, such as Israeli-Arab war, and Lebanon; Interstate micro-conflicts, such as Ethiopia-Somalia, Vietnam-Cambodia; and Internal micro-conflicts (or civil conflicts) which range from severe civil unrest to guerilla warfare. The authors do not include specific criteria for each category.

VARIABLES: Variables used include the type of conflict, the starting and ending dates, the context of violence - terrorism, ethnic, student or racial, intervention by armed forces or police, frequency of wars during three decade periods and number of casualties.

CACI Inc, Mahoney, Robert B, Jr.

Analysis of the U.S. and Soviet Crisis Management Experiences, 1979.

OVERVIEW: This study "analyzes the outcomes of recent (1966-1978) U.S. and Soviet crises, focusing on outcomes as defined in terms of goal achievement (or non-achievement)." It surveys the attributes of recent U.S. and Soviet crises, including incidents from the earlier post-war period, as well as the more recent ones. The study includes separate lists of Soviet and U.S. crises.

TIME PERIOD: 1966-1978

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: Unrestricted

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II Cases: The outcomes of 100 U.S. crises and 157 Soviet crises are analyzed.

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS A CRISIS:

There are two separate sets of criteria used in this study, one for the U.S. and one for the Soviet Union, because of differences in the definitions used by research organizations in the two countries. The formal definition for U.S. crisis is that used in the 1978 CACI-Mahoney study entitled Analysis of the Soviet Crisis Management Experience. (See review)

The Soviet definition focuses on political-military rather than military events, so that a crisis does not have to involve an actual military operation, as it does in the U.S. case. In order to solve the problem of different definitions, the study uses "Soviet sources to identify Western-style crisis events, structuring Soviet perceptions and concerns within Western analytical frameworks." It thus reviews "Soviet materials to identify the basic cases (crises) involved in the analysis." Once these are identified, they are coded "using both Soviet and Western materials, to produce data comparable for that generated for U.S. crises."

VARIABLES: The variables or "general descriptors" for Soviet crises are the same as those used in Mahoney's 1978 study entitled Analysis of the Soviet Crisis Management Experience.

The variables or descriptors used to code U.S. crises are the same as those used in Hazlewood and Hayes' 1976 study, Planning for Problems in Crisis Management.

CACI Inc, Spector, Bertram I. et al
A Crisis Problem Analyzer for Crisis Management, 1978.

OVERVIEW: This is the final report in a series of technical reports analyzing the crisis management perceptions of techniques in the United States, the Soviet Union and China. The study develops the Crisis Problem Analyzer, "an executive aid to identify, anticipate, avoid or resolve potential crisis management problems that may arise to impair performance."

A list of 106 selected crises is included.

TIME PERIOD: 1946-1976

GEOGRAPHIC AREA:" unrestricted

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: 106

CRITERIA: A crisis is defined as:

"a period of increased military management activity at the national level that is carried on in a sustained manner under conditions of rapid action and response, resulting from unexpected events or incidents that have occurred internationally, internally in a foreign country, or in the domestic United States and that have inflicted or threatened to inflict violence or significant damage to U.S. interests, personnel, or facilities." Each incident must also meet at least one of the following criteria:

- "1) direct involvement of U.S. military forces,
- 2) a military decision on the incident required or made,
- 3) any subsequent military involvement of U.S. forces,
- 4) an existing threat of violence or significant damage to U.S. interests, personnel or facilities
- 5) the need for rapid military action and response."

VARIABLES:

- (a) Indications and Warning Profile
 - (1) Pre-crisis activity
 - (2) Duration of pre-crisis activity
 - (3) Anticipation of crisis possibility
 - (4) Speed of threat development
- (b) General Descriptive Profile
 - (1) Type of crisis activity
 - (2) Nature of crisis
 - (3) Crisis location
 - (4) Duration of crisis activity
 - (5) Decision time available
- (c) National Security Involvement

- (1) Strategic implication of crisis
- (2) Threat to U.S. interests
- (d) Crisis Response Profile
 - (1) U.S. objectives in crisis resolution
 - (2) Nature of U.S. response
 - (3) Speed of crisis resolution
 - (4) Impact of crisis outcomes on U.S. interests

Carver, Michael
War Since 1945
Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London 1980.

1980

OVERVIEW: In this study the author concentrates on "those conflicts which have, directly or indirectly, most affected Great Britain... All of the wars described arose as a result of the recession of imperialism, the withdrawal of the rule of the British, French, and Japanese Empires." The book is divided in four parts: "British Colonial Conflicts", "French Colonial Conflicts", "American Adventures" and "Conventional clashes". Included is a chronology of the wars and the events surrounding them.

TIME PERIOD: 1945-1975.

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: The wars discussed are restricted to those involving British, French and Japanese colonial conflicts. That is the only restriction. Thus the areas include Africa, the Middle East and Indo-China.

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: 12.

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS A WAR: No specific criteria is presented, however the author notes that he did not include "purely civil wars, that is ones between different factions in one country in which no other nation was involved." As mentioned above all the wars described arose as a result of the "recession of imperialism", and were either interstate wars or wars involving foreign intervention.

VARIABLES: No information provided.

Center for Defense Information
A World at War: Small Wars and Superpower Military Intervention
The Defense Monitor, Washington D.C. Vol. VIII, No.10, November 1979

November 1979. *(and successive years)*

OVERVIEW: This publication contains a region by region survey of the world's ongoing wars and armed conflicts (as of November 1979). Foreign government involvement as well as the potential for expansion into new wars are discussed briefly. A list of ongoing conflicts is included.

TIME PERIOD: All the conflicts discussed were in progress at the time of writing, but many started several years before.

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: Worldwide.

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: 37.

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS A WAR: No explicit definition of war is provided, however a break-down of the types of wars is as follows: "Of the 37 conflicts, over 30 are rural guerilla wars or campaigns of urban terrorism. Nearly half of the conflicts are multi-sided civil wars or rebellions.

... The guerilla wars fall into two broad categories: the first group are revolutionary struggles by political and religious factions seeking the overthrow of the established government or social order. The second comprises separatist movements fighting for greater autonomy or independence from a central government."

VARIABLES: No information provided.

COMMENT: This report has been published on an annual basis since the 1979 issue being reviewed here. The 1983 issue lists 40 major and minor ongoing wars.

Cusack, Thomas R. and Wolf-Dieter Eberwein,
A Descriptive Analysis of Serious International Disputes During the
Twentieth Century
Publication Series of the International Institute for Comparative Social
Research, December 1980.

December 1980.

OVERVIEW: This study is very similar to Prelude to War: Incidence, Escalation and Intervention in International Disputes, 1900-1976 by the same authors. The same data base is used, however an additional issue is discussed — that of the relationship between the likelihood of fatalities and the type of parties (major or minor) involved in a dispute.

TIME PERIOD: 1900-1976.

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: Worldwide.

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: The authors state that over the period 1900-1976, 634 serious international disputes occurred. Of these, 376 occurred after 1946.

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS A SERIOUS INTERNATIONAL DISPUTE:

The criteria is the same as that used in Cusack and Eberwein's Prelude to War. (See review, p.)

VARIABLES: The variables are also the same as those in Prelude to War, however there is one additional variable included in this study:

- What are the profiles of the three types of disputes in terms of the highest level of coercion reached within the dispute? Do these profiles differ across types of disputer and/or time?

Cusack, Thomas R. and Wolf-Dieter Eberwein
"Prelude to War: Incidence, Escalation and Intervention in International
Disputes, 1900-1976."
From International Interactions, Vol. 9, No.1, 1982.

1982.

OVERVIEW: This study provides "an overview of a set of data describing the incidence and character of serious international disputes in the twentieth century." The authors discuss the frequency of these disputes and the likelihood of a dispute escalating to war. No list of wars or disputes is included.

TIME PERIOD: 1900-1976.

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: No restrictions.

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: The authors state that over the period 1900 to 1976, 634 serious international disputes occurred. Of these, 376 occurred after 1946, with a breakdown as follows: 20 major power — major power disputes, 47 major power — minor power disputes and 309 minor power — minor power disputes.

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS A SERIOUS INTERNATIONAL DISPUTE:

A serious international dispute is defined as "an event or series of clearly-connected events during which one, or more, states threatens or actually employs military force against one, or more, other states. Events within such disputes include military alerts, clashes, mobilizations, seizures by force, and shows of strength, as well as blockades, occupations of territory and other threats or uses of limited force (Levy and Stoll, 1976). If such disputes between states result in a thousand or more battle-related deaths, the dispute is treated as an international war in accordance with the Singer-Small (1972) definition." The authors provide three subcategories to further classify these international disputes:

- "Type 1. Major power — major power disputes, where both the initiator and the target are major powers.
- Type 2. Major power — minor power disputes, where either the initiator or target nation is a major power but the other initial participant is a minor power.
- Type 3. Minor power — minor power disputes, where both of the initial parties are non-major powers.

The definitions of these types do not entail the exclusion of other kinds of states from later participation."

VARIABLES: Four general variables are used to classify the characteristics of serious international disputes during the twentieth century. These are:

1. How often have such disputes occurred?
2. What patterns can be found in the temporal distribution of serious disputes? Are there differences in the patterns across the three types of dispute?
3. Do the three types of dispute manifest different propensities for escalation to war? Have these propensities varied across time?
4. What is the effect of the size of the dispute, i.e.: the number of participants within it, on the likelihood that it will escalate? Is this effect uniform across types and/or time?

Day, Alan J. (Ed.)

Border and Territorial Disputes

Keesing's Reference Publication, Longman Group Ltd, England, 1982.

1982

OVERVIEW: The "aim of the present volume is to present concise accounts of currently unresolved border and territorial issues between states around the world.... Each account seeks to explain the historical background of the particular dispute and pinpoint the territorial elements involved, as well as to cover more recent exchanges and negotiations between the interested parties insofar as they relate to the dispute." The book is divided into five sections according to geographical region.

TIME PERIOD: Disputes are included which were taking place at the time of the writing, but which may have started a number of years before.

GEOGRAPHICAL AREA: Worldwide

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: 70

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS A BORDER DISPUTE:

The disputes included in this book are those "deemed to be of territorial and/or political significance and do not, for example, include simple boundary demarcation problems (i.e. those which do not involve important territorial claims by one state against another). Nor does the book cover the growing number of disputes between states specifically over maritime boundaries and jurisdictions." In addition to accounts of "existing official disputes between states," the book also includes descriptions "of a number of situations where no dispute exists at a government level but where other factors suggest that the aspirations to territorial change cannot be regarded as having completely disappeared."

VARIABLES: No information provided.

Leitchman, Seymour J.

New Technology and Military Power: General Purpose Military Forces for the 1980's and Beyond.

Westview Press, Colorado 1979.

1979

OVERVIEW: This study is concerned with "developments in both the context and the implications of warfare" and deals with both conventional and nuclear military power. It attempts to determine "how the military services function in an integrated way and to view the management problems of creating and sustaining them as a whole." A list of military engagements, giving cause of conflict, is included.

TIME PERIOD: 1945-1978.

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: Unrestricted.

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: 74.

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS A MILITARY ACTION:

- A military action, or war, is categorized in the following three ways:
1. Conventional war — organized, regular forces were involved on both sides;
 2. Unconventional war — organized regular forces were on one side, and guerilla or paramilitary forces on the other;
 3. Deterred war — war in an area looked imminent; at least one major party moved forces into place to attack or intervene; but the war did not take place.

VARIABLES: The variables used in this study are as follows:

1. Starting and ending date of military action;
2. Countries engaged in military action;
3. Type of military action — conventional, unconventional or deterred war.
4. Reason for warfare:
 - a) Independence from colonial domination;
 - b) Mutual adjustment of borders, influence, and power among newly independent nations;
 - c) Determination of the internal power structure and form of government of a country (i.e. internal war).
5. United States — Communist conflict involved.

Dupuy, Trevor N. and Hammerman, Gay M.
National Strategic Concepts and the Changing Nature of Modern War, Volumes 1-3.
Historical Evaluation and Research Organization, Washington D.C. July 1966.

July 1966.

OVERVIEW: This 764-page study describes and analyzes "the impact of recent technological, political and psychological changes upon the following: US national objectives, policies, and strategies; the principles of war; the nature of warfare; and the concepts of victory." Volume 1 summarizes these factors for the period 1898-1945, and discusses the changes in the world environment that have effected these traditional concepts during the period 1945-1965.

Volume 2 analyzes economic and political changes in the Western and Communist Nations, and the implications of these changes as well as internal changes in the Developing World. It also examines changes in US defense organization and present and future trends in warfare.

The third volume contains 16 case studies of conflict since World War II and analyzes the relationship of military force to political objectives. It also provides recommendations for reorganization of U.S. strategic planning machinery.

TIME PERIOD: 1945-1965.

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: No explicit restriction.

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS A CONFLICT: No information provided.

VARIABLES: No information provided.

Eckhardt, William and Azar, Edward.
"Major World Conflicts and Interventions, 1945-1975",
International Interactions, Vol. 5, No.1, 1978.

1978.

OVERVIEW: The purpose of this paper is to "summarize some data on major world conflicts and interventions from 1945 through 1975 and to analyze these data concerning their geographical and historical distributions of major conflicts and interventions since the end of World War II." The theory that "many major conflicts are some function of imperialism" is also discussed. The article includes lists of all major civil, international and civil-international conflicts since 1945, broken down into various subcategories."

TIME PERIOD: 1945-1975.

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: *unrestricted*
[REDACTED]

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: 256 cases.

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS A MAJOR WORLD CONFLICT:

Major world conflicts are divided into two categories, as follows:

1. Domestic Conflicts: only those events which were coded on point 9 of the domestic scale in the COPDAB data bank, from which the data derive, such as civil and guerilla wars, major domestic upheavals, coups, large-scale riots, insurgencies, insurrections and revolts (excluding demonstrations, small-scale riots, strikes, kidnap^{ings} and assassinations).
2. Major international conflicts: including only those events which were coded on points 13-15 of the international scale in the COPDAB data bank, such as: very hostile war actions, territorial occupations, and many deaths (15), limited hostile acts with minor costs (14); and subversion, small air or border clashes, and skirmishes or blockades (13).
"Generally speaking, major conflicts were more violent conflicts."

VARIABLES: The following variables were used to classify the major world conflicts:

1. Number of parties involved in conflict.
2. Type of conflict: civil, international, or civil-international.
3. Year of occurrence.
4. Region of the world where event occurred.
5. External party intervention (if any).

(Conflict and Peace Data Bank)

Gochman, Charles S. and Leng, Russel J.
Realpolitik and the Road to War: An Analysis of Attributes and Behavior.
International Studies Quarterly (1983), volume 27.

1983.

OVERVIEW: This study investigates the factors leading to war, or its avoidance, in militarized interstate disputes. A random sample of 30 cases were selected from a population of 186 cases (Singer and Small 1982, Langer 1972, and Butterworth 1976) in order to determine the relationship between interstate bargaining and dispute outcomes. A list of the 30 cases studied is included.

TIME PERIOD: 1838-1971

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: No explicit restriction.

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: 9 of the 30 cases are from the post-1945 period.

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS A WAR:

"All interstate wars qualify as militarized disputes. The criteria for identifying interstate wars are those used by Singer and Small (1972): at least one member of the interstate system must be an active participant on each combatant side and the conflict must result in at least 1000 battle-connected fatalities." Two other criteria for identification of a non-war militarized dispute exist: one member of the interstate system must explicitly threaten another with the use of force, and there must be at least 50 interactions between the two sides occurring in the interval between the precipitating act and the resolution of the dispute.

VARIABLES: The attributes used to code the disputes include:

- 1) The starting and ending dates;
- 2) The name of the dispute;
- 3) The adversaries (threatener vs. target)
- 4) The precipitating issue:
 - a) territory (vital)
 - b) political independence (vital)
 - c) territory-external
 - d) political or ideological (non-vital)
 - e) military
 - f) economic
- 5) Initial threat of force: military actions such as shows of force, mobilization of force, or blockades;
- 6) Relative capacities (military-industrial);
- 7) Great Power involvement;
- 8) Bargaining behavior: escalation or reciprocity.

COMMENTS: The information provided in this article is an updated version of Leng and Gochman's earlier article entitled "Dangerous Disputes: A Study of Conflict Behavior and War", American Journal of Political Science, Vol. 26, No. 4, Nov. 1982. The present article contains a more complete list of disputes and uses the same criteria and variables.

Hill, Gary A. (Department of International Relations, USC)
Country Threat File Code book
Prepared for the Office of Naval Research, Jan. 1975.

1975

OVERVIEW: Technical Report No. 27 is a summary of the Technical Reports and Working Papers produced in the first six months of research in the Threat Recognition and Analysis Project. The Project attempts to develop a system of identification and analysis of "extant and potential future threats in international politics" on three levels; global, Third World and comparative national. The country threat file itself is a "concise computer data file which monitors each of 140 nation's domestic and international setting thereby providing the context for significant policy charges, policy problems, and active or growing threats to that state or international system." The objective is to be able to pinpoint "hot spots" and potential threats and propose a set of responses for the nations involved.

TIME PERIOD: The time period is unspecified in this technical report, however the author does mention that "data collection and coding has been completed for the first quarter of 1974" at the time of writing, so that data seems to begin the file system, which will then be "updated quarterly".

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: There do not seem to be any restrictions on the cases. As noted above, files were formed for 140 nations worldwide.

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: The number of cases ^{contained} in the file was not stated.,

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS A THREAT: The author did not explicitly state the criteria used by the Threat Recognition and Analysis Project, however threats are both domestic and international, and verbal threats as well as military activities are coded.

VARIABLES: The variables used to code and trace each state's "significant domestic and international events" include: "bilateral and multilateral agreements, new inter-nation pacts, support statements, criticisms, sanctions, verbal warnings and threats, military activities, trade, raw material resources, trade flows, military and economic aid, defense pacts, arms sales and so forth".

Kegley, Charles W. and Raymond, Gregory A.
Civilian and Great Power Intervention

paper prepared for presentation at the XIIth World Congress of the International Political Science Association, Aug. 1982, Rio de Janeiro.

August 1982.

OVERVIEW: This study "seeks to probe comparatively great power intervention into nations undergoing civil war, in order to ascertain the extent to which those historical cases share common characteristics." The article contains a very limited list of "internationalized civil wars." Data is based on findings in the Correlates of War Project, (COW).

TIME PERIOD: 1831-1980.

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: Unrestricted.

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: The authors state that "COW rules uncover only 21 cases in which countries experiencing civil war were the target of military intervention by one or more of the great powers in the entire 1816-1980 period." Of these only 11 are from the post-world war II era.

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS INTERNATIONALIZED CIVIL WAR:

The criteria used in this study are taken from the Correlates of War Project [redacted] and definitions of civil war, interstate war and intervention can be found in Singer and Small's 1972 study, The Wages of War. (See Review, pg)

VARIABLES: ^(A large number of) variables used to analyze "internationalized civil wars" were grouped into four categories, as follows:

1. Variations in great power attributes;
2. Variations in the characteristics of countries going through the throes of civil war;
3. Variations in the nature of relations between strife-torn societies and outside powers;
4. Variations in international and regional systems as they evolve through successive periods.

The full list of variables has not been reproduced here. [redacted]

Köhler, Germot

The Imperialism/War Hypothesis Revisited

Paper prepared for delivery at the 15th Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, St. Louis Missouri.. March 20-23, 1974.

March 20-23, 1974.

OVERVIEW: This paper examines the relationship between war and imperialism, stressing that imperialism is an important factor in research on the causes of war. The author first provides brief summaries of "ten major families of theory and research on imperialism", such as Lenin, Toynbee, and Hobson's theories, then illustrates their weaknesses by presenting data on British war involvements. Köhler uses Singer and Small (1972) and Richardson (1960) as his primary sources. He includes a list of 97 British war involvements.

TIME PERIOD: 1817-1970.

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: Unrestricted, though the great majority of involvements occurred in the Middle East, Africa and Asia.

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: 18 cases.

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS A WAR:

Köhler writes that the "two general criteria for exclusion or inclusion are:

- a) magnitude, severity, of war, and
- b) types, such as internal/external etc..."

However, he adds that his "strategy was to be highly inclusive. Therefore a variety of wars, interventions etc... were included which e.g. Singer and Small (1972) excluded from their list." He marked Britain as being involved in a war "whenever one or more of the authors explicitly list's British participation — irrespective of the magnitude of that participation."

VARIABLES: The variables used in this study are:

- 1) Starting and ending dates;
- 2) Names of wars;
- 3) Region in which war took place;
- 4) Severity of war = number of fatalities suffered by all participants in the war, also scaled according to Richardson's severity scale.

Köhler also tabulated the number of involvements which "implied danger to the British Homeland" directly, and those that did not.

Levy, Jack S.

The Contagion of Great Power War Behavior 1495-1975

American Journal of Political Science, Vol. 26, No.3, Aug. 1982.

August 1982.

OVERVIEW: This study concentrates on the "question of short-term contagion in the outbreak of war involving the great powers over an extended historical period, with particular attention to the question of whether war might be affected by the nature or seriousness of previous wars as well as their occurrence." The study includes a brief summary of past theories of contagion and a list of interstate wars involving the great powers.

TIME PERIOD: 1495-1975.

GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION: Unrestricted.

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: Of the 119 wars listed, only five are post 1945.

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS A 'GREAT POWER WAR':

War is defined here as "an interstate war involving at least one great power. Civil, imperial and colonial wars were excluded for they were not relevant to many of the hypotheses suggested earlier and they have been analyzed in earlier contagion studies." Definitions and dimensions of war follow Singer and Small (1972).

VARIABLES: Variables used in this study include frequency of war, duration (elapsed time in years), extent (number of belligerent powers), magnitude (nation-years), severity (battle deaths), and intensity (battle deaths/million European population).

Maoz, Zeev

Paths to Conflict: International Dispute Initiation, 1816-1976.
Westview Press, Boulder Colorado 1982.

1982.

OVERVIEW: This study is "an attempt to explore some of the dynamics of conflict initiation processes." Maoz raises two major questions.

- " a) Why, and under what conditions would states be inclined to initiate serious interstate disputes and
- b) What are the determinants of victory and defeat in interstate disputes, or more precisely, why do initiators tend to win?"

The study claims to present an empirical description of all serious interstate disputes that have occurred between 1816-1976. It also highlights their distribution over time, regions and types of participants.

TIME PERIOD: 1816-1976.

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: No restriction

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: Maoz claims that the total number of serious interstate disputes between 1816 and 1976 is 1437. However he includes in his study a random sample of 164 cases, of which 78 are from the post-world war II period.

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF A CASE AS A SERIOUS INTERSTATE DISPUTE (SID)

A serious interstate dispute is defined by Maoz as "a set of interactions between two or more states involving the explicit, non-accidental, overt and government-directed threat to use force, display of force, or actual use of force in short temporal intervals."

Maoz further defines an SID as containing the following elements:

- 1) A serious interstate dispute is restricted to interaction among states, as defined by the Singer-Small (1972) system membership criteria. "Hence the population of cases excludes interaction among non-state actors or between non-state actors and states."
- 2) A SID need not be an interactive process, "but empirically most SIDs turn out to be interactive. In principle, a SID can be composed of a single incident, and in terms of duration it may start and end within a single day. Moreover, a dispute may be composed of a set of incidents, all of which are initiated by the same actor without any confrontational response by the target."
- 3) The Military Confrontation Actions (MCA) coded in the dispute "have to be overt and conducted by the armed forces of the state under the orders or approval of the state's leaders. This excludes from our population covert operations such as CIA operations in Angola during the Angolan civil war." Threats must be publicly and explicitly issued, not implied, in order to be codable.
- 4) The MCAs initiated by a state "have to be addressed to the government of its opponent, not to groups or individuals within the opponent society. For instance, Israeli retaliation raids against Palestinian guerilla bases in Lebanon are excluded to the extent that the raiders did not engage in fighting with Lebanese troops."
- 5) The time interval between a pair of incidents belonging to the same SID must not exceed six months. If the interval is longer, it is considered a new dispute despite the fact that the participants and the issues involved remain the same.
- 6) A SID ends when either of the following things occurs:
 - a) a war breaks out, in which case the last coded incident is the outbreak of the war;
 - b) there are no new codable MCAs for a period of six months.

VARIABLES: A dispute begins when a state commits one of fourteen types of military confrontation actions (MCAs) and ends when no more MCAs are observed for a considerable period of time (six months or so). Table 1 of the study defines the fourteen types of MCAs:

1. Threat of use of force
 - a) Threat to use force: threat to use regular armed forces to fire at forces of the target state.
 - b) Threat to blockade: threat to seal-off the target state's territory by ships or by troops, to prevent either entry or exit.
 - c) Threat to occupy territory: threat to use military means to occupy the target state's territory or any portion thereof.
 - d) Threat to declare war: threat to issue an official declaration of war.
2. Display of force
 - a) Alert: any reported increase in the readiness of regular armed forces of the state directed at the external target.
 - b) Mobilization: the activation of previously inactive armed forces of the state.
 - c) Show of force: public demonstration of military capabilities directed at a target, not involving combat operations.
3. Use of force
 - a) Clash: military hostilities between the armed forces of two or more states that are completed within hours and are not clearly initiated by either side.
 - b) Blockade: sealing off target's territory to prevent either entry or exit.
 - c) Occupation of territory: use of military force to occupy the target state's territory, or any portion thereof, for at least 24 hours.
 - d) Use of other military force: use of regular armed forces to fire into the target state or at its armed forces or population, or the use of armed forces to move into a target state's territory for a period of less than 24 hours.
 - e) Declaration of war: an official statement indicating that nation A is in an official state of war with nation B.
 - f) War: Military hostilities among the armed forces of two or more states, resulting in a total of 1,000 or more battle deaths. Thresholds for individual nation's participation are at least 100 battle deaths or at least 1,000 troops in active combat.

George Modelski (ed.)

"International Settlement of Internal War"

in James N. Rosenau (ed.). International Aspects of Civil Strife

Overview: The article discusses the three ways through which internal wars are resolved. One of the ways a conflict is ended is by an outright win by either the incumbents or insurgents. The second method noted was called separation, i.e. the establishment of a new state. Finally, there can be a settlement in which both contestants' identity is maintained through compromise within the existing political system. The article's aim was to lay the preliminary groundwork for further research into suitable international techniques for the resolution of internal wars, thereby facilitating the creation of regularized procedures and international institutions for that purpose.

Time period: Survey of 100 internal wars from 1900 through 1962.

Geographic area: unrestricted

Criteria for inclusion of cases: Internal war was defined as a violent contest for control over the entire political system. Political violence which did not have this aim was excluded.

Variables: Internal conflicts were put in chronological order according to their outbreak. Statistics were compiled for the:

1. Number of wins by incumbents
2. number of wins for the insurgents
3. Separations
4. Settlements, and, finally,
5. All those conflicts which are unresolved.

Pearson, Frederic S. and Robert A. Baumann

"Toward a Regional Model of International Military Intervention: The Middle Eastern Experience." Arms Control, Volume 4, No.3, December, 1983.

December 1983.

OVERVIEW: This study is an analysis of regional differences in the use of military force, in which "the interplay of superpower and local regional power interventions in the Middle East is examined." The article includes tables giving the countries and dates involved in arms transfers, and lists all the interventions by date, giving the countries and circumstances.

TIME PERIOD: 1952-1979.

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: The Middle East.

NUMBER OF POST WORLD WAR II CASES: The study examines 189 "crises or provocations", of which 122 are actual cases of intervention.

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS INTERNATIONAL MILITARY INTERVENTION:

Military intervention is defined here as "the movement of troops or forces of one government across an international boundary in the context of some political dispute. Interventions can either be friendly, hostile or effectively neutral toward the target state government. Retaliation by a state receiving a hostile intervention can be classified as counter-intervention, but if sustained bilateral or multilateral combat ensues, the situation is classified as an international war. Only initial interventions in what later become wars will be counted here, along with other isolated interventions, thus military intervention is a discrete military move by a state to alter, remedy or preserve conditions abroad by force."

VARIABLES: The variables used to account for and predict the types, extent, and consequence of military intervention in the Middle East are as follows:

- " 1) Interventions by superpowers (the US and USSR), major powers (European states, China and Japan) and regional powers (sometimes even outside their own region);
- 2) hostile, friendly or neutral interventions by such powers; and
- 3) interventions related to the pursuit of political influence, deterrence, natural resources, territorial settlements, ethnic or nationalistic claims."

The authors then become more specific, "the regional characteristics which appear likely to influence intervention decisions involve: prevailing political disputes and coalitions; degree of penetration (of arms supplies, bases, alliances etc.) by powers from outside the region; force balances; distributions of wealth and natural resources; the norms concerning intervention (often expressed in charters or regional ideologies) and geographic factors such as distances between key regional powers, numbers or length of national borders, natural military obstacles and perceived needs for buffer zones of spheres of influence."

Phillips, Warren R., and Rimkunas, Richard V.
A Cross Agency Comparison of U.S. Agency Perception in
To Augur Well; Early Warning Indicators in World Politics, Edited by
J. David Singer and Michael D. Wallace, Sage Publications (1979).

1979

OVERVIEW: "This chapter reports on a study of the early warning process in three agencies of the U.S. foreign policy bureaucracy: State Department, Defense Department and the Central Intelligence Agency." Crisis management consists of three stages:

- "indications monitoring",
- "initial crisis assessment"
- "threat assessment".

TIME PERIOD: 1966-1975.

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: No explicit restrictions.

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: The study asserts that there were 36 international crises between 1966 and 1975.

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS A CRISIS:

The authors include three different definitions of crisis and state that only when the three are combined, is "crisis" adequately defined.

1. "An international crisis is a confrontation of two or more states, usually occupying a short time period, in which the probability of an outbreak of war between the participants is perceived to increase significantly". (Williams, 1976: 25)
2. "A crisis in international politics is a process of interaction occurring at higher levels of perceived intensity than the ordinary flow of events and characterized by: a sharp break from the ordinary flow of politics; shortness of duration; a rise in the perceived prospects that violence will break out; and significant implications for the stability of some system (or pattern of relationships) in international relations." (Young, 1965: 15)
3. "Specifically, a crisis is a situation that
 - threatens high-priority goals of the decision-making unit;
 - restricts the amount of time available for response before the decision is transformed;
 - surprises the members of the decision-making unit by its occurrence."(Herman, 1969:414)

These definitions identify "three important aspects of crises: the time available for making decisions, the degree of uncertainty about environmental dynamics and the threat inherent in the situation." The authors add that "it is threat which triggers the advent of a crisis."

VARIABLES: The variables presented as indicators in this study are:

1. Soviet political relations with X (Country)
2. Chinese political relations with X
- American political relations with X.
2. Soviet economic relations with X
- Chinese economic relations with X
- American economic relations with X.

3. Soviet military relations with X
Chinese military relations with X
American military relations with X
4. Soviet military presence in X
Chinese military presence in X
American military presence in X.
5. Domestic stability in X
6. Status of hostile US groups in X
7. Status of pro US groups in X
8. CP ~~pro-USSR~~ activity in X (Communist party)
9. CP pro-PRC activity in X
10. Current unit capacity of X
11. Current military readiness of X
12. Status of US citizens in X.
13. Status of US military in X
14. Status of US economic property in X.
15. Status of US diplomatic property/personell in X.
16. Political relations between X - Y.
17. Economic relations between X - Y.
18. Military relations between X - Y.

Pillar, Paul R.

Negotiating Peace: War Terminations as a Bargaining Process.
Princeton University Press, Princeton New Jersey, 1983.

1983.

OVERVIEW: This book explores the question of how wars end. It intends to "illuminate entire patterns of diplomatic and military behavior which belligerents display when they attempt to bring war to a satisfactory conclusion." The study presents a systematic survey of war endings in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to "demonstrate how the way a war ends is related to the nature of the issues at stake and to explain why negotiating a peace agreement while combat continues will become increasingly important as a form of war termination." The study includes a list of wars that ended between 1800 and 1980, giving the "type of ending" for each.

TIME PERIOD: Only wars which ended between 1800 and 1980 are included in this study.

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: No restrictions.

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: 38

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS A 'WAR':

- The criteria used to classify wars are taken from Singer and Small (1972):
- a) interstate wars, in which a member of the state system fought on each side.
 - b) extra-systemic wars, which were colonial or imperial conflicts involving a member of the state system on only one side.
 - c) civil wars.

VARIABLES: The variables used to code the wars included in this study are:

1. Type of war: interstate, extra-systemic, civil.
2. Date of ending.
3. Type of ending.
 - a) Absorption : when a war doesn't actually end, but gets absorbed into a larger scale war involving additional parties.
 - b) Extermination/expulsion : a belligerent's opponent has rendered it incapable of continuing the fight either through extermination of its organized force or expulsion from the country or theater in which the war is fought.
 - c) Withdrawal : of one party or both, with or without explicit agreement or written accord.
 - d) International Organization : acceptance by belligerents of an accord written by a third party, an international organization such as the U.N.
 - e) Capitulation : if an agreement was imposed, without discussion or modification by one side upon the other this would constitute capitulation. Capitulations can take the form of unconditional surrenders or less one-sided agreements.
 - f) Negotiation after an armistice.
 - g) Negotiation before an armistice.
 - h) Indirect negotiations before an armistice.
 - i) Political terms combined with an armistice.
 - j) Unsuccessful negotiations before an armistice.

Prevelic, Milos
Armed Conflicts Between Socialist Countries
Survey Sarajevo, Vol. 10, No.1-2, Yugoslavia 1983.

1983.

OVERVIEW: This article attempts to explain why and how armed conflicts between Socialist countries occur, and refute charges that aggressive behavior in socialist countries is contrary to Marxist/socialist theory. The author includes a sample list of "characteristic cases" since world war II.

TIME PERIOD: 1945-1980.

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: No explicit restrictions, however nearly all the cases take place in either Eastern Europe, or the Middle and Far East.

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: The list of "some of the characteristic cases" includes 9 since 1945.

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS AN ARMED CONFLICT:

Though the term is not specifically defined, an armed conflict in this case refers to an "armed aggression" against another socialist country or a country in which socialist forces are not in power. The term military intervention is included in that definition and means "an incursion of foreign armed forces into parts on the entire territory of a country when the country attacked cannot offer armed resistance to the aggressor."

VARIABLES: No information provided.

Siverson, Randolph M. and Michael R. Tennefoss
"Interstate Conflicts: 1815-1965"
International Interactions, Volume 9, No.2, 1982, pp 147-178

1982

OVERVIEW: This paper reports the creation of a data set of 256 cases of international conflict between 1815 and 1965. "These conflicts consist of
1) international disputes and crises in which the use of force appeared likely
2) the unreciprocated use of violence
3) the reciprocated use of violence."
The paper includes some statistics describing patterns in the data and contains an appendix listing the data set.

TIME PERIOD: 1815-1965.

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: No explicit restriction.

NUMBER OF POST-WARLW WAR II CASES: The study includes 256 cases between 1815 and 1965. Of these, 69 occurred after world war II.

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS INTERSTATE CONFLICT:

Siverson and Tennefoss have restricted their study to include only events with one or more major power participant. It thus excludes minor power versus minor power conflicts. The list of major and minor actors are "drawn from Singer and Small's (1972) enumeration of nations in the international system." The events which fulfilled the criteria of involving at least one major-power actor were then classified into one of three different categories of hostility:

1. Threat (or crisis): "either an explicit verbal statement threatening overt military mobilization, or mobilization itself directed at a target state or states but with no actual use of force; although we term these situations threats they could also be thought of as crises."
2. Unreciprocated Military Action: "direct military force taken by one state against a non-responding target state."
3. Reciprocated Military Action: "military force taken by one state which provokes the target state to engage the initiator in military combat; obviously this category also includes qualifying international wars."

"Civil wars and wars of independence were not included in our analysis unless they elicited the direct intervention and involvement of two outside nations against each other, with at least one intervening nation being a major power."

VARIABLES: For each included conflict, the study provided the following data:

1. The date of the event.
2. The category of hostility: threat, unreciprocated military action or reciprocated military action.
3. The initiator of the hostile action.
4. The target of the hostile action.
5. A brief description of the dispute.

Small, Melvin, and Singer, J. David.
Resort to Arms: International and Civil Wars 1816-1980.
Sage Publications, Beverly Hills 1982.

1982.

OVERVIEW: This is a "revised, updated and expanded version" of the original Wages of War handbook published in 1972. This edition extends the time period by 15 years, from 1965 to 1980, and adds nine more cases overlooked in the earlier book. The most important difference is that the identification of all major civil wars has been added to that of international wars. The essential question being posed remains the same: "What events and conditions most sharply differentiate between those international and civil conflicts of the past 165 years that terminated in war, and those that found another and less violent resolution?" A list of the 106 civil wars and 118 international wars is included.

TIME PERIOD: 1815-1980.

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: 18 interstate wars, 12 extra-systemic, and 44 civil wars for a total of 74 post-world war II cases.

CRITERIA: The criteria for inclusion of a case as an international war in this edition are the same as in the earlier book. The criteria for identifying civil wars are as follows:

A civil war is any armed conflict that involves:

- "a) military action internal to the metropole;
- b) the active participation of the national government;
- c) effective resistance by both sides."

A civil war is one which is "internal to a state, that is, significant military action occurs between subjects within the boundaries of the metropole." A distinction is made between an "integrated" or incorporated territory and a "dependency" which cannot be counted as a civil war participant.

"A territory shall be regarded as integrated if all of the following conditions are fulfilled:

- a) There are no constitutional or statutory provisions that deny the subjects of the territory in question the right to participate in the control government in a manner essentially similar to that of all other citizens.
- b) There are no restrictive provisions or institutionalized discriminatory practices based on ethnicity, race, or religion that have the effect of substantially negating these rights. It is understood, in the contrary case, that these provisions are promulgated by the central authority and are territory specific.
- c) Districts including the national capital or federal district shall be considered as integrated, regardless of the manner in which they are administered."

The criteria of "effective resistance" is included in order to "distinguish genuine war situations from massacres, pogroms, purges and the kind of unopposed slaughter governments occasionally inflict on passive subjects. For us the concept of war requires that both sides have the ability to inflict death upon each other."

VARIABLES: Some of the variables coded for in this study are: the name of the war, the participants, the winner, the presence of any intervention, the dates of war and duration in months, the magnitude in nation-months, the severity in battle deaths, the pre-war population of the country, the battle deaths per nation-month and the battle deaths per 1000 population.

Snyder, Glenn H. and Diesing, Paul
Conflict among Nations: Bargaining, Decision Making, and System Structure in
International Crises.
Princeton University Press, Princeton N.J. 1977.

1977.

OVERVIEW: This book "presents a theory of international crisis behavior, conceived chiefly as bargaining behavior, but including also the effects of international system structures and the decision-making activities of the actors on the bargaining process." The book contains summaries of the thirteen case studies used.

TIME PERIOD: 1898-1973.

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: No explicit restrictions.

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: 7

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF A CASE AS AN INTERNATIONAL CRISIS:

An international crisis is defined by the authors as a "sequence of interactions between the governments of two or more sovereign states in severe conflict, short of actual war, but involving the perception of a dangerously high probability of war." They note that "short decision time is not a necessary characteristic of crisis." This definition excludes revolutions and internal war "except when intervention by outside governments leads to danger of war between the intervenors or between one intervenor and the incumbent government."

VARIABLES: No information provided.

Starr, Harvey and Benjamin A. Most.

"Contagion and Border Effects on Contemporary African Conflict."

Paper prepared for presentation at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association, Cincinnati Ohio, March 1982.

March 1982.

OVERVIEW: The purpose of this study is to determine the degree to which and the direction in which the occurrence of one violent conflict in Africa "alters the likelihood of a subsequent occurrence". Put differently, "a given nation's war behaviors might be influenced by warring border nations and/or by warring regional neighbors."

TIME PERIOD: 1960-1978.

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: Africa. The authors point out that the African region became a major locus of international conflict during the 1960-1978 period: Africa accounts for 35% of the nation-years of war during 1967-1976.

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: No number was provided for the full 18 year period covered by the study, however the authors note that "Africa had fourteen conflicts in the 1967-76 period, second only to the Middle East in nation-years of war" for that period.

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS VIOLENT CONFLICT:

No specific criteria is presented in the study, however the authors state that conflict in Africa is "unlike conflict which occurs elsewhere and it may be explained on the basis of factors and considerations which are idiosyncratic to the region: tribal and ethnic conflict is thought to be important, so too is the conflict which is or was related to efforts to topple or maintain white-dominated rule in the former Portuguese colonies, Rhodesia and South Africa. Extra regional intervention by the Soviet Union and Cuba is also of consequence." Thus it seems that the study includes international conflict, interstate-conflict, internal conflict and revolution ~~among the cases that it reviews.~~ among the cases that it reviews.

VARIABLES: The coding system used to determine the relationship between borders and conflict occurrence is as follows:

Type I: Non-Colony Borders

- a) Contiguous non-colony land borders
- b) Water non-colony borders; territory of two nations is separated by less than 200 miles of some body of water.
- c) Proximity-zone non-colony borders; indicates the very few borders which "just miss" the criteria for contiguous or water borders, but are clearly of historical importance."

Type II. Colony Borders; those generated by colonies or territories possessed by states

- a) Contiguous colony land borders
- b) Water colony borders
- c) Proximity-zone colony borders.

Taylor, Charles Lewis and Hudson, Michael C.
World Handbook of Political and Social Indicators
Yale University Press, New Haven 1972.

1972.

OVERVIEW: This book is an updated version of the 1964 edition. The earlier version stated as its purpose "the attempt to compare nations on a great variety of politically relevant indices... to present some of the data necessary for the further development of a science of comparative and international politics and to illustrate some of the means of analyzing that data." The second volume merely "continues in that tradition." The study presents data on political, economic, social, and cultural issues in approximately 140 nations, comparing statistics for each country on subjects varying from the literacy rate and party fractionalism to defense expenditure and land distribution, letter mail per capita and religious affiliation. The study contains lists of armed attacks and of external interventions.

TIME PERIOD: 1948-1967.

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: No restrictions.

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: Not stated.

CRITERIA: No information provided.

VARIABLES: No information provided.

Wallace, Michael D.

Arms Races and Escalation

Journal of Conflict Resolution, Vol. 23, No. 1, March 1979

March 1979.

OVERVIEW: This study attempts to form an empirical basis for the claim that military expansion and arms races contribute to the danger of war. Wallace poses the central question, "do serious disputes between nations engaged in an arms race have a significantly greater probability of resulting in all out war than those between nations exhibiting more normal patterns of military competition?" Included is a list of "serious disputes" since 1833.

TIME PERIOD: 1833-1965.

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: Only disputes between major powers are included — that is: European powers, China, Japan and Russia.

NUMBER OF POST-WARLD WAR II CASES: Of the 96 disputes listed, 19 are post 1945.

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS A 'SERIOUS DISPUTE':

For the purposes of this study a dispute is a "military confrontation between two or more nations not deadly enough to qualify as a war defined by Singer and Small." However it must be serious enough for one of the parties involved to threaten to commit, or actually commit, significant military resurces to resolve the dispute." (Levy, 1977) The actions included comprise the following: the act of blockade, declaration of war, seizure or occupation of territory, use of military forces and seizure of foreign personnel or material. Of the 96 disputes, only 23 resulted in the outbreak of full-scale war as defined by Singer and Small (1972).

VARIABLES: Variables include the year of the dispute, the nations involved, whether escalation to war took place, and the arms race index.

Wallensteen, P. and G.K.Wilson

A Classification of On-going, Organized, Armed Conflicts in 1979
Paper for presentation at symposium in Dubrovnik, June-July 1981

June-July 1981

OVERVIEW: The aim of this project is to provide "relevant, reliable and adequate information and data on on-going wars and armed conflicts.... to enable decision-makers, at all levels, to take the most enlightened action when dealing with, or acting with ^ya conflict situation." The study outlines the classification system which would allow a "world conflict data bank" to be implemented in order to maximize information and analyses on the conflict management level. The study includes a list of 52 crisis cases, coded for the variables the authors ~~would employ~~ in the "world conflict data bank." ^{would employ}

TIME PERIOD: This study classifies only on-going armed conflicts for the year 1979.

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: Unrestricted.

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: 50 cases are post 1945.

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS A ARMED CONFLICT:

The project defines conflict as being the state when "two or more parties employ (armed) force in contending with each other." It defines armed force as the "instrumental application, for the purpose of causing death, injury or destruction, of any means other than those of basic corporal strength and/or psychological power. (The use of sticks, stones and animals would, for instance, meet this definition of armed force.)"

VARIABLES: The variables used to code armed conflicts include: The chronological order of the conflicts, the type of conflict ^{using} (Kende's symbols), the location of ^{the} conflict, the principal parties, the other parties, dates, termination type (method by which conflict ended), and termination level (arms, contention, organization or party). (?)

Westing, Arthur H.

"War as a Human Endeavor: The High Fatality Wars of the Twentieth Century"
Journal of Peace Research, Vol. XIX, No. 3, 1982.

1982.

OVERVIEW: In this paper the author provides a "catalogue of all important (i.e. high-fatality) wars that have occurred so far during the present century." Of the hundreds of wars waged during the first eighty years of the twentieth century, 45 are chosen that resulted in very high fatalities. These 45 cases are presented in a list which includes the dates of the war, a description of the protagonists and the outcome, its location as to hemisphere, continent and habitat, its type, and its fatality class (based on Richardson's scale).

TIME PERIOD: 1900-1980.

GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION: Unrestricted.

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: 21.

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS A WAR: In this study war is defined as an armed conflict between nations or between groups within a nation. There are three categories of war: interstate, colonial, and civil (intrastate). A war qualifies as an "important" one and is then included in this list on the basis of the "resulting total numbers of direct fatalities, both civilian and military." The minimum number of fatalities in order to be included was set at just over 30,000 deaths.

VARIABLES: Variables include those mentioned above: the countries involved, the outcome of the war, the location of the war, the type of war — interstate, colonial or civil — and the fatality class.

Wilkenson, David
Deadly Quarrels; Lewis F. Richardson and the Statistical Study of War.
University of California Press, California 1980.

1980.

OVERVIEW: This book summarizes L.F. Richardson's study of war entitled Statistics of Deadly Quarrels (1960) and attempts to analyze Richardson's approach, methods and conclusions. The author also discusses works by authors since Richardson such as Singer and Small, and Quincy Wright, and includes some of their data, as well as Richardson's full list of wars.

TIME PERIOD: Wilkenson discusses the data included in Richardson's time frame of 1820-1952.

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: Unrestricted.

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: Richardson included 210 wars as having ended between 1945 and 1952.

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS A WAR: See review of Lewis F. Richardson's Statistics of Deadly Quarrels (1960).

VARIABLES: (See review pg)

Wilson, G. Kenneth,
Factors Contributing to Armed Conflicts over Government of Territory in Recent Years. Paper presented at the Tenth General Conference of the International Peace Research Association, Győr, Hungary August 20 - September 2, 1982.

August 20 - September 2, 1983.

OVERVIEW: This paper is aimed at "monitoring on-going, organized armed conflicts which involve the issue of government over a territorial area" and is based on "long-term project material collected since 1979." The conflicts in this survey are a 30% sample of the whole collection of the Causes of War program.

TIME PERIOD: 1815-1983.

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: Unrestricted.

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: 24.

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS AN ARMED CONFLICT: The author writes that "the conflicts studied in this paper are those involving 'arms', which here are taken to be all means of physical violence used in addition to the human body, thus: "sticks, stones, animals and fire are defined as arms." Conflicts are restricted, as previously mentioned, to those over government of territory and those which are organized by some sort of 'formal party'.

VARIABLES: Variables used to classify factors in armed conflicts:

- 1) Personal: Charismatic sway, bureaucratic status, diplomatic skill; a)
- 2) Nationalism: Nation-state or regional government sentiment based on collective will for unitary existence as a separate way of life;
- 3) Ethnic: Group unitary sentiment based on racial, linguistic, tribal, conceptions derived from biological or psychological traits;
- 4) Religion: Group sentiments based on:
 - a) a broad identity of spiritual faith;
 - b) a distinctive division in spiritual faith;
- 5) Ideology: Broad political movement having a deeper philosophical base;
- 6) Political rights: Principles of action based on universally or widely accepted patterns of power relationships in respect of the whole political unit;
- 7) Minority rights: Principles of action based on universally or widely accepted patterns of power relationships in respect to a small section of the political or cultural unit;
- 8) Party: Sentiment or action for a formally organized political movement, having a distinct policy orientation;
- 9) Alliance: external (occasionally internal) relationship with another power or party which exercises significant influence on participant;
- 10) Aggression: Open physical, apparently unprovoked, attack by external power on a participant in the conflict;
- 11) Threat: Presence of either physical (usually military) or psychological force to warn or threaten a participant. The threat may be unintended;
- 12) Material: a shortage of ^{or} urgent need for any ^{low material} motivating the action of the participant;
- 13) Sanctions: Where action or the threat of action to restrict or blockade access to necessary facilities impinges on the performance of plans of a participant;
- 14) Poverty: A state of material shortage usually in respect to income of basic facilities [such as food, clothing and shelter] impinging upon the whole section of a population or party.
- 15) Prosperity: Where a significant growth in the GNP or improvement in trade terms leads to either
 - a) increased power of participant or
 - b) divisions between subsections of a party.

Wolpin, Miles D.
Military Aid and Counterrevolution in the Third World.
Lexington Books, Massachusetts, 1972.

1972.

OVERVIEW: This book explores the roles of military aid and counterrevolution in the Third World. It includes chapters on Third World nationalism, corporate investments overseas, the use of foreign officers and foreign officer training as instruments of foreign policy, and military representation abroad. It also analyzes trends in military training and contains a number of statistics on training programs, trainee nationalities and foreign aid, as well as a list of military interventions.

TIME PERIOD: 1947-1970.

GEOGRAPHIC AREA: The Third World - specifically Africa, Asia and the Middle East. Wolpin omits Latin America from his list of interventions "because of limited financial resources and the availability of Martin C. Needler's study." However, he does include Needler's data on military aid and training in Latin America.

NUMBER OF POST-WORLD WAR II CASES: Wolpin includes a total of 73 interventions — 29 ideological and 44 "other" interventions motivated by non-ideological objectives

CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION OF CASE AS AN INTERVENTION:

No specific criteria presented, however it seems clear from the content of this study that Wolpin uses the word 'intervention' to describe military training of foreign officers, military aid and corporate investment overseas, as well as direct military/aggressive intervention. However, his list of interventions seems to refer only to coups. These are divided into two categories: Those interventions which were motivated by ideological purpose, that is to promote either 'rightist' or 'radical' policies, and those which were motivated by 'objectives of an essentially non-ideological nature,' such as factionalism, personal ambition, ethnic rivalry or dissatisfaction with civilian corruption.

VARIABLES: Variables used in this study include the country in which intervention took place, the dates of intervention, the nature of the intervention — whether rightist or radical, ideological or non-ideological, the country(ies) giving military aid and the dates of aid.