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MAILED FIST, VELVET GLOVE:
SOVIET ARMED FORCES AS A POLITICAL INSTRUMENT
Manual

Stephen S. Kaplan

The Brookings Institution

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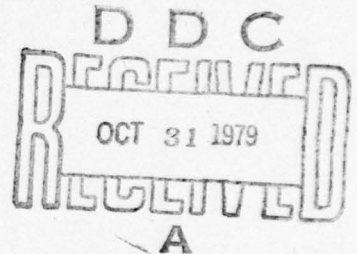
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SOVIET ARMED FORCES AS A POLITICAL INSTRUMENT

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SUMMARY

In 1979 a study titled Mailed Fist, Velvet Glove: Soviet Armed Forces as a Political Instrument was completed for the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency of the U.S. Department of Defense. The study found that between June 1944 and June 1979, Soviet armed forces were used on 187 occasions as a political instrument -- that is, as a means of influencing the decisions of foreign governments. This manual is designed to allow other researchers to make use of the data that were collected on these incidents. It includes an extended definition and discussion of the subject of the study, a list of the incidents, a description of the variables for which data were collected, the full data file, and a listing of sources. The data file and a control file containing a description of the variables and their values have also been placed on a computer tape. Information is provided about how copies of this computer tape may be obtained.

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PART 1

INTRODUCTION

Since the Second World War, Soviet armed forces have served political functions in many ways: by their size and character, location abroad, carrying out exercises and visits, and so forth. In 1979, a study of one type of use of Soviet armed forces as a political instrument -- that is, discrete military moves to influence particular foreign situations -- was completed for the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency of the U.S. Department of Defense. ^{1/} One objective of the study was to determine in empirical terms the historical record of those uses of the armed forces that were of interest; that is, to identify the incidents in which the Soviet Union used armed forces as a discrete political instrument since the Second World War, the political context of these incidents, the military units employed, and the actions taken by these units.

After a systematic search of sources, 187 incidents meeting explicit definitional criteria were discovered to have taken place between June 1944 and June 1979 -- an arbitrary cut-off date necessarily imposed on the research. Soviet military actions in these incidents ranged from the withdrawal of occupation forces, to friendly visits by naval and air forces, to the crisis deployment of major ground, air and naval units and the placing on alert of strategic nuclear forces. This manual is designed to allow other researchers to make use of the data collected on these 187 incidents.

In some cases it was obvious that a particular use of the armed forces constituted a discrete political-military operation. In many other instances, however, it was not so obvious. Only after definitional

criteria were established was it possible to determine whether or not any instance of military activity was to be included as an incident. The definition that was used is presented and elaborated upon in Part 2. It is the same definition that was used in an earlier study of U.S. armed forces as a political instrument. 2/

A wide variety of sources were examined systematically in order to identify political uses of the armed forces, as defined. Additionally, other sources were examined in order to identify potential situations in which Soviet armed forces might have been used as a political instrument, with the aim of guiding research to uncover additional incidents. It is doubtful that all of the political uses of Soviet armed forces during the period examined were discovered. Reasonable confidence, however, may be held that the list of incidents presented in Part 3 is virtually complete as regards the information available on an unclassified basis.

Part 4 presents a listing and description of the dimensions -- that is, variables -- characterizing each of the 187 incidents for which data were collected. These variables include the beginning date of the initial use of Soviet armed forces, contextual characteristics, the types of armed forces used, the movement and activities of these forces, and the types of other actors involved in each incident. In presenting a description of each variable for which data were collected, Part 4 also constitutes a codebook for making use of the raw data. The variable and value descriptions are in a form that also allows their convenient use as labels by researchers who wish to use the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) set of programs to analyze the data file. 3/ Of course, other programs may also be used to examine the data.

The full data file is reproduced in Part 5, which also includes a Fortran-type format statement that may allow more convenient use of the data.

The sources examined in compiling the list of incidents presented in Part 3 include governmental documents, writings by individuals having access to governmental records, secondary-source books and articles, chronologies of international events, and various event data files. The full list of sources is presented in Part 6.

Also available for use by interested researchers are copies of a computer tape containing two files, a "control" file and the data file. The control file includes the variable names, descriptions and values presented in Part 4 of this manual, and the format statement included in Part 5. Together with other information that are also included, the control file may be adapted as an input statement for establishing an SPSS program file. The second file on the computer tape includes the raw data that are reproduced in Part 5.

Copies of the computer tape may be obtained by writing to the following address: Cybernetics Technology Office
Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency
1400 Wilson Boulevard
Arlington, Virginia 22209

Footnotes:

- 1/ Stephen S. Kaplan, Mailed Fist, Velvet Glove: Soviet Armed Forces as a Political Instrument (study prepared for the Department of Defense, 1979). A073951 1805479 A073950
- 2/ Barry M. Blechman and Stephen S. Kaplan, Force Without War: U.S. Armed Forces as a Political Instrument (Brookings Institution, 1978).
- 3/ Norman H. Nie et al., Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (2d ed., McGraw-Hill, 1975). Those unfamiliar with SPSS may wish to use William R. Klecka et. al., Statistical Package for the Social Sciences: Primer (McGraw-Hill, 1975).

PART 2

THE BASIC CONCEPT

The definition of a political use of the armed forces that was employed in order to determine the occurrence of an incident was as follows:

A political use of the armed forces occurs 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.

Thus, a political use of Soviet armed forces was inferred if five elements were present in a situation.

1. A physical change in the disposition (location, activity or readiness) of one or more component units of the armed forces had to occur. Mere references by Soviet leaders to the military (verbal threats or statements of support) were not enough to qualify. Military activities were taken to include: the use of firepower; the establishment, disestablishment or special extension of a permanent or temporary presence abroad; a blockade; an interposition; an exercise or demonstration; the escort or transport of another actor's armed forces or materiel; a visit by a military unit to a foreign location; a non-routine reconnaissance, patrol, or surveillance operation; or a change in readiness status. Readiness measures included changes in alert status, the mobilization of reserve forces, and the movement of units toward or away from specific locations.

2. Behind this activity there had to have appeared a consciousness of purpose. Only in those cases when a specific political impact in a foreign nation could be perceived as an objective of the national command authority--that is, a member of the Politburo--in initiating action, was a military operation considered to constitute a political use of the armed forces.

3. Soviet decisionmakers must have sought to attain their objectives at least initially by gaining influence in a target state, not by physically imposing their will. Generally speaking, armed forces may be used either as a political or as a martial instrument. When used as a martial instrument a military unit acts to seize an objective (occupy territory) or to destroy an objective (defeat an army). In short, attainment of the immediate objective itself satisfies the purpose for which the force was used. When used as a political instrument, the objective is to influence the behavior of another actor--that is, to cause an actor to do something that he would not otherwise do, or not to do something that he would do otherwise. Thus, the activity of the military units themselves does not attain the objective; goals are achieved through the effect of the force on the perceptions of the actor.

4. Soviet leaders must have sought to avoid a sustained contest of violence or war. Although a war may result from a use of the armed forces which otherwise meets the terms of the definition, the initiation of war must not have been the intent of the action.

5. Some specific behavior had to have been desired of a foreign actor. A use of Soviet armed forces had to have been directed at influencing particular behavior in a discrete situation, or at least to have occurred because of concern with specific behavior.

Behavior Outside of the Definition

The concept of a political use of Soviet armed forces utilized in this study may be further clarified by pointing out excluded classes of military activity.

1. Direct defense. Actions by Soviet armed forces units to definitively terminate a foreign threat to the USSR or a Soviet position abroad were not considered political-military operations. On a sizable number of occasions since the Second World War Soviet fighter aircraft have fired at or near foreign aircraft claimed to be flying in the airspace of the USSR or one of its allies. Some of these aircraft were shot down or were otherwise made to land; some simply disappeared; others were fortunate enough to be able to reach a hospitable destination. In most of these instances the Soviet action did not appear related to any specific foreign policy goal, but rather seemed meant as a military termination of the intrusion. Aside from the rigorous protection of sovereignty, the most Soviet leaders seemed to have had in mind—to the extent actions did not appear directed by local command—was to demonstrate the effectiveness of the USSR's defenses and to deter similar approaches by foreign aircraft in the future. Likewise excluded from this examination are the large number of seizures by Soviet patrol vessels of foreign—usually Japanese—fishing vessels operating in or said to be overfishing Soviet claimed or protected waters.

There is also an exit side to this class of affairs. In the absence of any particular political context, Soviet troops in Eastern Europe—particularly East Germany, Berlin, and Austria before the end of the occupation there—have enforced rigorous transit checks upon travelers going abroad, and shot and arrested would-be escapees to the West. In one instance in 1949, Russian troops went so far as to escort a Hungarian soccer team in Vienna; in another, 20 years later to the day, Soviet MIGs attempted to prevent an aircraft hijacked by two East German youths from landing at Tegel airport in West Berlin. In the late 1940s and early

1950s small numbers of troops were also utilized to arrest regime opponents in Eastern Europe and to conduct break-ins and kidnappings in West Berlin. In virtually all of these incidents the Soviet objective lay in the action itself and, otherwise, only in deterring individuals generally in occupied lands from acting similarly.

2. The continued presence of forward deployed forces; nondiscriminating political deployments; and operational deployments. The establishment, disestablishment or change in the quality of a military presence aimed at a specific set of circumstances is, of course, viewed as a political use of the military under the terms of the definition. The psychological reinforcement provided by the ongoing presence of Soviet units in a foreign nation or distant sea is not considered as an incident, however. Although Soviet garrisons in Eastern Europe and the continuing display of the flag by the Fifth Eskadra in the Mediterranean, for example, may be of great importance to Soviet foreign policy, these steady-state deployments do not constitute discrete political-military operations. Not counted either as an incident is the establishment of a permanent deployment seemingly aimed at a region generally and not calculated to influence behavior narrowly defined or related to an immediate set of circumstances. Thus while the creation of the West African Patrol in 1970 in response to a Portuguese attack on Guinea is considered as a discrete political-military operation, the establishment of a Soviet naval presence in the Indian Ocean beginning in 1968 is not.

Falling further beyond the bounds of the definition are deployments of newly developed weapons and force changes that seemed to have as their primary purpose strategic nuclear deterrence or the improvement of war-fighting capabilities—for example, the siting of land-based ICBMs, the launching of ballistic missile submarines, the deployment of surface

combatants in the North Atlantic, and the modernization of ground forces in Europe. A distinction is also made between the emplacement of forces abroad to support a foreign nation and the acquisition of a military base to improve the operational effectiveness of Soviet armed forces. Whereas, for example, the Soviet air defense of Egypt in the early 1970s is considered an incident, the use of a Cuban airfield by Soviet long-range naval reconnaissance aircraft, enhancing Soviet surveillance of the Atlantic Ocean, is not so regarded.

3. Routine Military Activities. Most military exercises, visits and surveillance operations form part of a normal pattern of activity to maintain or improve combat abilities and are not conducted to achieve measured political objectives at definite times. While the political purposes they may serve are diffuse, they are sufficiently explained by continuing military concerns—to be better prepared for conflict, to obtain information about antagonists, and for naval vessels to take on supplies and obtain shore leave for personnel. Following this line, we also do not consider as a political use of the armed forces Soviet monitoring and harassment of Western naval operations on the high seas; airborne, seaborne, and satellite intelligence-gathering activities; overflights of foreign territory for the apparent purpose of testing readiness and defenses; or approaches to foreign military and civilian aircraft in international airspace.

4. Goodwill Diplomacy. In addition to excluding "business" visits by Soviet warships to foreign ports that are carried out as a cost-effective means of maintaining forward deployments, we further do not consider most of those appearances the Soviets term "friendly unofficial" or "official

goodwill" visits. While purposes of logistic support and crew rest also may be served by these latter-termed visits, these are carried out primarily as an expression of friendship to the host nation and are meant to facilitate Soviet diplomacy and bilateral relations. They fall outside the definition, however, insofar as their purpose is general and not geared toward influencing particular foreign behavior or a precise situation abroad.

Also of this sort are disaster relief operations by Soviet military men, who have assisted in the wake of natural calamities in Eastern Europe and who flew aid to Peru after the 1970 earthquake there. Humanitarian interests aside, these actions to relieve suffering may be carried out with a political result in mind; namely, the establishment or reinforcement of friendship and of a positive image of the USSR. Still, they are not meant to achieve particular foreign policy goals. The same may be said about most arms transfer agreements and the sending abroad of military training teams, staff advisers, skilled technical personnel and construction directors, the practice of which may be dated back to Lenin's day when military assistance was given to Ataturk and the Kuomintang, as well as to Iran, Turkey and the German Reichswehr. Although these actions may be important to the success of Soviet foreign policy and are clearly meant to support diplomacy, they are usually not aimed at achieving specific objectives in time. More fundamentally, though, an arms transfer is not an operation carried out by armed forces units; nor in the sense of interest here are those military assistance activities of Soviet military personnel--our focus being on actions by Soviet operational combat and combat support units. Hence we do not consider for the purpose of this study any Soviet arms sales or military assistance activities.

5. Non-military Operations. To further assure clarity, it is, perhaps, also useful to relate that our interest lies only in actions by uniformed military units. Excluded on this ground are covert activities in foreign nations, the transport of armaments and foreign military personnel by civil aircraft and merchant vessels, and violent actions by Soviet civilians abroad--for example, the illegal landing in 1956 by 30 Soviet herring fishermen in the Shetland Islands in search of one of their number seeking political asylum in Great Britain.

6. Statements about Soviet Military Power. Kremlin leaders and the Soviet media often make reference to Soviet military power in statements of warning to antagonists and support for friends. Nikita Khrushchev was a practitioner of "rocket-rattling," as it was called during the cold war. Although Soviet statements about the USSR's military power generally have not been as strident during the Brezhnev era--as much the result, perhaps, of the USSR's real increase in military capabilities as of a consciously changed style of diplomacy--references to Soviet armed forces continue to be made by Moscow routinely as well as in crises. We, of course, are interested in the coupling of a verbal or written statement about Soviet military power with a discrete military operation aimed at achieving specific foreign policy objectives. A statement alone, though, is not considered a discrete political-military operation. To qualify as an incident, an element of the armed forces of the USSR must have been alerted or redeployed, or have performed some special activity aimed at attaining a political goal.

Notwithstanding the exclusion by definition of these other forms of Soviet behavior as discrete political-military operations and thus as

incidents of direct interest in this study, virtually all of these types of activity are taken up to some extent as necessary background or as actions related to instances when Soviet armed forces units were used as a discrete political instrument. On a number of occasions, moreover, a form of activity normally excluded was taken to constitute an incident--for example, when Soviet military units visited foreign nations, attacked Western aircraft, imposed special transit controls or seized Japanese fishermen as part of a particular foreign policy campaign aimed at achieving specific goals abroad.

Also included as incidents are several instances when Soviet naval ships were used to clear blocked waterways in third world countries in the wake of a major military conflict. Moscow seemed to have relatively specific foreign policy objectives and international politics appeared very much at play in these situations, as compared, for example, with relief operations following natural disasters. At quite the other end of the spectrum, we also consider as incidents the suppression of dissidence in East Germany in 1953 and in Hungary in 1956. Although the USSR, in the end, did impose its will by physical force, it did not enter into a war or sustained contest of violence with foreign armed forces in these incidents. The Kremlin probably also was hopeful that the initial appearance of Red Army formations or relatively small doses of violence would suffice and, later, saw the use of firepower as a caution to areas of East Germany and Hungary not in revolt. Unable thus to discount a Soviet concern to use the military to "influence" behavior in these two instances, we include them and consider the use of force in these incidents representative of the limit

able to be tolerated by our definition of a political use of the military.

Readers will recognize that while the above definition and elaboration are necessary to the isolation of that colony of events sharing features of critical interest, considerable care and attention to detail were necessary for navigating this course. In several instances there was no escaping a need to make close judgment calls about whether a certain activity did or did not qualify as an incident. And like the sound offered by different but competent musicians playing from the same score, interpretations of complicated notes may vary. The argument is that those who would take the time and repeat this research effort would arrive at a list extremely similar, although not necessarily identical, to the list of incidents presented in Part 3.

PART 3

LIST OF INCIDENTS

<u>Case Number and Political Context</u>	<u>Month/Year USSR Forces First Used</u>	<u>Brookings File Number</u>
1. Accession of parts of Finland to USSR	June 1944	16
2. Accession of eastern Poland to USSR	June 1944	15
3. Political future of Poland	July 1944	2
4. Accession of northern Bukovina and Bessarabia to USSR	August 1944	17
5. Political future of Rumania	August 1944	3
6. Political future of Bulgaria	September 1944	1
7. Political future of Hungary	October 1944	4
8. Accession of Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia to USSR	October 1944	18
9. Political future of Czechoslovakia	January 1945	9
10. Accession of East Prussia to USSR	January 1945	21
11. Political future of Germany	January 1945	6
12. Political future of Austria	March 1945	7
13. Accession of southern Sakhalin and Kurile Islands to USSR	August 1945	20
14. Political future of China	August 1945	22
15. Acquisition of special rights in Port Arthur and Dairen	August 1945	19
16. Political future of Korea	August 1945	5
17. Economic influence in Manchuria	November 1945	23
18. Political future of Bornholm Is.	November 1945	174
19. Communist regime established in northern Iran	December 1945	26
20. Withdrawal from Czechoslovakia	December 1945	8

<u>Case Number and Political Context</u>	<u>Month/Year USSR Forces First Used</u>	<u>Brookings File Number</u>
21. Security of Port Arthur and Dairen	February 1946	25
22. Dispute over Turkish provinces and Dardanelles	March 1946	27
23. Withdrawal from China	March 1946	14
24. Withdrawal from Bornholm Is.	March 1946	175
25. Sovietization of North Korea	July 1946	13
26. Occupation of Haiyang Island	March 1947	29
27. Relations with Iran	August 1947	28
28. Sovietization of Hungary	September 1947	12
29. Sovietization of Poland	September 1947	10
30. Sovietization of Rumania	September 1947	11
31. Future of West Germany and Berlin	January 1948	139
32. Communist coup in Czechoslovakia	February 1948	30
33. Future of West Germany and Berlin	March 1948	115
34. Future of West Germany and Berlin	June 1948	116
35. Relations with Denmark	September 1948	165
36. Withdrawal from North Korea	October 1948	154
37. Civil war in China	October 1948	24
38. Relations with Iran	October 1948	31
39. Security of North Korea	Early? 1949	33
40. Relations with Iran	May 1949	147
41. Relations with Yugoslavia	August 1949	32
42. Rearmament of West Germany	January 1950	117
43. Seizure of West Berlin territory	September 1950	173

<u>Case Number and Political Context</u>	<u>Month/Year USSR Forces First Used</u>	<u>Brookings File Number</u>
44. Security of China	October 1950	34
45. Security of North Korea	? 1951	179
46. Seizure of West Berlin territory	January 1951	118
47. Security of regime in Czechoslovakia	February 1951	138
48. Security of regime in Albania	March 1951	38
49. Political crisis in Iran	June 1951	40
50. Rearmament of West Germany	August 1951	144
51. Yugoslavia's relations with West	September 1951	86
52. Rearmament of West Germany	January 1952	119
53. Japan - U.S. relationship	June 1952	39
54. Relations with Sweden	June 1952	164
55. Yugoslavia's relations with West	July 1952	137
56. Rearmament of West Germany	October 1952	105
57. Rearmament of West Germany	March 1953	148
58. USSR relaxation of controls in Austria	June 1953	171
59. Peace offensive-Great Britain	June 1953	129
60. Demonstrations in East Berlin	June 1953	120
61. Security of Bulgaria	October 1953	35
62. Relations with Albania	May 1954	142
63. Restoration of controls in Austria	June 1954	172
64. Relations with Sweden	July 1954	141
65. Austria State Treaty	May 1955	151
66. Withdrawal from Port Arthur and Dairen	May 1955	153
67. Withdrawal from Porkkala (Finland)	October 1955	152

<u>Case Number and Political Context</u>	<u>Month/Year USSR Forces First Used</u>	<u>Brookings File Number</u>
68. Relations with Great Britain	October 1955	145
69. Security of regime in East Germany	December 1955	36
70. Relations with Japan	January 1956	135
71. Relations with Yugoslavia	May 1956	155
72. Relations with China	June 1956	156
73. Political demonstrations in Poland	June 1956	43
74. Government change in Poland	October 1956	44
75. Crisis in Hungary	October 1956	46
76. Security of regime in Rumania	October 1956	45
77. Security of regime in East Germany	October 1956	42
78. Crisis in Hungary	November 1956	47
79. Security of regime in Poland	November 1956	41
80. Security of regime in Bulgaria	November 1956	37
81. Western presence in Berlin	November 1956	146
82. Security of regime in Hungary	March 1957	50
83. Security of regime in Syria	September 1957	48
84. Security of regime in Syria	October 1957	49
85. Western presence in Berlin	October 1957	121
86. Western presence in Berlin	January 1958	149
87. Relations with Poland	May 1958	93
88. Withdrawal from Rumania	May 1958	161
89. U.S. intervention in Lebanon	July 1958	51
90. Western presence in Berlin	November 1958	122

<u>Case Number and Political Context</u>	<u>Month/Year USSR Forces First Used</u>	<u>Brookings File Number</u>
91. Western presence in Berlin	February 1959	123
92. Relations with Iran	March 1959	56
93. Insurgency in Indonesia	November 1959	163
94. Crisis in Congo	July 1960	52
95. Crisis in Congo	September 1960	53
96. Western presence in Berlin	September 1960	150
97. Crisis in Laos	December 1960	54
98. Western presence in Berlin	July 1961	124
99. Indonesia - Netherlands conflict over West Irian	? 1962	167
100. Crisis in Laos	January 1962	55
101. Western presence in Berlin	February 1962	125
102. Emplacement of missiles in Cuba	July 1962	57
103. Cuban missile crisis	October 1962	58
104. Relations with Laos	December 1962	177
105. Western presence in Berlin	April 1963	126
106. Western presence in Berlin	October 1963	127
107. Cyprus crisis	June 1964	133
108. Insurgency in Congo	December 1964	59
109. Border dispute with China	? 1965	61
110. Bundestag meets in West Berlin	April 1965	128
111. Relations with France	October 1966	162
112. Border dispute with China	February 1967	62
113. Egypt-Israel political crisis	May 1967	64
114. Arab-Israeli war	June 1967	65
115. Post Arab-Israeli war hostilities	June 1967	66

<u>Case Number and Political Context</u>	<u>Month/Year USSR Forces First Used</u>	<u>Brookings File Number</u>
116. Relations with Sweden	August 1967	166
117. Relations with Spain	October 1967	159
118. Israeli ship <u>Eilat</u> sunk	October 1967	67
119. Insurgency in North Yemen	November 1967	60
120. Seizure of U.S.S. <u>Pueblo</u> by North Korea	January 1968	68
121. Relations with Czechoslovakia	March 1968	69
122. Relations with Czechoslovakia	May 1968	70
123. Insurgency in South Yemen	June 1968	160
124. Relations with Czechoslovakia	July 1968	71
125. Relations with Czechoslovakia- invasion	August 1968	72
126. Relations with Rumania	August 1968	76
127. Security of regime in Czechoslovakia	October 1968	73
128. Seizure of Soviet trawlers by Ghana	February 1969	78
129. West Germany federal election in West Berlin	March 1969	130
130. Border dispute with China	March 1969	63
131. Relations with Czechoslovakia	March 1969	74
132. U.S. EC-121 aircraft downed by North Korea	April 1969	75
133. Security of Cuba	July 1969	112
134. Relations with Cambodia	December 1969	158
135. Security of regime in Somalia	December 1969	77
136. Insurgency in Sudan	? 1970	85
137. Security of Egypt	February 1970	80

<u>Case Number and Political Context</u>	<u>Month/Year USSR Forces First Used</u>	<u>Brookings File Number</u>
138. Security of regime in Somalia	April 1970	81
139. Relations with France	May 1970	136
140. Cease-fire in Middle East	Autumn 1970	113
141. Jordan-PLO-Syria conflict	September 1970	79
142. U.S. reaction to USSR submarine tender in Cuba	September 1970	111
143. Relations with Yugoslavia	October 1970	143
144. West Germany-USSR treaty	October 1970	131
145. Demonstrations in Poland	December 1970	178
146. Security of Guinea	December 1970	82
147. West German political visits to Berlin	January 1971	140
148. Insurgency in Sri Lanka	April 1971	87
149. Security of regime in Sierra Leone	May 1971	83
150. Relations with France	June 1971	157
151. Relations with Rumania	June 1971	132
152. India-Pakistan war	December 1971	84
153. Security of regime in Somalia	January 1972	89
154. Relations with Bangladesh	April 1972	88
155. Relations with Egypt	May 1972	170
156. U.S. response to N. Vietnam Easter offensive	May 1972	90
157. Dhofar rebellion in Oman	? 1973	101
158. Relations with Iran	January 1973	92
159. Assassination of PAIGC (Port.-Guinea insurgents) leader	January 1973	100

<u>Case Number and Political Context</u>	<u>Month/Year USSR Forces First Used</u>	<u>Brookings File Number</u>
160. Arab-Israeli conflict	April 1973	96
161. Iraq-Kuwait dispute	April 1973	91
162. Cod War between Great Britain and Iceland	May 1973	95
163. Arab-Israeli war - 1	October 1973	103
164. Arab-Israeli war - 2	October 1973	104
165. Relations with Italy	October 1973	168
166. Kurdish problem in Iraq	? 1974	94
167. Cyprus conflict	July 1974	98
168. Clearing of Suez Canal	July 1974	99
169. Relations with Yugoslavia	September 1974	97
170. Syria-Israel conflict	November 1974	134
171. Border dispute with China	November 1974	114
172. Conflict in Angola	March 1975	106
173. Relations with United States	May 1975	110
174. Barents Sea dispute with Norway	September 1975	180
175. Conflict in Angola	November 1975	107
176. Algeria - Morocco - Polisario dispute	January 1976	181
177. Conflict in Lebanon-U.S. evacuation	June 1976	176
178. Relations with Italy	September 1976	169
179. Ethiopia-Somalia war	November 1977	108
180. Western presence in Berlin	January 1978	102
181. Security of Cuba	February 1978	109

<u>Case Number and Political Context</u>	<u>Month/Year USSR Forces First Used</u>	<u>Brookings File Number</u>
182. Relations with China	April 1978	182
183. Relations with China	May 1978	183
184. China-Vietnam conflict	June 1978	184
185. Relations with Japan	June 1978	185
186. China-Vietnam conflict	August 1978	186
187. China-Vietnam war	February 1979	187

PART 4

DESCRIPTION OF VARIABLES

This part of the manual presents the "codebook" and other information that are necessary for accessing and interpreting the data file that is reproduced in Part 5. The data for each case are distributed over a single line (card). Thus, the full file comprises a total of 187 lines. The data file describes each of the 187 cases in which the Soviet Union used armed forces as a political instrument, as defined in Part 2, in terms of 56 variables. For the purpose of this presentation, these variables are divided into four sub-groups, as follows: A) contextual features; B) types of actors participating in the incident besides the USSR; C) the types and sizes of Soviet armed forces used in the incident, and changes in the deployment and readiness status of these units; D) the activities of Soviet armed forces used in the incident.

Each variable is presented in the following pages in terms of a name, description and values, and its location in the data file. The order in which the variables are presented is the same as the order in which they appear in the data file. A Fortran-type format statement is included in Part 5.

The letters of the variable and value descriptions in the following pages that are capitalized conform to SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) variable label and value label size requirements. Information presented in lower case letters and parentheses elaborates on these descriptive labels, which in some instances are too abbreviated to provide a full understanding of the variable. The example on page 28 will further clarify the format of the presentation in the pages following.

Preceding the data file on the computer tape is a control file that includes the material presented in sections A through D below, in a form that might allow the control file to be adapted as a program for the creation of an SPSS file. Of course, other programs may also be used to analyze the data, and this control file may be ignored.

Preceding the data file on the computer tape is a control file that includes the material presented in sections A through D below, in a form that might allow the control file to be adapted as a program for the creation of an SPSS file. Of course, other programs may also be used to analyze the data, and this control file may be ignored.

column(s) in line (card) where variable is denoted within each case

39

suggested variable name

COMBTAIR

variable description and suggested SPSS variable label

TOTAL UNIT SIZE OF COMBAT AIRCRAFT

<u>Values</u>	<u>Labels</u>
0	NONE (none used)
1	UPTO AIR REGIMENT (up to one air regiment)
2	AIR REGI PLUS (more than one air regiment)
3	ESTIMATE VALUE 1 (combat aircraft used; estimate size as no more than one air regiment on basis of context)
4	ESTIMATE VALUE 2 (combat aircraft used; estimate size as more than one air regiment on basis of context)
8	USED-DK SIZE (combat aircraft used; don't know and can't estimate total unit size)
9	DKNOW IF USED (don't know if combat aircraft used)

data code number

value description and suggested SPSS value label

Elaboration of value description

A. Contextual Features

1-3	BROOKNUM	BROOKINGS INCIDENT FILE NUMBER Values: 1-187; no labels.
4-5	MONTH	MONTH USSR ARMED FORCES FIRST USED (first alert, movement, or action related to incident). Values: 1-12, corresponding with months of year--labels, JANUARY, FEBRUARY, MARCH,...DECEMBER; 99-DON'T KNOW
6-7	YEAR	YEAR USSR ARMED FORCES FIRST USED (first alert, movement, or action related to incident). Values: 44-79, corresponding with calendar years--labels, 1944, 1945, 1946,...1979.
8-9	REGION	REGION USSR ARMED FORCES DIRECTED AT
	<u>Values</u>	<u>Labels</u>
	1	UNITED STATES
	2	NORTHERN EUROPE (includes Finland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Great Britain, BENELUX, Iceland, Ireland)
	3	BERLIN-GFR (includes West Germany and Berlin)
	4	AUSTRIA
	5	SOUTHERN EUROPE (includes Portugal, Spain, France, Italy, Malta, Yugoslavia, Albania, Greece, Turkey, Cyprus)
	6	EASTERN EUROPE (includes East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria)
	7	CUBA
	8	OTH CEN-SO AMER (other Central and South America)
	9	MED NAF-MIDEAST (Mediterranean littoral, North African and Middle East nations, and Jordan)
	10	PER GULF-AFHORN (includes Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Arabian Peninsula, Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia)

- 11 SUB-SAH AFRICA (other African nations)
- 12 SOUTH ASIA (India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Burma, Afghanistan, Bangladesh)
- 13 CHINA
- 14 NORTHE(a)ST ASIA (includes Korean Peninsula, Japan, and Taiwan)
- 15 SOUTHE(a)ST ASIA (Southeast Asia)

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PROXIMITY NEARNESS OF INCIDENT FOCUS TO USSR

ValuesLabel

- 1 USSR WEST CONTIG (nation bordering western USSR)
- 2 OTH EAST-CEN EUR (other Eastern or Central European nation--GFR, Austria, Bulgaria)
- 3 USSR ASIA CONTIG (nation bordering eastern USSR, including Japan)
- 4 DEN-SWE-YUG-ALB-GRC (Denmark, Sweden, Yugoslavia, Albania, Greece)
- 5 OTHER (none of the above)

11-12

SITUATIN SITUATION LEADING TO USSR FORCE USE

ValuesLabel

- 1 END WRLD WAR II (Soviet troops entered country as part of World War II)
- 2 THREAT TO USSR (threat to security of USSR)
- 3 USSR CIT-PROP (attack, threat to or seizure of USSR citizens or property)
- 4 USSR-COM RELATIONS (friendly, correct or improved relations between USSR and communist nation)
- 5 USSR-NAT RELATIONS (friendly, correct, or improved relations between USSR and NATO nation)

- 6 USSR-OTH RELATIONS (friendly, correct, or improved relations between USSR and non-NATO and noncommunist nation in nonconflict situation)
- 7 COMM REG LOYALTY (question or issue about a communist regime's loyalty to USSR)
- 8 COMM REG SECURITY (question or issue about a communist regime's continued existence as a result of internal forces)
- 9 COMM REG EXT-NON (external manifest or latent threat to nation having a communist regime or concern to bolster its legitimacy or security in face of continuing danger; situation not one of current or immediately preceding violence)
- 10 COMM REG EXT-CON (external manifest or latent threat to nation having a communist regime or concern to bolster its legitimacy or security in face of continuing danger; situation one of current or immediately preceding violence)
- 11 OTHER REGOPPOS (support internal non-insurgency threat against noncommunist regime)
- 12 OTHER REGSUPPT (internal non-insurgency threat to noncommunist regime supported by USSR)
- 13 OPPOSE INSURGENCY (insurgency not supported by USSR)
- 14 SUPPORT INSURGENCY (insurgency supported by USSR)
- 15 UNFRIEND INTEREL (unfriendly but non-violent relations between noncommunist nations; USSR supports one party)
- 16 INTERST CONFLICT (continuing sporadic, or other violence between noncommunist nations; USSR supports one party)
- 17 USSR-OTH UNFRIEND (unfriendly relations between USSR and other nation)

13	MODEUSE	MODE OF USSR FORCE USE-COERCE OR COOP (cooperation)
	<u>Values</u>	<u>Labels</u>
	1	COERCION-SUPPORT (USSR armed forces used to coerce an actor or show support to an actor in a conflictive situation)
	2	COOPERAT (USSR armed forces used to show friendship, strengthen relationship or otherwise obtain a goal non-coercively)
14	GEOSTRAT	GEO-STRATEGIC CONTEXT (of) USSR FORCE USE
	<u>Values</u>	<u>Labels</u>
	1	EXPANSION (expansion of USSR territory or attempt to obtain direct control over foreign nation--that is, establish a loyal Marxist-Leninist regime)
	2	DEFENSE (defense of Marxist-Leninist regime or latter's loyalty to USSR)
	3	SEC REL IN WEST (security relations in the west)
	4	SEC REL IN EAST (security relations in the east)
	5	3D WORLD INFLUENCE (influence relationship with third world nation)
	6	OTHER CONTEXT

B. Types of actors besides the USSR

15	USA	UNITED STATES
	<u>Value</u>	<u>Label</u>
	0	NOT AN ACTOR
	1	DNOT USE ARMFORC (U.S. an actor but did not use armed forces)
	2	USED ARM FORCES (U.S. an actor and used armed forces)
	9	POSSIBLE ALERT (U.S. armed forces may have been placed on increased level of alert)

The following values apply to each of the foreign actors listed below:

<u>Values</u>	<u>Labels</u>
0	NO
1	YES
9	DONT KNOW

16	NATO	NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY SIGNATORY
17	SEATO	SEATO TREATY-PROTOCOL NATION (excludes Philippines, Pakistan and non-Asian members)
18	USTREATY	OTHER US TREATY NATION (includes bilateral defense treaty and non-NATO CENTO members)
19	USALLY	OTHER US ALLY OR CLIENT
20	PRCHINA	PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF CHINA
21	WTO	WARSAW TREATY NATION (member of Warsaw Treaty Organization other than USSR, or nation that became a WTO member)
22	FRNDCOMM	CUBA, VIETNAM, NKOREA, MONGOLIA (Cuba, Vietnam, North Korea or Mongolia)
23	YUGOSLAV	YUGOSLAVIA

24	USSRALLY	OTHER USSR ALLY (or client) NATION
25	USSRCLNT	USSR CLIENT GROUP (organization)
26	OTNATION	OTHER NATION (nation that would not be included in any one of above categories)
27	INTERORG	UNITED NATIONS OR REGION ORG (regional organization)
28	OTHERORG	OTHER ORGANIZATION OR GROUP (than one that would be included in any one of above categories)

C. Types and sizes of USSR armed forces units used in the incident.

30	NUCFORCE	USE OF STRATEGIC NUCLEAR (capable) FORCE
	<u>Values</u>	<u>Labels</u>
	0	NO
	1	YES
	9	DONT KNOW
31	GRONDSIZ	TOTAL UNIT SIZE OF GROUND FORCE
	<u>Values</u>	<u>Labels</u>
	0	NONE (none used)
	1	UP TO A BATTALION
	2	BATTL PL TO DIVISION (more than one battalion, but no more than one division)
	3	MOR THAN DIVISION (more than one division)
	4	ESTIMATE VALUE 1 (troops used; estimate size as no more than one battalion on basis of context)
	5	ESTIMATE VALUE 2 (troops used; estimate size as greater than one battalion, but no more than one division on basis of context)
	6	ESTIMATE VALUE 3 (troops used; estimate size as greater than one division on basis of context)
	8	USED-DK SIZE (troops used; don't know and can't estimate total unit size)
	9	DKNOW IF USED (don't know if troops used)

32	NAVINFAN	TOTAL UNIT SIZE OF AMPHB (amphibious ground) FORCE (units on board or deploying from amphibious ships) Values and Labels same as for GRONDSIZ.
33	GRFOAIRL	TOTAL UNIT SIZE OF FORCE AIRLIFTED
	<u>Values</u>	<u>Labels</u>
	0	NONE (no airlift of troops)
	1	UP TO A COMPANY (no more than one company)
	2	COM PLS TO REGIM (more than one company, but no more than one regiment)
	3	MOR THAN REGIM (more than one regiment)
	8	AIRLIFT-DK SIZE (troops airlifted, but don't know total unit size)
	9	DKNOW IF AIRLIFT (don't know if troops airlifted)
34	NCARRIER	NUMBER OF AIR-HELO (aircraft-helicopter) CARRIERS (includes <u>Moskva</u> and <u>Kiev</u> class ships)
	<u>Values</u>	<u>Labels</u>
	0	NONE (none used)
	1	ONE
	2	TWO
	3	THREE
	4	FOUR
	5	FIVE
	6	SIX
	7	MOR(e) THAN SIX
	8	USED-DK (don't know) NUMBER
	9	DKNOW (don't know) IF USED

32	NAVINFAN	TOTAL UNIT SIZE OF AMPHB (amphibious ground) FORCE (units on board or deploying from amphibious ships) Values and Labels same as for GRONDSIZ.
33	GRFOAIRL	TOTAL UNIT SIZE OF FORCE AIRLIFTED
	<u>Values</u>	<u>Labels</u>
	0	NONE (no airlift of troops)
	1	UP TO A COMPANY (no more than one company)
	2	COM PLS TO REGIM (more than one company, but no more than one regiment)
	3	MOR THAN REGIM (more than one regiment)
	8	AIRLIFT-DK SIZE (troops airlifted, but don't know total unit size)
	9	DKNOW IF AIRLIFT (don't know if troops airlifted)
34	NCARRIER	NUMBER OF AIR-HELO (aircraft-helicopter) CARRIERS (includes <u>Moskva</u> and <u>Kiev</u> class ships)
	<u>Values</u>	<u>Labels</u>
	0	NONE (none used)
	1	ONE
	2	TWO
	3	THREE
	4	FOUR
	5	FIVE
	6	SIX
	7	MOR(e) THAN SIX
	8	USED-DK (don't know) NUMBER
	9	DKNOW (don't know) IF USED

35	AMPHSHIP	USE OF AMPHIBIOUS SHIPS
	<u>Values</u>	<u>Labels</u>
	0	NOT USED (no use of amphibious ships)
	1	USED (amphibious ship used)
	9	DKNOW (don't know) IF USED
36	NSRFCCOM	NUMBER OTHER MAJOR SURFACE WARSHIPS (includes cruiser, destroyer, frigate and escort type ships; values and labels same as for NCARRIER)
37	NSUBMARN	NUMBER OF SUBMARINES Values and labels same as for NCARRIER
38	NOTHSHIP	NUMBER OF OTHER TYPES OF SHIPS (types mentioned above not present)
	<u>Values</u>	<u>Labels</u>
	0	NOT APPL OR NONE (not applicable or none used)
	1	ONE
	2	TWO
	3	THREE
	4	FOUR
	5	FIVE
	6	MOR(e) THAN FIVE
	7	USED-DK (don't know) NUMBER
	8	USED-DK NUM-TYPE (ship used, but don't know number or type)
	9	DKNOW IF USED (don't know if any or other types of ships used)

39	COMBTAIR	TOTAL UNIT SIZE OF COMBAT AIRCRAFT
	<u>Values</u>	<u>Labels</u>
	0	NONE (none used)
	1	UPTO AIR REGIMENT (up to one air regiment)
	2	AIR REGI PLUS (more than one air regiment)
	3	ESTIMATE VALUE 1 (combat aircraft used; estimate size as no more than one air regiment on basis of context)
	4	ESTIMATE VALUE 2 (combat aircraft used; estimate size as more than one air regiment on basis of context)
	8	USED-DK SIZE (combat aircraft used; don't know and can't estimate total unit size)
	9	DKNOW IF USED (don't know if combat aircraft used)
40	TRANSAIR	TOTAL UNIT SIZE TRANSPORT AIRCRAFT Values and labels same as for COMBTAIR
41	HELOTRAN	USE OF TRANSPORT HELICOPTERS
	<u>Values</u>	<u>Labels</u>
	0	NOT USED
	1	USED
	9	DKNOW (don't know) IF USED
42	RECONAIR	USE OF RECON-PATROL AIRCRAFT (reconnaissance or patrol aircraft; values and labels same as for HELOTRAN)
43	OTHERAIR	UNKNOWN TYPE OF AIRCRAFT USED Values and labels same as for HELOTRAN
44	MISSILET	MISSILE TEST
	<u>Values</u>	<u>Labels</u>
	0	NO
	1	YES
	9	DONT KNOW

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MOBILIZE RESERVE UNITS MOBILIZED

Values Labels

0	NO
1	YES
9	DONT KNOW

53-54

MOVEMENT DEPLOYMENT-ALERT OF USSR FORCES

Values Labels

1	NOTWDRN NOTREINF (force not withdrawn but not reinforced)
2	NOTWDRN REINFORCED (force not withdrawn and 1. reinforced from within theater, or 2. other in theater forces deployed forward)
3	INTHEATR FORONLY (in theater forces deployed forward; forces not deployed from out of theater)
4	INANDOUT THEATER (in theater and out of theater forces deployed forward)
5	INPOSOUT THEATER (in theater and possibly out of theater forces deployed forward)
6	INTHEAT OUTALERT (in theater forces deployed forward and out of theater alert)
7	INTHEAT POOALERT (in theater forces deployed forward and out of theater forces possibly alerted)
8	OUTTHEAT FORONLY (only out of theater forces deployed forward)
9	INTHEAT REARWARD (forces deployed rearward within theater)
10	OTTHEAT REARWARD (forces deployed rearward between theaters)
11	INPOSOUT THEATRR (forces deployed rearward within theater and possibly between theaters)

E. Activities of USSR armed forces used in the incident

The following values and labels apply to each of the incidents listed below.

	<u>Values</u>	<u>Labels</u>
	0	NO
	1	YES
	9	DONT KNOW
55	SHOTSFIR	SHOTS FIRED BY USSR FORCES (violent ground, air, or naval action)
56	OTHFORCE	OTHER FORCEFUL USSR ACTION (including harassment; excluding blockade)
57	GRNDEMPL	USSR GROUND FORCE EMPLACED (in foreign nation)
58	AIRUEMPL	USSR AIR UNIT EMPLACED (in foreign nation; including dispatch of pilots without aircraft)
59	GRARRETN	USSR GROUND OR AIR FORCE RETAINED
60	NAVLRETN	USSR NAVAL FORCE RETAINED
61	NAVLPRES	USSR NAVAL PRESENCE ESTABLISHED (appearance of naval forces at or near location of incident)
62	NAVLVIST	USSR NAVAL VISIT
63	BLOCKADE	USSR SELECTIVE-COMplete BLOCKADE EST (established)
64	GRNDEXDE	USSR GOUND FORCE EXERCISE-DEMON(stration) (including massing troops in USSR near a foreign border)
65	AIRTRFOR	USSR AIR TRANSPORT FOREIGN FORCES (air transport foreign actor forces, equipment or operatives)
66	AIRTREQP	USSR AIR TRANSPORT EQUIP TO ACTOR (air transport of USSR equipment to a foreign actor)

67	SEATRFOR	USSR SEALIFT OF FOREIGN FORCES (sealift foreign actor forces, equipment or operatives)
68	AIREXDE	USSR AIR EXERCISE-PATROL-RECON(naissance) (including massing aircraft in USSR near a foreign border)
69	OCCUTERM	USSR OCCUPATION TERMINATED (partially or completely)
70	NAVLEXDE	USSR NAVAL EXERCISE OR DEMONSTRATION (including theater force increase; NAVLPRES = 0 or 9)
71	OTHERACT	OTHER USSR ACTIVITY

PART 5

DATA FILE

The data collected for the 56 variables that were described in Part 4 are presented below. These data also exist on computer tape. Information about how to acquire copies of the computer tape is presented in Part 1. Both in the pages that follow and on the computer tape, the data are distributed over one line (card) for each case; hence the data file for the 187 cases comprises a total of 187 lines (cards). The applicable format statement, as derived from Part 4, is as follows:(F3.0, 3F2.0, F1.0, F2.0, 16F1.0, 1X, 16F1.0, 7X, F2.0, 17F1.0). This format statement is also included in the computer tape control file.

The 187 cases appear in the same chronological order as the list of incidents presented in Part 3. Hence the numbers to the left of the data file in Part 5 correspond with the left-hand margin case number listing in Part 3.

00100	16 644 21	11110001000000100	03000000090000000	3001900000000000000
00200	15 644 61	11110001010000001	03000000020000000	3001100000000000000
00300	2 744 61	11110001010000001	03000000020000000	3001100000000000000
00400	17 844 61	11110001010000001	03000000020000000	3001100000000000000
00500	3 844 61	11110001010000001	03000000020000000	3001100000000000000
00600	1 944 62	11110001010000001	03000000020000000	3001100000000000000
00700	41044 61	11110001010000001	03000000020000000	3001100000000000000
00800	181044 61	11100000100000001	03000000000000000	3001100000000000000
00900	9 145 61	11120000100000001	03000000000000000	3001000000000000000
01000	21 145 61	11110001000000000	03000000090000000	3001900000000000000
01100	6 145 62	11320001010000001	03000000020000000	3001100000000000000
01200	7 345 42	11320001000000100	03000000000000000	3001000000000000000
01300	20 845143	11110001000000000	03000900900000000	3001900900000000000
01400	22 845133	11120001000001000	03000009400000000	3001100001000900000
01500	19 845135	11110001000000000	03000900900000000	3001900900000000000
01600	5 845143	11120000001000001	03000000900000000	3001900000000000000
01700	231145133	11620001000000000	03000000040000000	1010010000000000000
01800	1741145 24	11310001000000100	02000000900000000	2001910000000000000
01900	261245101	1111000000001100	03000000900000000	2000010001000090000
02000	81245 61	12320000100000001	06000000000000000	9000000000000000100
02100	25 246135	31420001000000000	03900009000000000	5101000900100000000
02200	27 346 5117112000000000100	03000000900000000		3001000000000090000
02300	14 346133	12420001000001000	03000000900000000	1100000000000000100
02400	175 346 24	62310001000000100	02000000900000000	9000000000000000100
02500	13 746143	71100000010000001	03000000900000000	1000010000000000000
02600	29 347135141120001000001000	00100000800000000		3001000100000000000
02700	28 847101171310000000000100	02000000000000000		3000000001000000000
02800	12 947 61	71100000010000001	03000000900000000	1000010000000000000
02900	10 947 61	71100000010000001	03000000200000000	1000010000000000000
03000	11 947 61	71100000010000001	03000000200000000	1000010000000000000
03100	139 148 32	21320001000000000	08000000000000100	3000000001000010000
03200	30 248 6111100000010000001	08000000000000000		3000000001000000000
03300	115 348 32	21320001000000000	08000000800000000	3011000001000010000
03400	116 648 32	21320001000000000	06080000048000000	5019100001100010000
03500	165 948 24	213100000000000100	00000000800000100	300000000000001010
03600	1541048143	92220001001000000	06000000900000000	90000000000000100
03700	241048133141120001000001000	00000000019000000		3010000000090000000
03800	311048101	21310001000000000	0800000000001000	3100000000000010000
03900	339949143	91210001001000000	00000000800000000	3000100000000000000
04000	147 549101	21310001000000000	08000000000000000	3100000000100000000

04100	32	849	54	712000000001000000	0300000010000000	300000010010000000
04200	117	150	32	2139100101000000	0800000000000000	301000001000000000
04300	173	950	32	171191000010000000	0400000000000000	391100000000000000
04400	349950	13310	12200	1101000000	0300000002000000	510110000000000000
04500	1799950	14310	12200	10010000010	0300000002000000	390110000000000000
04600	118	151	32	171191001010000000	0400000000000000	391100000000000000
04700	138	251	61	812000000100000001	030000000900000000	390190000090000000
04800	38	351	54	912000000100000001	000000000800000000	890010000000000000
04900	40	651	101	1213110000000000100	0800001000000000	300000010010000000
05000	144	851	32	213910010100000000	0000000001000000	300000000000001000
05100	86	951	54	213900000001000000	0800000008000000	300000000100001000
05200	119	152	32	213910010100000000	0800000004000000	301000000100001000
05300	39	652	143	171420010000000000	0000009080000000	300000000000001010
05400	164	652	24	21300000000000100	0000000010000000	310000000000000000
05500	137	752	54	213100000001000000	0000000010000000	300000000000001000
05600	1051052	32	213910010100000000	0800000000000000	0800000000000000	300000000100000000
05700	148	353	32	213910010100000000	0800000001000000	310000000100000000
05800	171	653	42	52321000000000100	0800000000000000	900000000000000100
05900	129	653	25	523010000000000000	0000001000000000	800000001000000000
06000	120	653	62	812000000100000000	0300000000000000	710100000100000000
06100	351053	62	912010000100000000	0000009080000000	0000000000000000	300010009000000000
06200	142	554	54	722000000101000000	0000003000000000	800000010000000000
06300	172	654	42	17131100000000100	0800000000000000	300000000100000000
06400	141	754	24	62300000000000100	0000005000000000	300000001000000000
06500	151	555	42	52321000000000100	0300000000000000	900000000000000100
06600	153	555	133	722000001000000000	0800000000000000	1100000000000000100
06700	1521055	21	62301000000000100	0800000000000000	0800000000000000	900000000000000100
06800	1451055	25	523010000000000000	0000006000000000	0000000000000000	800000001000000000
06900	361255	62	912110000100000000	0800000000000000	0800000000000000	900000001000000001
07000	135	156143	1714000	1000000000000000	0000000800000000	301000000000000000
07100	155	556	54	722000000010000000	0000003000000000	800000001000000000
07200	156	656133	7220000	0100000000	0000003000000000	300000001000000000
07300	43	656	61	812000000100000001	0800000000000000	300000000100000000
07400	441056	61	71200000010001000	0600002000000000	0000000000000000	300000010010000000
07500	461056	61	712000000100000001	9300000000000000	0000000000000000	510100000100000000
07600	451056	61	812000000100000000	0300000000000000	0000000000000000	300100000000000000
07700	421056	62	812000000100000000	0300000000000000	0000000000000000	300100000000000000
07800	471156	61	812000000100000001	930000000040000009	0000000000000000	510190000100000000
07900	411156	61	812000000100000000	030000000000000000	0000000000000000	300000000010000000
08000	371156	67	812000000100000000	0800000000000000	0000000000000000	300100000000000000

08100	1461156	32171391000010000000	080000000000000000	300000000100000000
08200	50 357	61 812000000100000001	030000000000000000	100001000010000000
08300	48 957	95151521001000010000	000000200000000000	300000000100000000
08400	491057	95151521001000010000	080008000000000000	300000000100000010
08500	1211057	32 912910000100000000	080000000000000000	300000000100000000
08600	149 158	32 912910000100000000	080000000000000000	300000000100000000
08700	93 558	61 712000000100000000	080000000000000000	300000000100000000
08800	161 558	61 722000000100000000	030000000000000000	9000000000000000100
08900	51 758	95111521001000010001	060000800400000000	300000000100001010
09000	1221158	32 913210000100000000	080000000000000000	300000000100000000
09100	123 259	32 913210000100000000	080000000100000000	3010000000000000000
09200	56 359	10117130001000000000	000000000800000000	3000000000000001000
09300	163115915513152000900000101	000000300000000000	000000000000000000	8000000001000000000
09400	52 760	115131521000000000111	000000000010000000	800010000001100000
09500	53 960	1151415210000000001110	000000000010000000	300090000001000000
09600	150 960	32 912910000100000000	000000000100000000	3010000000000000000
09700	541260155141520100001001001	000000000100000000	000000000100000000	810010000001000000
09800	124 761	32 913210000100000000	9300089020000000	701000000010001010
09900	167996215516159100000010010	000000000300000000	000000000000000000	800010000000009000
10000	55 162	155141520100001001001	000000000030000000	800010000001000000
10100	125 262	32 913210000100000000	080000000110000000	301000000100000000
10200	57 762	75171320000010000000	020000000200000000	800110000000000000
10300	581062	75 213210000110000000	130000060200000000	690000010000000000
10400	1771262155	625101000000000000	000000000100000000	800000000010000000
10500	126 463	32 912910000100000000	080000000100000000	310000000100000000
10600	1271063	32 912210000100000000	080000000000000000	300000000100000000
10700	133 664	55151321000000000111	000000900000000000	800000000000000001
10800	5912641	15141521001000011010	000000000100000000	800000000000100000
10900	619965133	214000001000000000	030000009400000000	490110000010000000
11000	128 465	32 912210000100000000	080800008800000000	301000000110001000
11100	1621066	55 523110000000000000	000002000000000000	300000001000000000
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PART 6

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20. ABSTRACT (Continue on reverse side if necessary and identify by block number) In 1979 a study titled <u>Mailed Fist, Velvet Glove: Soviet Armed Forces as a Political Instrument</u> was completed for the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency of the U.S. Department of Defense. The study found that between June 1944 and June 1979, Soviet armed forces were used on 187 occasions as a political instrument -- that is, as a means of influencing the decisions of foreign governments. This manual is designed to allow other researchers to make use of the data that were collected on		

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these incidents. It includes an extended definition and discussion of the subject of the study, a list of the incidents, a description of the variables for which data were collected, the full data file, and a listing of sources. The data file and a control file containing a description of the variables and their values have also been placed on a computer tape. Information is provided about how copies of this computer tape may be obtained.

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