

U.S. Showed Force 215 Times Since

FORCE, From A1

Turkish independence by the Soviet Union).

The most recent incident in the report was the powerful naval and U.S. Marine Corps task force sent in connection with the rescue of the U.S. merchant ship Mayaguez in Cambodia in waters in May, 1976. Although there have been several "show of force" maneuvers since then—notably air and sea forces sent toward Korea after two American officers were killed in a demilitarized zone incident last August and U.S. forces sent to back up Kenya last July after threats from Uganda—the cutoff date for the bookings compilation was Oct. 31, 1976.

U.S. strategic nuclear forces were deployed for political effect in 33 instances, mostly in the 1940s and 1950s, according to the report. The last instance of a nuclear threat listed in the

study was the worldwide U.S. alert ordered during the October, 1973 Middle East war in an effort to deter Soviet participation. This and the 1962 Cuban missile crisis were the only two "overt and explicit threats" of nuclear force directed at the Soviet Union, according to the report.

When a U.S. aircraft was downed over Yugoslavia in 1946, six B-29s flew "rather ostentatiously" and menacingly along the Yugoslav border, according to the report. Nine other instances involving strategic nuclear forces were movements or alerts of Air Force strategic bombers involving tensions with the Soviet Union or China. Strategic Air Command bombers were flown to Uruguay in 1947 and Nicaragua in 1954 with the apparent intention of reassuring U.S. allies.

From the mid-1950s to the mid-1960s was the most active period for U.S. political use of military forces abroad, according to the report. An average of

13.4 incidents per year took place during the presidency of John F. Kennedy, an average of 9.7 incidents yearly during the Lyndon B. Johnson administration, 7.3 incidents yearly during Dwight D. Eisenhower's presidency but 5 or fewer incidents yearly under Harry S. Truman, Richard M. Nixon, and Gerald R. Ford.

Naval units participated in four out of every five of the incidents, land-based air units in about half, and ground combat units participated in one-fifth of the "show of force" incidents. The analysts reported that, in general, the greater the U.S. commitment implied by the forces assigned, the more successful was the impact, and result. The use of strategic nuclear forces and American forces actively landed on foreign soil implied the greatest commitments, and also were accompanied by the greatest risks.

An examination of Soviet use of armed forces for political impact

abroad suggested that the Russians have been more active far from home after the achievement of rough strategic parity with the United States around 1969. The report said Soviet military personnel have participated in three conflicts since the late 1960s—the Egyptian "war of attrition" against Israel, the civil war in Sudan, and Iraq's war against the Kurds.

On the other hand, the Russians have almost never instigated the crises in which they have intervened since 1969, the report said.

Even in the Middle East, where the Soviets have encouraged Arab hostility to Israel, tensions have grown more fundamentally out of local issues, according to the study. In general, Soviet use of military forces for political effect has been less provocative in its challenge to U.S. interests under party leader Leonid I. Brezhnev than in the Nikita Khrushchev era, according to the study.

1945, Study Says