

LINDA B. MILLER

# World Order and Local Disorder

*The United Nations and  
Internal Conflicts*



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## World Order and Local Disorder

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WORLD ORDER  
AND LOCAL DISORDER

The United Nations and  
Internal Conflicts

BY LINDA B. MILLER



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*FOR MY FAMILY*



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L.B.M.

*December 1966, Princeton, N.J.*





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## World Order and Local Disorder

## ABBREVIATIONS

<b>ANC</b>	Congolese National Army
<b>FLN</b>	Algerian Front of National Liberation
<b>GPRA</b>	Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic
<b>OAS</b>	Organization of American States
<b>OAU</b>	Organization of African Unity
<b>ONUC</b>	United Nations Operation in the Congo
<b>UMHK</b>	Union Minière de Haut Katanga
<b>UNCI</b>	United Nations Commission for Indonesia
<b>UNEF</b>	United Nations Emergency Force
<b>UNFICYP</b>	United Nations Force in Cyprus
<b>UNOGIL</b>	United Nations Observer Group in Lebanon
<b>UNSCOB</b>	United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans
<b>UNYOM</b>	United Nations Yemen Observation Mission

## Introduction

THE increasing prevalence of internal disorders in the contemporary international system poses vexing problems for both political theorists and policy-makers. For theorists, difficulties arise from the fact that methods of investigation deemed suitable for examining other political phenomena are of little value in evolving a theory of internal violence.<sup>1</sup> Policy-makers, charged with formulating and executing sustained or ad hoc policies representing national or international interests may, like theorists, find traditional concepts suitable for international wars inapplicable to internal conflicts defying easy categorization.

Some scholars, confronted with a bewildering array of cases, have attempted to blur the distinction between various types of contemporary internal violence by using the term "internal war."<sup>2</sup> Although this term is used widely in the growing literature devoted to investigating the social, economic, political, and psychological aspects of contemporary civil strife,<sup>3</sup> it is not wholly adequate for scholarly inquiry. Many significant internal disorders, for example the recurring violence in the former Belgian Congo, are not "wars." "Internal war" is

<sup>1</sup> Harry Eckstein (ed.), *Internal War: Problems and Approaches* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3. For example, Eckstein cites 1,200 instances of "internal war" as reported in the *New York Times* in the period 1946-1959 (including civil wars, guerrilla wars, internal rioting, local terrorism, coups d'etat).

<sup>3</sup> See for example, George Modelski, *The International Relations of Internal War*, Center of International Studies Research Monograph No. 9 (Princeton: 1961); Cyril E. Black and Thomas P. Thornton (eds.), *Communism and Revolution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964); and James Rosenau (ed.), *International Aspects of Civil Strife* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964).

rendered still less precise for purposes of analysis by its occasional use to describe a particular type of ostensibly civil conflict.<sup>4</sup> For these reasons, in the present study the terms "internal conflicts," "internal violence," and "internal disorders" will be used in preference to "internal wars."

The inadequacy of the term "internal war" is but one problem plaguing social scientists who would investigate the phenomenon of intrastate violence. The difficulties encountered in delimiting, analyzing, and classifying internal conflicts persist despite greater attention to the significance of these disorders in recent years.

Inquiry into internal disorders remains in a "pre-theoretical" stage. As Eckstein argues, it is necessary to develop "descriptive categories in terms of which the basic features of internal wars can be identified, in terms of which their nuances and broader features can be depicted in general structural concepts, classes (or types) constructed, and resemblances of cases to one another or to types can be accurately assessed."<sup>5</sup> Only after such categories have been established will social scientists begin to comprehend the preconditions of internal violence, the courses such disorders take, and the long-term consequences of their evolution.

Attempts to develop convincing categories continue. One scholar seeking to classify the varied range of colonial wars, post-colonial internal conflicts, proxy wars, and other forms of intrastate violence suggests that these disorders be differentiated according to the objectives of the insurgents, the duration of the conflict, or the type

<sup>4</sup> See for example, Roger Hilsman, "Internal War: The New Communist Tactic," in Franklin Mark Osanka (ed.), *Modern Guerrilla Warfare* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1962), pp. 452-463.

<sup>5</sup> Eckstein, p. 23.

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of violence displayed. Lincoln Bloomfield takes the degree of foreign intervention as the starting point for analyzing various types of internal conflicts. He ranks them on a scale from "basically internal disorders" (for example, the 1953 East German uprising) to "externally abetted internal instability" (the 1962 Yemeni civil war and others) and finally, "externally created or controlled internal instability" (the 1948 Communist putsch in Czechoslovakia).<sup>6</sup> Difficult questions of interpretation arise when a theorist is asked to rank the complex disorders in the former Indochina along Bloomfield's scale, to give but one example. Statements of various national policy-makers concerned with the continuing violence in South Vietnam reflect conflicting assessments of the degree of external involvement and direction in the South-east Asian conflict. Contemporary internal disorders are volatile in their evolution. They may originate as "basically internal" and become "externally abetted" or "controlled" over a period of time. Protracted conflicts in a single political or geographical entity, such as South Vietnam, may be classified by some writers or participants as "basically internal" and by others, at the same time, as "externally created." Problems of classification increase as detached observers or policy-makers attempt to make clear distinctions between genuinely internal conflicts and international conflicts.

Bloomfield's categories, while helpful in some respects, are not exhaustive, as the author himself acknowledges.<sup>7</sup> They run the risk of being too rigid to deal with elusive political phenomena and too dependent upon subjective interpretations to permit completely

<sup>6</sup> Lincoln Bloomfield, *International Military Forces* (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1964), pp. 28-30.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28.



satisfactory distinctions among cases.<sup>8</sup> But similar objections may be raised against any other classification scheme. Academic study of contemporary internal disorders is in an early stage; published works necessarily reflect the difficulties inherent in finding acceptable criteria for distinguishing conflicts characterized by diversity and complexity.

Categories useful for analyzing internal conflicts from one perspective may not be useful for other purposes. Thus the present study, the first concerned with the role of the United Nations in contemporary internal conflicts, employs categories chosen for their value in assessing the Organization's record. The writer does not suggest that these categories are adequate for a theoretical approach to the international relations of internal violence. It may be argued that the classifications "colonial wars," "internal conflicts involving a breakdown in law and order," and "proxy wars and internal conflicts involving charges of external aggression or subversion" are not mutually exclusive. To be sure, in the Indonesian, Algerian, and Angolan cases, as well as in the Congo, Cyprus, and Dominican disorders, charges of "aggression" were brought before U.N. councils. Similarly, the recurring violence in the former Indochinese states has colonial and post-colonial roots. But it may be said that in the Organization's consideration of a particular disorder or series of disorders in one political

<sup>8</sup> Bloomfield places the immediate post-independence violence in the Congo in the category of "externally created or controlled internal instability" on grounds that "the hasty and unprepared withdrawal of Belgian power and authority" was a critical factor (*ibid.*, p. 30). Equally convincing evidence could be presented in favor of placing the disorders of July 1960–February 1961 in Bloomfield's first or second categories. Similarly, later periods of the Congo's internal violence might be placed in one of several categories.

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entity a major characteristic has emerged. The cases are arranged according to the major characteristic of the conflict as it manifested itself during the period of U.N. concern. The chapters are organized according to the broad types of internal disorder with which the United Nations has dealt rather than according to procedures adopted by the Organization in particular cases. The efficacy of U.N. procedures—debate, resolution, investigation, observation, and peace-keeping—is assessed in the concluding chapter.

The literature on international organization includes numerous detailed studies of the functions and powers of U.N. organs and many examples of case studies. Other writers have discussed many of the conflicts considered in the present study, yet prior analyses of important disorders including those in the Congo have tended to stress limited aspects, such as the United Nations' use of force. It is hoped that the present work may help to bridge the gap between theoretical considerations of internal violence as a social phenomenon and empirical studies of international organization as a structural component of the international system. The urgency of the issues posed by internal conflicts for the international society makes scholarly neglect of the role of international institutions especially unfortunate.

Since the United Nations is a political institution concerned with the maintenance of international peace and security, it is important to clarify the interests of the Organization in internal conflicts. It is also necessary to examine the legal and political factors that have limited the Organization's effectiveness in dealing with internal conflicts judged to threaten international peace and security. Among the questions investigated are the fol-

lowing: To what extent has the United Nations served the interests of parties favoring the status quo or change in particular cases? To what extent has U.N. involvement served the principles of legitimacy and self-determination? What factors have influenced the choice of procedures adopted in each case? What trends of Charter usage and interpretation have developed in U.N. practice? In what ways has the increase in membership affected the Organization's response to various types of internal conflict? Does U.N. practice reveal a consistent approach to any particular type of internal conflict? What roles have regional organizations played in internal conflicts the United Nations has considered?

In Chapter 1, the political importance of internal disorders to the new states, to the superpowers, and to other nations is outlined. The sources of a U.N. concern for conflicts not mentioned in the Organization's Charter are explained. In Chapter 2, the Indonesian, Algerian, and Angolan cases are analyzed in order to reveal the significant features of colonial wars and the similarities and differences in the United Nations' approach to these disorders at different times in the Organization's history. In Chapter 3, the Congo, Cyprus, and Dominican cases are discussed with special reference to the consequences resulting from the need of the United Nations or particular member states to select, among competing groups or factions, candidates to perform the order-giving functions of government. In Chapter 4, the Organization's responses to a diversified series of intrastate conflicts including those in Greece, Guatemala, Hungary, Lebanon, Yemen, Laos, and Vietnam are assessed. Possible reasons for differences in the

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character of the United Nations' participation are advanced. In Chapter 5, the questions posed in the introduction are reconsidered in the light of Chapters 1-4, and implications for the United Nations' future responses are suggested.

## CHAPTER I

### The Nature of Internal Conflicts and the Bases of International Concern

**T**HE high incidence of intrastate violence expresses the revolutionary character of the contemporary international system. Internal disorders, whether in the form of armed insurrections, bloodless military coups, uprisings against colonial domination, or factional struggles for governmental power, reflect major influences in world politics: the cold war in its military, political, ideological, and psychological aspects; the transition from colonial administration to new regimes; and the uncertain balance induced by nuclear technology. It is not coincidental that countries in the less-industrialized geographical sectors of Asia, Latin America, Africa, and the Middle East are experiencing internal conflicts involving complex combinations of actual and potential violence. Despite enormous differences in political traditions or cultural development, the process of economic modernization these countries are now experiencing creates social and political upheaval and invites violent or subviolent civil strife.

Nevertheless, internal disorders are an old, if not always well-understood, feature of world politics. No major power—East or West—has achieved a unified governmental structure without severe internal disorders at some point in its history. It is necessary to delineate more clearly the nature of contemporary internal violence in order to understand the concerns of international organizations in these conflicts, for different kinds of internal violence create different kinds of interna-

## THE NATURE OF INTERNAL CONFLICTS

tional concerns and these concerns may involve the United Nations or competitive national interventions outside the U.N. structure. Contemporary international organization, in the form of the United Nations and regional bodies, offers alternatives to strictly national interventions in internal disorders. The process whereby these conflicts may be internationalized is no longer confined to the individual or collective actions of incumbents, insurgents, or foreign states with vested interests.

The development of the United Nations as a political institution has extended the parameters of external involvement in internal conflicts. Country A, seeking to replace the incumbent government of Country B with a regime more favorable to its own political or social views, may, with ideas or matériel, instigate or abet violence in Country B. Incumbents or insurgents in Country B may solicit overt foreign military or economic assistance. These patterns of external involvement are not new. But the growth of international machinery capable of diplomatic or physical intervention or interposition between insurgents and incumbents is a new feature of the international system.

### *The Dimensions of Internal Violence and the Policies of Third Parties*

The "developing areas," a general term describing diversified geographical regions, contain societies susceptible to colonial wars and to post-colonial civil strife, proxy aggressions, or subversion from outsiders. While the sheer variety of the disorders to be analyzed in subsequent chapters may appear to preclude viable generalizations, common features of internal violence in modernizing countries as different from one another as

Cyprus, Yemen, Indonesia, the Dominican Republic, and Algeria may be discerned. For internal violence may be employed to secure political change when previously legitimate means of effecting change have broken down or when the goals of dissident groups cannot be realized via legitimate means.<sup>1</sup> Revolutions, civil wars, coups, or mere threats of force attest to issues of policy or ideology; disagreements over foreign policy, constitutional, ethnic, racial, or economic questions may spark violence that generates new issues for domestic participants and outsiders.<sup>2</sup> If the social and economic demands made upon governments are not satisfied, internal violence may erupt in states governed by military leaders, by civilian authorities, or by traditional oligarchs. As Lucian Pye argues, nation-building and insurgency are closely linked: the lack of a basic national consensus about the means and ends of government may raise doubts as to the legitimacy of the formal government in power. Bureaucratic inefficiencies may call into question the capacity of the ruling groups to govern.<sup>3</sup> Nation-building is not a political task confined to new states emerging from colonialism; nation-building is a continuous responsibility for governments with established political traditions and economic bases confronting change. Thus the problems facing Greece after World War II or the Dominican Republic after years of dictatorship and military rule are those of nation-building.

Special political hazards accompany decolonization, often the first step in nation-building, as the Indonesian,

<sup>1</sup> Cyril E. Black, in Black and Thornton, pp. 7-12ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 9-12.

<sup>3</sup> Lucian Pye, in Eckstein, pp. 158, 164.

Algerian, and Angolan cases illustrate. Equally precarious is the stage at which indigenous groups attempt to govern after the initial transfer of power is completed, as the Congo and Cyprus conflicts reveal. When disorder erupts in a colonial territory, a post-independence state, or an established nation, the course violence will assume cannot be plotted with certainty; internal disorders create policy choices for incumbent regimes and for other states seeking to shore up or topple the economic and territorial status quo. National, regional, or multilateral decision-making activity, separately or in combination, may be required to formulate a solution to a particular disorder. A diversity of methods and approaches is possible, and the non-use of U.N. or other formal machinery may be as consequential as the use of U.N. or other investigating, mediating, or ad hoc peace-keeping devices.

Indirect aggression rather than external attack has become the familiar mode for states wishing to penetrate the physical boundaries of other states. But internal conflicts, like interstate conflicts, serve other than military purposes for third-party states who become involved. The series of far-ranging competitions between the two superpowers on the one hand, and between the leading Communist powers on the other, must have a geographical arena. The developing nations whose political stabilities are so fragile, whose loyalties are so fluid, are the logical targets. Thus the political importance of contemporary internal disorders, with roots in problems of modernization and nation-building, is related to the national policy aspirations of the Soviet Union, China, and the United States. In varying degrees, the attitudes of policy-makers of these states to



ward modernization and nation-building in developing countries are linked to domestic priorities as well as to foreign policy objectives. But the public statements of Soviet, Chinese, and American leaders indicate a shared awareness of the potentialities of internal violence for extending the national influence of third parties in "the third world."<sup>4</sup>

Revolution, occupying a central place in traditional Marxism-Leninism, plays a dynamic role in Russian relations with developing countries. The thrust of Moscow's effort, decreed publicly at the twentieth Party Congress, is directed toward two interrelated goals: the protection of Russian security and the establishment of Communist power in the third world.<sup>5</sup> Expressed doctrinally, internal violence is the last stage in the class struggle leading to the seizure of power. Communist take-over is conceived in progressive stages: first, detachment from the West (Egypt, Iraq, Ceylon); second, formation of transitory national democracies (Cuba, Guinea, Ghana, Mali, Indonesia); and, finally, direct control (North Vietnam, North Korea).<sup>6</sup> The successful pattern of take-over in Eastern Europe, accomplished with the direct participation of Soviet troops, is not a practicable model for Soviet penetration into Latin America, Africa, Asia, or the Middle East. The Soviets

<sup>4</sup> The interests of other states in extending national influence in countries experiencing internal disorder are also apparent, often in regional contexts, as the Yemen and Congo disorders illustrate. In the present loose bipolar system, the interests and aspirations of the United States, the Soviet Union, and China are central, but by no means exclusive. For additional discussion, see Andrew Scott "Internal Violence as an Instrument of Cold Warfare," in Rosenau, pp. 154-169, and Karl Deutsch and Morton A. Kaplan, "The Limits of International Coalitions," *ibid.*, pp. 170-185.

<sup>5</sup> Thomas P. Thornton, in Black and Thornton, pp. 247ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 248ff.