Powerful Allies

A case study on state behaviour concerning

recognition of sovereignty

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List of Abbreviations

CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
ECJ	European Court of Justice
HEC	High Executive Council
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICJ	International Court of Justice
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
IR	International Relations
ISS	Institute for Security Studies
MINURSO	United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara
MNNA	Major Non NATO ally
MSSD	Most Similar System Design
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NIF	National Islamic Front
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
POLISARIO	Frente Popular de Liberación de Saguía el Hamra y Río de Oro
PUNS	Partido Revolutionarico Union Nacional Saharui
RCC	Revolutionary Command Council
SADR	Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic
SPLA	Sudanese People's Liberation Army
SPLM	Sudanese People's Liberation Movement
SSLM	Southern Sudan Liberation Movement
UN	United Nations
UNMIS	United Nations Mission In Sudan
UK	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
US	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WRSW	Western Sahara Resource Watch

Abstract

This thesis contains a study on the recognition of sovereignty by permanent member states in the United Nations Security Council. Structural realism and social constructivism both predict when states would recognise the sovereignty of new states. These theories were applied to the cases of the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) and South Sudan. The former is not recognised as a sovereign state while the latter is. The results of this study indicate that the interests of regional allies play a crucial role during sovereignty recognition. In the case of the SADR, France and the United States of America refrain from recognizing the SADR because it is against Moroccan interests. Morocco being allied to France and the US. This result strengthens part of the structural realist framework. Other hypothesis could not explain the difference in sovereign recognition between the SADR and South Sudan. These hypotheses included: natural resources, the regional balance of power and the perception of the candidate state.

Keywords: sovereignty recognition, South Sudan, Western Sahara, social constructivism, structural realism.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This thesis examines the process of sovereignty recognition in the field of international relations (IR). This field of study has increased in importance recently. There are several factors which affect the importance of sovereignty. First of all, the end of the Cold War ushered in a new era for international politics in many ways. The international system changed from a bipolar structure to an unipolar structure (Monteiro, 2012, p.9) and is likely changing to a multipolar structure (Waltz, 2000, p.37). This change in polarity was important, as many states could no longer rely on foreign support they had received during the Cold War. The ideological alignment of the Cold War had disappeared. A state would have received financial and military aid from one of the two superpowers during the Cold War based on ideological alignment. This was no longer the case, and many conflicts erupted as a consequence of this decrease in support.

In addition to the end of the Cold War, globalisation also affects sovereignty (Krasner, 2001, pp.24-25). Globalisation, Krasner (2001, p.24) argues, changes the scope of state control. Just like religion was placed outside of state control with the peace of Westphalia (1648), national citizenship is placed outside state control. Minorities and refugees are also entitled to rights, which challenges the consensus that states should only look after their own citizens. This example shows that there are some things that even sovereigns cannot control.

A recent 'state' readily departs from the standard definition of the sovereign state. The Islamic State proclaims that it is an ancient government that defies the traditional consensus of a sovereign state. A caliphate is a government form which is headed by the caliph, the successor of the prophet Muhammad. As the successor to the prophet, the caliph is the leader of the entire Islamic community. This includes Muslims that do not live inside the caliphate. The moral authority of the caliph thus stretches far beyond the territory of the caliphate (The Week, 2014). This medieval state form challenges one of the central tenets of sovereign states, namely that states are free from internal meddling of other states. Meanwhile in eastern Ukraine, the self proclaimed independent Novorossiya confederation revives images of medieval vassal states.

The rising levels of violence, the influence of globalisation and the outright defiance of sovereign statehood challenge our ideas of sovereignty. The shift away from regular, sovereign statehood is something that has been happening only recently. Because sovereignty is about the life and death of states, it usually comes to the life and death of state citizens. The war in Syria and Ukraine demonstrates the violence, death and destruction that come with the loss of sovereignty. Studying why some states are recognised as sovereign and others are not, can, therefore, help to understand these kinds of conflicts and hopefully prevent some in the future.

The recognition of sovereignty is of paramount importance. Not only for the pressing societal issues that have been described, but also for its scientific value. Recognition of sovereignty deals with the origin of the most important actors in the international system: states. States are usually presented as a given fact in mainstream international relations theories like realism and liberalism. Some states however, are seen as legitimate and others are not. States, that are not seen as legitimate, lack international *recognition* of their sovereignty. For some this lack of legitimacy does not present a problem. For others this process of achieving recognition is long and tedious. Former Soviet republics like Ngorno-Karabach or Transnistria are far away from their goal of achieving recognition of their sovereignty. These states unite in a international organisation to achieve their goal: The Community for Democracy and Rights of Nations (Jacobs, 2012). Why is international recognition of sovereignty so hard to achieve for some, and easy for others? What drives states to recognise some, but not all claims to sovereignty? The main research question is therefore: **"Why do states recognise the sovereignty of some candidate states, but not all?"**

This research question is an empirical problem. Not all claims to sovereignty are recognised by states. This leads us to the question what sovereignty is. Sovereignty is an ill defined concept. Its multiple definitions are part of the problem why some states achieve recognition and others do not. The beginning of the existence of sovereignty is usually accredited to the peace of Westphalia in 1648 (Aalberts, 2004, p.254; Hurd, 1999, p.393; Stacy, 2003, p.2037). This peace is important because it established the norm of non-interference by other countries. States were, from then on, seen as the final authority within their own territory. Rulers did not have to answer to any higher power. It made players in the international arena equals amongst each other. This form of sovereignty is often called external sovereignty. Most scholars agree that sovereignty implies this absence from outside interference, but many scholars see sovereignty as something more. Some see sovereignty as a norm subject to change over time (Aalberts, 2004, pp.248-249; Barnett, 1995, p.484). Others see it as a quality of states or even of the international system (Hurd, 1999, p.393; Wendt, 1999, p.280). Again others see sovereignty as a condition bestowed upon a state which creates certain obligations towards its population (Stacy, 2003, p.2045; Annan, 1999, p.1). These examples show that there is no consensus on the meaning of sovereignty. There is no consensus on what sovereignty exactly is. This is problematic, as the basis on which international politics is founded is consequently ill defined. Because there is no consensus on sovereignty, there is no consensus on what a legitimate actor in the international politics should be.

However, the problem of defining sovereignty is not the subject of this thesis. It is unknown what a what a sovereign state should exactly entail, yet states do recognise some claims towards sovereign statehood. This study focuses on that recognition of sovereignty of 'candidate states' by other

sovereign states. The focus lies not on the states that want to achieve sovereignty ('candidate states'), but on the sovereign states that did or did not recognise these states. Therefore two mainstream IR theories that predict state behaviour will be applied to provide conditions when sovereign states will recognise another state as a sovereign. These two theories are structural realism and social constructivism. Structural realism focuses on the power calculations that states make. It is a dominant theory in international relations. This is an additional reason why it was chosen; a dominant theory of international relations should say something about the recognition of other states. Social constructivism contrasts structural realism. Where structural realism is rationalist in ontology; states make calculations and act on the best outcome, social constructivism emphasizes the relation between states as a dominant factor in state behaviour. Alexander Wendt, a social constructivist scholar, has formulated how new states come to be in the current international system. Therefore, social constructivism offers a rival framework for the recognition of sovereignty. Social constructivism is also a dominant theory in IR literature but emphasizes the social context in which states operate. Where structural realism describes states as unitary actors, social constructivism emphasizes the social dimension when states recognise a new state. These two theories offer rival frameworks for the recognition of sovereignty. The testing of these frameworks helps us to better understand the process of sovereignty recognition. The central problem is that there are two theories which explain the behaviour of states in sovereignty recognition in different ways.

This thesis analyses two cases to provide a testing ground for the hypotheses of the two rival theories. The first case is the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR). This 'candidate state' is located in the Western Sahara on the coast of the Atlantic Ocean. The SADR does not have its sovereignty recognised. The Western Sahara used to be a Spanish colony but conflict with Morocco ensued over the territory that SADR claims. Despite a mission sanctioned by the United Nations (UN), there has not been a breakthrough of SADR's status. This is a case where recognition of sovereignty is absent. The next case is South Sudan, which is recognised as a sovereign state. The South of Sudan fought two bloody civil wars until it seceded from Sudan in 2011. Why did South Sudan achieve recognition of its sovereignty while the SADR did not? Both countries are located in Africa, both have relatively low population numbers and both have strategic resources: the two countries share some similarities at first sight. Yet one is recognised as a sovereign and one is not. The hypotheses that are developed from the theoretical frameworks provide conditions that candidate states should meet in order to become recognised as a sovereign state. By testing the hypotheses against one case which is recognised as a sovereign, and another which is not, sufficient causes for sovereignty recognition can be eliminated. Chapter four will offer the background story on these two cases. In the

subsequent analytical chapter I discuss whether the cases meet the criteria set out by the hypotheses. The concluding chapter tells what the results mean for the theoretical framework.

Chapter 2: Theory

This chapter deals with the different theoretical concepts employed throughout this thesis. First, a discussion on the different conceptions of sovereignty is provided. Existing studies do not provide one overarching definition of sovereignty. The second part of this chapter presents the two theories that explain state behaviour during the process of sovereignty recognition. From these theories, several hypotheses are derived which provide preliminary answers to the research question: **"Why do states recognise the sovereignty of some candidate states, but not all?"**

2.1: Conceptions of sovereignty

Most IR theories assume that states are the central actors in international relations. These states are considered to be sovereign. However, what is meant by being a sovereign differs from theory to theory. Several common definitions of sovereignty are discussed in this section to put the wide array of sovereignty definitions into perspective.

According to Heywood: 'Sovereignty itself means absolute and unlimited power. However, this apparently simple principle conceals a wealth of confusion, misunderstanding and disagreement.' (Heywood, 2004, p.90). The idea of sovereignty can be traced back to the works of Bodin (1530-1596), Di Vitoria (1486-1492), Suarez (1548-1617) and Gentili (1552-1608) (as cited in Ferreira-Snyman, 2006, pp. 5-7; Bodin, 1576/1992). These scholars concerned themselves with international law and the discussion whether states can be subjected to it. Sovereignty as a concept thus begins with the discussion whether states are subject to any higher power, in this case international law. Jean Bodin is credited with thinking of internal sovereignty in the 16th century. He argued that states are the final law makers in their respective territories and are therefore only subject to God. Thus, strictly speaking, states were not sovereign according to Bodin, because they are subject to God as a higher power. However, they are not subject to another temporal power. As such, states are the highest temporal power within their domain (Bodin, 1576/1992, p.4).

In order to clarify some of the ambiguity of sovereignty, Heywood discussed several aspects of sovereignty. The two most common definitions that characterize sovereignty are internal and external sovereignty. He argued that internal sovereignty examines the position of absolute power within the state (Heywood, 2004, p.92). According to Heywood:

'An internal sovereign is therefore a political body that possesses ultimate, final and independent authority; one whose decisions are binding upon all citizens, groups and institutions in society. All actions by the sovereign are automatically binding on the rest of the society' (Heywood, 2004, p. 92).

Hence, an internal sovereign is at the top of the hierarchy within the state. In IR, this internal sovereign could be a number of things. It can be a parliament, a communist dictatorship or the people by means of direct voting. This is what IR scholars call the 'black box' of states (Mearsheimer, 2013, p.78). States are presumed to be unitary actors. Mainstream IR scholars do not concern themselves with 'opening the black box' to look how a state is internally organized. They believe the internal composition of a state has no effect on its behaviour in international politics. In particular, structural realism argues that the internal organisation of a state does not influence foreign policy (Mearsheimer, 2013, p.78).

By contrast, external sovereignty deals with the position a state takes in the international order. It relates internal sovereigns to each other. External sovereigns are not allowed to interfere in the affairs of other external sovereigns. States are seen as equals among themselves. A state can be an external sovereign while it lacks internal sovereignty. Or as Heywood puts it:

'A state can be considered sovereign over its people and territory despite the fact that no sovereign figures in its internal structure of government. External sovereignty can thus be respected even though internal sovereignty may be a matter of dispute or confusion.' (Heywood, 2004, p.95).

This happened for instance in World War II, when a considerable number of allied governments were in exile and were still recognised as external sovereigns. According to Heywood, external sovereignty is linked to independence:

'External sovereignty has thus come to embody the principles of national independence and self-government. Only if a nation is sovereign are its people capable of fashioning their own destiny in accordance with their particular needs and interests. To ask a nation to surrender its sovereignty is tantamount to asking its people to give up their freedom. This is why external or national sovereignty is so keenly felt and, when it is threatened, so fiercely defended.'(Heywood, 2004, p.96).

In international law, external sovereignty made states responsible for their actions (Ferreira-Snyman, 2006, p.4). States are subject to international law, because states cannot interfere in another state's domestic affairs. In the legal sense, external sovereignty can thus be seen as an extension of internal sovereignty. The concepts of internal and external sovereignty are in the first place a legal concept rather than a political concept. There are opponents who argue that empowering states with control over a certain area and population grants the state serious power and responsibility. The absence of a higher power has not lead states to develop good track records when it comes to handling this responsibility. Torture and genocide are two gruesome examples (Heywood, 2004, p.96). Therefore, critics claim that states should act conform a higher moral standard to diminish the chance of

repression and violence. Human rights are usually seen as this higher moral standard to which states need to conform (Heywood, 2004, p.96; Annan, 1999, p.1; Ferreira –Snyman, 2006, p.27). Despite the disputed morality of external sovereignty, the distinction between internal and external is widely used without any moral component. In this thesis the distinction is used without a moral component.

In addition to the commonly used internal and external sovereignty typology, there is a second typology that runs parallel to the first. This typology consists of de jure and de facto sovereignty. According to Heywood, *de jure* sovereignty consists of the final *legal* authority within the state and *de facto* sovereignty is concerned with the actual distribution of power within the state (Heywood, 2004, p.91). The concepts of de jure and de facto are thus related to internal sovereignty. These concepts can coincide but this does not necessarily have to be the case (Heywood, 2004, pp.91-92). Heywood (2004) claimed that some people believe that both types are necessary. On their own, de jure and de facto are not seen as viable forms of sovereignty. A state needs both de jure and de facto sovereignty in order to function as a sovereign state. Heywood (2004) argued that a de facto sovereign always makes a claim towards a legal dimension to enhance its own legitimacy. This makes a de facto sovereign inclined to also strive towards de jure sovereignty. Conversely, laws are not obeyed by themselves and they need to be enforced. Hence, a de jure sovereign also needs to enforce the law (Heywood, 2004, p.92). Thus both types of sovereignty are predisposed to strive towards each other. This does not mean that the two will always coincide. The example of the Baltic states after World War II makes this clear. While the governments of these states were de jure sovereign, they were annexed by the Soviet Union after World War II. The governments of the Baltic states had no political power to back up their de jure sovereignty (Heywood, 2004, p.92). The de jure sovereignty of states can thus be violated by illegal actions, such as occupation by other states. Therefore, these states become the de facto sovereign over occupied territory without becoming the de jure sovereign.

The definitions of internal and external and de jure and de facto sovereignty are the most common definitions of sovereignty. Authors discussed in the following sections use these definitions to illustrate their own conceptions of sovereignty and of states. Therefore, these distinctions are important for understanding the recognition of sovereignty.

2.2: State behaviour during recognition of sovereignty

The following section elaborates on the application of structural realist theory to the process of sovereignty recognition. In the section hereafter, the theory of Alexander Wendt is located within the different schools of social constructivism. There we shall see that the worldviews of structural

realism and social constructivism are different. The implications of this difference are extensively explored after the discussion on structural realism.

Structural realism

Structural realism is not just analysed because it is a dominant theory within international relations. Structural realism offers an explanation for recognition of sovereign statehood based on the concept of *power*. This makes structural realism different from Alexander Wendt's theory, which finds its origin in social constructivism and emphasizes the role of *relations* between states. For structural realists, the world of international relations revolves around *power* (Mearsheimer, 2013, p.77). Thus, the explanation of state behaviour during the recognition of other states then necessarily has to do with power. Structural realists conceive power foremost as military capacities. Secondly, they claim that states have latent power. This latent power is the potential power of states. For instance, population and wealth are considered to be important indicators of latent power because they can be converted into military power (Mearsheimer, 2013, p.78).

In addition to power, structural realists argue that the behaviour of states is shaped by the structure of the international system. Structural realism differs from classical realism through the use of structure. Furthermore, structural realists argue that the international system is anarchical. With anarchical is not meant that the international system is a chaotic mess of death and destruction. Rather, in the structural realist approach it simply means that there is no higher power that enforces order on the international system. This is contrary to the national society which is hierarchical. Mearsheimer illustrates the lack of hierarchy in the international system with the following quote: 'When a state dials the emergency services for help, there is nobody in the international system to answer the call' (Mearsheimer, 2013, p.79). As a consequence of a lack of hierarchy in the international system, states can only rely on themselves. This is the reason why states strive for power (Mearsheimer, 2013, p.78).

It is this anarchical nature of the international system, which is the first of a series of assumptions of structural realism. These assumptions are critical in explaining state behaviour, since they shape both the interests and the behaviour of states. Therefore, these assumptions are the basis for explaining state behaviour during recognition of sovereignty. There are four other assumptions that are discussed in this section and form the basis for the hypotheses presented in this research.

The second assumption is that all states have some offensive capabilities. This means that every state has some capacity to hurt or damage another state. This does not mean that all states have similar offensive capabilities (Mearsheimer, 2013, p.79). For example, some states have nuclear weapons while others do not. According to Mearsheimer (2013, p.78) it is important to compete for power:

the survival of the state depends on it. If one particular state becomes too powerful, the existence of other states is threatened. New states are often very small, both in size and in power capabilities. Therefore candidate states are most likely to affect their immediate surroundings. The introduction of a new state offers a possibility to alter the balance of power in the region. This means that if a new great power will arise, through the recognition of the new candidate state, states will be less inclined to recognise the new state. A new great power has more capacity to harm the power position of established states. This means that states will be more inclined to recognise a candidate state when it does not alter the regional balance of power. This brings us to the first hypothesis:

Hypothesis 1SR: A state is more likely to recognise a candidate state if recognition does not upset the regional balance of power.

The third assumption of structural realism claims that states are fundamentally uncertain about the intentions of other states. Mearsheimer (2013, p. 79) argues that there are two kinds of states. First, there is the revisionist state which seeks to alter the balance of power in its favour. Structural realists argue that this is always at the expense of other states, because international politics is always a zero-sum game. Secondly, there are status quo states within the international society. They do not wish to alter the balance of power. The status quo states will usually be the stronger states. These states are in a position of strength vis-à-vis other states in the system and they want their position to remain that way. Mearsheimer argues that the intentions of states are very difficult to assess (Mearsheimer, 2013, p.79). Speeches or interviews do not reveal the true intentions of policy makers, as policy makers can lie. Therefore, states can only safely assume that other states in the international system are revisionist. According to structural realists, international life is thus very uncertain. This uncertainty has consequences for the recognition of states. Realists believe that absolute certainty cannot be attained. They will however, recognise a stable state more easily than a candidate state, since stable states are more predictable. This makes the candidate state less likely to be a revisionist state and less threatening to the recognising state. This brings us to the second hypothesis:

Hypothesis 2SR: A state is more likely to recognise a candidate state if the candidate state is stable.

The fourth structural realist assumption is that survival is the main interest of states in the international political arena (Mearsheimer, 2013, p.79). States can have numerous other goals like environmental protection, human rights or the economic well-being of their own citizens, but survival is the primary goal. That means that all other goals are inferior to the survival of the state (Mearsheimer, 2013, p.79). In order to maximize their chances of survival, states seek power (Mearsheimer, 2013, p.78). There is a split between structural realists on the issue of how much

power is sufficient. There are offensive realists, like Mearsheimer, who argue that a state can never have enough power. By contrast, defensive realists argue that states should seek an appropriate amount of power (Mearsheimer, 2013, p.78). Seeking too much power will cause other states to balance against the state. Offensive realists do not buy their arguments, as they claim that balancing is often very inefficient (Mearsheimer, 2013, p.81). Both agree, however, that states should seek power to ensure their survival. This competition for power can also drive states to recognise a candidate state. Candidate states can enhance the power position of a recognising state through various ways. The different ways in which a candidate state can enhance a states' power position will be further explored in the next chapter. This brings us to the third hypotheses:

Hypothesis 3A SR: A state is more likely to recognise a candidate state if the candidate state enhances the power position of the recognising state.

Hypothesis 3B SR: A state is less likely to recognise a candidate state if the candidate state harms the power position of the recognising state.

The fifth and final assumption is that states behave as rational actors. This means that states can come up with strategies that enhance their survival (Mearsheimer, 2013, p.79). States can effectively judge each option and prioritize the option that is in their best interest. This does not mean that states never make wrong judgements. Many historical events are the result of misconception, miscalculation and other errors. Overall though, states can rationally define the most effective strategy for survival. This means that the recognition of states is tied to the rational calculus of states. If recognition increases the power of a state, it will choose to recognise the candidate state. This assumption underlies the other assumptions of structural realism and cannot be translated into a hypothesis of its own.

Social constructivist explanation of sovereignty recognition

This section analyses social constructivism as a theory of international relations. Because social constructivism uses more complex concepts than structural realism, it is necessary to elaborate on the main theoretical differences between social constructivism and structural realism. Subsequently, Alexander Wendt's theory is discussed. The discussion between the scientific approaches of structural realism and social constructivism helps to position Alexander Wendt's theory within social constructivism.

The social constructivist theory of international relations started out as a critique on the mainstream IR theories at the end of the Cold War (Fierke, 2013, p.188). Several underpinnings of mainstream IR theories were being questioned at the time. The critique focused on the fact that the mainstream

theories of IR reinforced the status quo and not only explained the behaviour of states in the international system. In fact, they also *made* the international system (Cox, 1981, p.131).

The dominance of neo-utilitarian theories in IR, like neorealism (structural realism) and neoliberalism, failed to accommodate ideational factors in IR. Social constructivists argue that ideational factors play an important role in IR. They brought human element back into the field of international relations. Or as Ruggie puts it: 'In short, social constructivism is about the human consciousness and its role in international life' (Ruggie, 1998, p.856). Neorealism and neoliberalism provide little importance to the role of human consciousness in IR. These theories find their origins in economics (Ruggie, 1998, p.862). Social constructivism criticized these theories, but did not provide a coherent theoretical framework. Because utilitarian theories find their origins in economics, they assume the preferences of their study subjects. The main argument against neo-utilitarian theories was that these theories did not say how preferences are formed (Ruggie, 1998, p.863). Economic theory focuses on the market. However, markets need certain conditions in order to exist. Economic theory cannot explain the origin of markets, it takes their existence as granted (Ruggie, 1998, p.871). As a consequence, neo-utilitarian theories can explain what actors would do on the market, but not what the market is, or how it came to be. The problem is that in economics, these neo-utilitarian theories were not responsible for creating the 'constitutive rules' in which their models function. Or as Ruggie aptly explains:

'The terms of a theory cannot explain the conditions necessary for that theory to function, because no theory can explain anything until its necessary preconditions hold. So it is with modern economic theory' (Ruggie, 1998, p.872).

Social constructivists argue that ideas play the key role in how these interests are formed and this is not studied by neo-utilitarian theories (Ruggie, 1998, p.867). Social constructivists argue that ideas are just as natural as material reality and can be studied with the same approaches that are used by the utilitarian IR theories (Ruggie, 1998, p.879). The difference between structural realism and social constructivism has its origin in ontology. Ontology studies the nature of being (Fierke, 2013, p.190). Social constructivists employ a social ontology, which means that they believe that the world is social in being. States cannot be separated from the context in which they operate. Structural realists on the other hand, employ an individualist ontology, which denies the claim that the world is social in being. Structural realists see states as individuals who are not influenced by their context (Fierke, 2013, p.190). The second difference between social constructivism and structural realism lies in epistemology. Epistemology studies how knowledge can be acquired (Fierke, 2013, p.193). Structural realists employ a positivist epistemology. A positivist epistemology argues that we can acquire

knowledge through observation. Social constructivists do not agree on a common epistemology. There are many forms of constructivism that use different methods in acquiring knowledge. This complicates the position of social constructivism versus structural realism. Therefore, before the differences between social constructivism and structural realism are explored, the different positions within social constructivism are elaborated upon.

The two camps of constructivism and the middle ground

Christiansen, Knud & Wiener (1999, p.536) believe that constructivists can be positioned on a continuum between rationalist and reflectivist/postmodernist epistemologies. The figure below shows the place that constructivists can take relative to other epistemologies. Constructivists do not embody the middle ground between the two positions, but help create the middle ground (Christiansen et al. 1999, p.536).

Figure 2.1 Establishing the middle ground
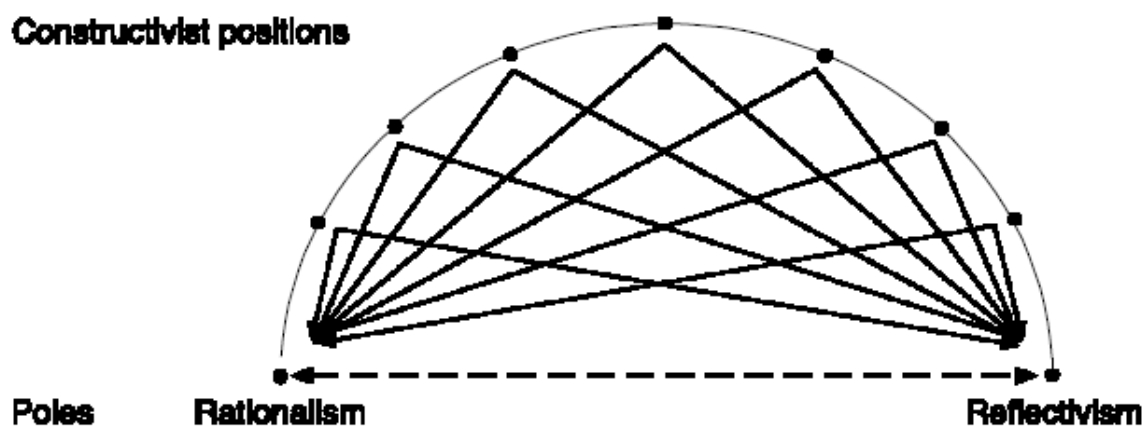
Christiansen et al. (1999) p.536

Social constructivism tried to bring a social dimension back into the IR discipline (Fierke, 2013, p.188). There has been a debate in social constructivism whether it was possible to embrace both a social ontology and a positivist epistemology. The scholars who believe this is possible are called conventional constructivists (Fierke, 2013, pp.193-194), neoclassical constructivists (Ruggie, 1998, p.881) or sociological constructivists (Christiansen et al., 1999, p.535). The second group which claims that this is impossible are often called consistent constructivists (Fierke, 2013, p.196), postmodernist constructivists (Ruggie, 1998, p.881) or Wittgensteinian constructivists (Christiansen et al., 1999, p.535). For purpose of clarification, Fierke's (2013) definition of conventional and consistent constructivism is used throughout this thesis. The consistent school of social constructivism rejects positivist epistemology entirely. They argue that there is no objective reality 'out there' that we can objectively observe. Aalberts (2004) work on sovereignty falls into this category. However, she and

her colleagues offer no testable hypotheses for comparative case studies. They believe that the context of different cases makes these cases unsuitable for comparison. They are simply not similar enough. Consistent constructivist make use of language to provide insights into a particular case (Fierke, 2013, pp.196-197). [1]

In order to criticise some aspects of the rationalist approach, the conventional constructivists incorporated some aspects of individual/rationalist epistemology into their theories (Fierke, 2013, p.194). This created the two main camps within social constructivism. The poststructuralist or consistent constructivists which maintained a normative character and focused on the importance of language. And second, the mainstream social constructivism which engages in hypothesis testing (Fierke, 2013, p.193). In this thesis, only the second kind of constructivism is used. The consistent constructivists offer no comparison between the two cases during the process of sovereignty recognition. The consistent constructivists approach is therefore unsuitable for this type of research. Now that the different schools of social constructivism are clear, the concepts of social constructivism which structure social constructivism against structural realism are discussed.

Social construction

Social constructivists argue, as their name implies, that the world is socially constructed. There are things in this world that are present because of nature, such as mountain ranges, continents etc. Social constructivists argue that these kinds of material facts are hard facts. There is however a different kind of fact, a fact that rational theories reject: the social fact. Social facts are facts that only exist by human agreement (Ruggie, 1998, p.856). Money, for instance, is a social fact because people agree that a special kind of paper has value. According to social constructivists, sovereignty and states themselves are also social facts (Ruggie, 1998, p.870). Sovereignty only exists, because states agree that there is something as sovereignty. If states would decide that sovereignty does not exist, sovereignty will cease to exist. This cannot be done with hard facts. Mountain ranges do not disappear if we agree that there are no mountain ranges. Social facts are thus given a meaning through social interaction. They are, as Fierke puts it: 'imbued with social values, norms and assumptions rather than being the product of purely individual thought or meaning' (Fierke, 2013, p.189).

Social constructivists argue that states are social beings, because they attach significance to facts. Purely material things take on different meanings in different contexts. Since most objects in international relations are social facts, international relations are socially constructed (Fierke, 2013,

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[1] Ruggie (1998) claims there is a third group of social constructivists who argue that natural science and social science are not fundamentally different. They both study largely unobservable things, 'be they quarks or international structures' (Ruggie, 1998, p.882).

p.192). The focus on context makes social constructivism a theory of IR that highlights on other aspects than most rationalist IR theories. First, social constructivism focuses on change in context, as opposed to other theories which look for similarities in order to generalize results. Second, norms, language and rules become important. These institutions create the social context between states in IR. And third, social constructivists argue that the world of international relations is a world which is influenced by the actors themselves (Fierke, 2013, p.191). Nuclear weapons are a good example of what social constructivist mean with social construction. Weapons of mass destruction are more or less threatening depending on the state that wields them. Wendt argues that North Korean weapons of mass destruction are feared because North Korea is hostile to most states. On the contrary, we do not fear British or French nuclear weapons because we have friendly relations with both states. Hence, the threat of nuclear weapons is socially constructed (Wendt, 1999, p.255).

Social being

The ontology of rationalists theories in IR is based on the individual state. States are treated as if they were individuals. A set of states makes the state system structure. The state system structure in turn influences and constrains the options of individual states. Social constructivists argue that states cannot be seen as non-social entities (Fierke, 2013, p.190). States are shaped by their surroundings and derive meaning from those surroundings. Their actions cannot be separated from the context in which they operate. This difference between rationalist and constructivist theory is laid bare by two different logics. The rationalist theories depend on the *logic of consequences*. An act of a state is rational when the maximum amount of interest to the state is gained. In the case of structural realism, this means that states will always pursue the option that will enhance their power position the most. The constructivists argue instead for a *logic of appropriateness.* What is considered a rational act in the logic of appropriateness is the action that is legitimate. Shared values, norms and other social structures dictate which actions are seen as legitimate (Fierke, 2013, p.190). The most rational action is the one which the context deems most legitimate, not what is of greatest interest by the state.

Mutual constitution

Social constructivists believe that states can influence the system in which they operate through the concept of *agency*. Agency works both ways: the structure is influenced by states and vice versa. Social constructivists argue that social interaction is mutually constitutive. With that they mean that the states are constrained by the action of other states. This concept is different from agency, as agency is more about the possibility of changing one's surroundings and being changed by one's surroundings. Mutual constituency is the restraining effect when interaction takes place (Fierke, 2013, p.191). Consider the example of United Kingdom and the United States. The two states have

evolved from being mortal enemies to the point of having a special relationship. Years of positive interaction between these two states has led them to a point where armed conflict between them is considered to be impossible. According to structural realists, a pursuit of friendly relations is foolish, as states can always betray each other. Social constructivists argue that the current friendly relationship between the United Kingdom and the United States constrains the options of both states. The friendly response of one constrains the response of the other. This restraining effect in turn affects the relationship of the two states. Their social context is mutually constituted. Alexander Wendt develops a similar argument for the first encounter with aliens in his article: 'Anarchy is what states make of it' (Wendt, 1992, pp.404-405). This view is not shared by the structural realists. They argue that the options of states are not constrained by actions of other states. States are always open to pursue their preferred course of action, even if this involves betrayal. The following section describes how Alexander Wendt uses these three social constructivist concepts in his theory. His Foucault effect explains the behaviour of states when they recognise another state.

Alexander Wendt: Social Theory of International Politics

A social structure in International Relations

Structural realism argues that in the international system, states are forced to pursue a self-help course as the result of anarchy. Wendt (1999) shows that anarchy is compatible with different logics. This means that states are not required to always follow a self-help course. The sections below explain how Wendt comes to this conclusion and what impact this has on the behaviour of states while recognising other states.

The structure of the international system is anarchy. Wendt (1999, pp.246-247) agrees with structural realists on this part. What he does not agree with is that the anarchical structure of the international system has only one logic. Wendt means that the structure forces actors to take a certain path, but there are different paths open to pursue. States can attach different significance to the same anarchy. This is why states can follow different courses under the same condition of anarchy. Wendt sees the international structure as a social structure rather than a material one (Wendt, 1999, p.249). States have ideas about the nature and roles that they, and other states, play in international life. These shared ideas are the 'culture' of the system. The three different roles that dominate the thoughts of states are: enemy, rival and friend. When the culture of the anarchical system is dominated by ideas of enmity, Wendt (1999, p.247) calls the culture Hobbesian. In case of rivalry, the culture is defined as 'Lockean'. In case of friendship the culture can be called 'Kantian'. Wendt (1999, p.250) specifies that the three different cultures can be internalized to three degrees.

The three revolve around three mechanisms: the first degree around force, the second degree around price, and the third degree around legitimacy.

International politics

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            3rd │      │      │
Degree of       │      │      │
cultural        │──────│──────│──────
internalization 2nd │      │      │
            1st │      │      │
                │──────│──────│──────
                │      │      │
                Hobbesian  Lockean  Kantian
            Degree of society (cooperation)
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(Wendt, 1999, p.254).

The different roles that are dominant in the different cultures have diverging effects on the levels of violence that are present in the international system. Enemies will not restrain their violence against each other. Rivals will use violence to further their interests but will not kill each other. Friends do not use violence against each other and will team up to combat security threats (Wendt, 1999, p.258). Enemies do not recognise the right of the other to exist, therefore they will not limit their violence against each other. This is different in the Lockean culture. Wendt (1999, pp.260-261) describes that self is trying to kill the other with violence in the Hobbesian culture, while in the Lockean culture, self is trying to beat and steal from him. This implies that self is restraining himself against the other in the Lockean culture. In the Hobbesian culture the other does not allow the self as an autonomous being, while in Lockean culture the other tries to alter its behaviour or property.

The dominant cultures have different effects on state behaviour. For instance, in the Hobbesian culture, states believe that the other states are enemies. The self thinks that the other will try to enslave or destroy him. This idea influences the behaviour of the self. The self will act to combat the immediate, existential threat that the other poses. The self will start acting like an enemy of the other. Note that *mutual constitution* is at work here: if the other is out to destroy you, your own options of response become limited to destroying the other as well. The enmity of the other gives material capabilities a *meaning* of their own. If Iran develops nuclear weapons these will prove a greater threat to Israel than to Russia. This is because Iran and Israel are out to destroy each other while Russia and Iran are not. The shared ideas or culture of states can change in the system when a certain tipping point is reached, but its origins lay in the 'micro level role relationships' or relations

between two states (Wendt, 1999, p.264). When roles are internalized into the third degree, actors see them as legitimate. They confirm that the image that the other has of self is just. It is here that the identity and interests of states change (Wendt, 1999, p.250).

This process of changing interests when culture is internalized to the third degree, is most important in the Lockean culture. The Lockean culture revolves around the logic of rivalry. States restrain themselves and are not out to destroy each other anymore. Kill or be killed becomes live and let live (Wendt, 1999, p.279). Sovereignty is the institution that is central in the Lockean culture. Sovereignty can be a feature of a state, like population and territory. Nonetheless, in the Lockean culture sovereignty is becoming a right as well (Wendt, 1999, p.280). Sovereignty is the outcome of the restraining effects in the Lockean culture. States will acknowledge the right of the other to be an autonomous being (Wendt, 1999, p.280) This is why the Lockean culture is so important to the recognition of states. The degrees of internalizing this culture play a crucial role in the recognition of other states. States can be coerced to respect the sovereignty of other nations. They can view sovereignty as instrumental: ready to violate it when it is in their interest. However, in the third degree, states adhere to the Lockean culture of sovereignty because they think it is the right thing to do. Sovereignty has become a legitimized institution. There is a particular effect that happens in the Lockean third degree culture. This is the Foucault effect and it is crucial to the recognition of sovereignty.

The Foucault effect and social constructivist hypotheses

During third degree internalisation, states become 'law abiding citizens'. They define their interest as the 'law's interest'. In case of the Lockean culture this interest is sovereignty. However, Wendt (1999) does not stop there. 'I now want to argue that this tendency to take the culture's deepest effects for granted goes deeper, to the kinds of actors that get to have interests at all.' (Wendt, 1999, p.290). In other words he claims that internalisation of the Lockean culture also establishes who *gets* to have interests: Who are to be seen as states? He calls this effect the Foucault effect. Wendt claims that the realist assumption that states are seen as individuals, is the product of a Lockean culture so deeply internalized that we do not see it is there (Wendt, 1999, p.290). The Foucault effect is not about material reality, it is about meaning. People are not treated as individuals in every culture; the fact that we see them as such is the product of our culture. The potential to act as an individual does not mean that every individual is allowed to realize that potential socially. Slaves and women were for a long time not seen as individuals. Moreover, Wendt argues that, despite the fact that animals do not have the capacity to act as individuals, it has not prevented them from being recognised as individuals. The Catholic Church, for example, frequently excommunicated animals in the Middle Ages (Wendt, 1999, p.291). The Foucault effect is that states give meaning to their material

capacities. States start to see themselves as individuals. The Foucault effect has four effects on identity formation. All of these effects have important implications for the recognition of states.

The first effect is the criteria for membership in the international system. Who is allowed to act on the international level? Historically, the strong were allowed to act. Wendt (1999, p.292) uses a definition of Spruyt (1994), who argued that states at first only recognised other de facto sovereigns. These were the actors who could back up their claim that they were the sole arbiter in their territory. This aspect kept certain actors out of the international system. Wendt (1999, p.292) argues that the Hobbesian culture is the only culture in which every actor is accepted, both state and non-state. This might seem contradictory at first, because it seems that the only way to gain entrance in the international system as a state is through force (becoming a de facto sovereign), since the Lockean culture is based on a limitation of violence (Wendt, 1999, p.292). Nevertheless, this argument is misleading according to Wendt. The emergence of many de facto sovereign states depended on the restraint of the more powerful states in the system. According to Wendt, the Lockean culture: 'indicates a world in which the weak are protected by the restraint of the strong, not a survival of the fittest' (Wendt, 1999, p.284). This self-restraint implies some form of accepting juridical recognition of sovereignty of others. Furthermore, the strong were never historically able to project their power everywhere. This led to the emergence of smaller de facto sovereign states. Thus, states grant other states sovereignty when they establish themselves as de facto sovereigns.

Hypothesis 1SC: A state will recognise a candidate state if the candidate state is a de facto sovereign.

The second effect establishes which entities are eligible for the obtaining of state identities. Identities have certain properties. States 'rate' each other on the basis of these properties. Wendt argues that in the Middle Ages, it was important to be a Christian monarch in order to be a state. For example, the Mayan empire was not conceived as an individual state. They were denied sovereignty rights even though they were de facto sovereign over their territory. These properties of state identity change over time. Instead of being a Christian monarch, democratic and capitalist properties are more important. Refraining from genocide is also a very new state property (Wendt, 1999, p.293). Non-adherence to the ideal state properties can be disastrous, as it was for the Mayas. States may deny sovereignty rights to those who do not adhere to these properties. This aspect is therefore *crucial* to the recognition of sovereignty. Wendt himself argues that democratic values, capitalism and being a nation state are important modern state properties that become increasingly important (Wendt, 1999, p.293). More and more states have strived to adhere to these properties. Hence, states will recognise the sovereignty other states only when they identify these state properties in

the candidate state. In order to become recognised as a state, candidate states need to be perceived as being democratic, capitalist and a nation state. Otherwise states will not identify with the entity as a state and will therefore not recognise them as an equal, sovereign state.

Hypothesis 2SC: A state will not recognise a candidate state if the candidate state is not perceived as being democratic, capitalist and a nation-state.

This leads to the third consequence of the Foucault effect. Because states internalize the first two aspects of individualisation, they gain an expanded version of 'the self' (Wendt, 1999, p.293). In other words, states identify themselves with fellow states sharing the same properties: they gain a common identity as a group. This gives them a common defence from outsiders, who are not part of this group (Wendt, 1999, p.293). States perceive a loyalty and an obligation to the group members to act as a team, when they are threatened by outsiders. This might seem contradictory because the Lockean culture emphasizes the individuality of states. This does not mean that they will instantly help other states just for being a state. Only when a state is brought to the brink of extinction by a non-state actor will other states rally to the defence of the endangered state (Wendt, 1999, p.294). During the crusades for example, Christian monarchs came to the defence of the Holy Land against the Muslim invaders. A fellow Christian monarch was under existential threat from the Muslims. The Islamic State[2] is a more recent example. The Islamic State is not seen as a state. Other states deny the Islamic state sovereignty rights and list it as a terrorist organisation. Other states come to the rescue of the Syrian regime, that they first denounced as dictatorial. Apparently, the Assad regime shared enough properties of a state to be considered a fellow state which needed saving from rogue outsiders, like the Islamic State. Therefore, when a candidate state poses a direct threat to an already established sovereign state, it will not be recognised as a sovereign state. The candidate state violates the group integrity of already established states.

Hypothesis 3SC: A state will not recognise a candidate state if the candidate state poses a direct threat to another state.

The final effect has to do with the possessive quality of the individual in the liberal sense of the word. In liberalism, the individual is seen as an owner of his own body. Qualities and capacities are seen as something that the individual owns by himself. This conception runs analogous through the international system. States see their capacities as something they own, by accomplishment of their own. However, as we have seen, this is not always the case as the existence of some states is partly, or sometimes entirely, up to the self-restraint and thus of recognition by other states. States have a

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known as ISIL, ISIS and DAESH.

common identity from which they derive certain rights, sovereignty being the most important. But the Lockean culture makes them believe that they are the sole guardian of those rights (Wendt, 1999, p.295). States conceive their sovereign status of being of their own merit but their sovereign status is the work of social construction in international relations. This last effect is an outcome of the previous effects. In the final stage, states are so engulfed in their focus on individuality that they forget that their status the outcome of social interaction (Wendt, 1999, p.295). This last effect has no implications for state behaviour when they recognise sovereignty. Therefore there is no hypothesis derived from the last effect. In the next chapter, the hypotheses are operationalised in measurable concepts.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This chapter elaborates on the measurement of concepts and the general systematic approach to the testing of the hypotheses. This chapter starts with the operationalisation of sovereignty recognition. After the first section the hypotheses are operationalised. The operationalisation is done in a nominal fashion. The nominal approach can make highly nuanced statements in relatively few paragraphs (Mahoney, 2000, p.391). Why this approach was chosen is discussed in the following section, the research design and case justification.

3.1 Research design and case justification

The aim of this study is to improve the body of scientific knowledge on sovereignty recognition. What causes some states to become recognised as sovereigns and gain rights in the process? And what causes other candidate states to remain unrecognised? In order to test the hypotheses as explained in chapter two, a paired comparison, most similar system case design (MSSD), is used. The most similar system is a common form of case study in the initial stage of research (Gerring, 2007, p.131). The system is used to eliminate potential rival causes for explaining a phenomenon. With paired comparison, there are two cases which are matched against each other, in order to identify, and possibly eliminate, rival hypotheses. The hypotheses formulated in chapter two should be able to explain why South Sudan has been recognised as a sovereign and why the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic was not.

This approach of paired comparison was chosen for practical reasons. First of all, the number of candidate states is limited. In other words, the population of cases to compare is very small. Entities that seek recognition as a sovereign state number in the twenties, not hundreds. This rules out the use of statistical research, as larger population numbers are needed for valid statistical research. Even then, however, the states that seek sovereignty recognition have wildly diverging numbers of recognisers. There are roughly three groups of states that have a part of their sovereignty claim recognised.

Table 3.1: UN member states that are not fully recognised by all other UN member states[3]
People's Republic of China
Republic of Armenia
Republic of Cyprus
State of Israel
Democratic People's Republic of Korea
Republic of Korea

The first group are UN members but are not fully recognised by all other UN members. Some of them are recognised by almost all member states like the People's Republic of China. This group is uninteresting for research on sovereignty recognition. In order to become a member of the UN the application of a candidate state needs to pass both the UN Security Council and the UN General Assembly. In order to be admitted, the state needs to pass all the vetoes of the UN Security Council permanent members. After its approval in the Security Council, the candidate state's application also needs to be approved by a two thirds majority in the UN General Assembly. This means that most cases in this group are already widely recognised. These cases have little problems with exercising their right to sovereignty although not all states recognise their right. This brings us to the second group.

Table 3.2: Non UN member states not recognised by UN members
Nagorno Karabakh Republic
Pidnestrovian Moldavian Republic
Somaliland

The second group consists of three cases which are not UN members and are not recognised as sovereign states by any UN member. This group is the effective opposite of the first group. These states are less valuable to this research because they are not recognised by any UN member state. The claims of these states are apparently considered weak or farfetched. Their ability to function as a state is totally dependent on recognition of their sovereignty. This group does not include various micronations, although they can be considered as states. Because there is controversy to what extent microscopic states actually control their territory, they were omitted.

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[3] The list of limited sovereignty recognition is taken from the Wikipedia article: List of states with limited recognition. This applies to all tables shown that deal with this issue. Statements concerning the number of states that recognise a case are also taken from the Wikipedia article. URL: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_states_with_limited_recognition

Table 3.3: Non UN member states recognised by at least 1 UN member (number of UN members that recognise the sovereignty of the candidate state)

Republic of Abkhazia (6 at its height/4 currently)
Republic of China (21)
Republic of Kosovo (108)
Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (1)
State of Palestine (136)
Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic (84 at its height/ 47 currently)
Republic of South Ossetia (5 at its height/ 4 currently)

The last group is more interesting because these cases are recognised by at least one UN member state. Unlike the first group where the cases are already members of the UN, these states are not admitted as members of the UN. There is considerable variation amongst the recognition of these states' sovereignty. The republics of South Ossetia and Abkhazia were recognised by five and six UN member states respectively. The Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus is recognised only by Turkey. On the other hand, the State of Palestine is recognised by 136 UN members. Of these states, the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic was selected. This case was chosen for comparison, as the SADR, at its height, was recognised by 84 member states. The SADR thus has a claim to sovereignty that is partly established, unlike the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus for instance. The Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic was also chosen because it could be most easily compared to a second case.

The addition of a second case was necessary to test the hypotheses. After all, the results for the SADR alone would not eliminate causes for sovereignty recognition. The matching technique of paired comparison might eliminate some of the rival hypotheses. Furthermore, according to Tarrow (2010, p.244) the paired comparison has some distinct advantages over a single case study. It eliminates the possibility of Y occurring even in the absence of X. In simple terms, a single case study of sovereignty recognition (Y) in the SADR cannot fully explain if a particular effect (X) is really the cause for sovereignty recognition. Mahoney (2000, p.392) calls these type of causes sufficient causes. A sufficient cause delivers the outcome every time but in its absence the desired outcome might also occur. This is the opposite of a necessary cause, in which the presence of X might not necessarily lead to Y, but the absence of X causes the desired outcome to disappear (Mahoney, 2000, p.392). The Most Similar System Design tries to eliminate sufficient causes (Mahoney, 2000, p.392).

So, a second case was needed to compare the results of the SADR with. This case became South Sudan. South Sudan has received recognition as the world's newest state in 2011. South Sudan is

relatively similar to the SADR except when it comes to their recognition of sovereignty. Both South Sudan and the SADR are located in Africa and have relatively small population numbers. They are also home to natural resources and have a history of armed conflict. This makes the two states the most comparable of the limited number of candidate states. The variation on variables other than recognition of sovereignty is reduced to a minimum by choosing these two cases. Therefore, both cases are suited to the MSSD. The MSSD traces its roots back to John Stuart Mill and his method of difference and method of agreement (Mahoney, 2000, p. 393; Tarrow, 2010, p.233). Different scores on hypotheses will eliminate sufficient causes for the recognition of states' sovereignty. This process can, therefore, be extremely useful to the body of scientific knowledge on sovereignty recognition. The next paragraph focuses on the operationalisation of the recognition of sovereignty: the crucial variable in this case study.

3.2 Operationalisation of the dependent variable: Sovereignty Recognition

The United Nations applies the following procedure when it admits a new member. This will serve as a starting point for the operationalisation of the dependent variable: sovereignty recognition.

1. *The State submits an application to the Secretary-General and a letter formally stating that it accepts the obligations under the Charter.*
2. *The Security Council considers the application. Any recommendation for admission must receive the affirmative votes of 9 of the 15 members of the Council, provided that none of its five permanent members — China, France, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America — have voted against the application.*
3. *If the Council recommends admission, the recommendation is presented to the General Assembly for consideration. A two-thirds majority vote is necessary in the Assembly for admission of a new State.*
4. *Membership becomes effective the date the resolution for admission is adopted*
   (UN, 2015a).

The first step to achieve membership of the UN happens when a 'state' (a candidate state) applies for membership through a letter sent to the Secretary General. The Secretary General has to pass the application letter immediately to the UN Security Council, where the second step in the procedure takes place. A candidate state is considered a recognised sovereign if it passes this second step, because no other states can effectively veto the application of the candidate state. This leads to the following definition of sovereignty recognition:

Sovereignty recognition happens when a candidate state applies for membership of the UN and none of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council veto the application of the candidate state.

UN membership was chosen as an indicator for recognition of sovereignty, as membership of this organisation is open to all candidate states once they receive approval from the Security Council. Furthermore, even though the General Assembly has to approve the application, there has never been an instance where a state did not get admitted as a new member even though it passed the Security Council vetoes. The final reason for choosing UN membership as the benchmark for the recognition of sovereignty is that every recognised, sovereign state is a member of the UN. These three reasons are the justification for choosing UN membership as the recognition of sovereignty.

There are however two important points here worth discussing. Both points deal with the application of the candidate state. First, when a candidate state seeking sovereignty recognition does not apply for UN membership, sovereignty recognition will not happen. There are two reasons why a candidate state might not apply for UN membership. The first is an anticipation of rejection of the application. In this scenario, a candidate state anticipates that it will not receive sovereignty recognition and decides not to apply in the first place. This reason is considered unproblematic as the mechanism behind sovereignty recognition is still in place; the hypotheses derived from chapter two can still be applied. In other words, the candidate does not apply for membership of the UN if it suspects that its application will get vetoed. In this case, the hypotheses can still be tested.

The second, more important reason why a state would not apply is because it does not meet the criteria set out in the application procedure of the UN. This second reason has implications for the operationalisation of sovereignty recognition. The UN declares in its application procedure that the UN is: 'is open to all peace-loving States that accept the obligations contained in the United Nations Charter and, in the judgment of the Organization, are able to carry out these obligations' (UN, 2015a). This judgement of the organisation is done by the UN Security Council. The problem lies in the word 'state'. The UN does not have a definition of what a state is. Therefore, what is considered a legitimate candidate for the recognition of sovereignty cannot be decided upon by the UN organisation. Indeed, this conceptual problem lies at the very heart of this thesis. The real question here is: What is a candidate state? What entities are eligible to have sovereignty rights bestowed upon them? As stated before, there is no universal definition of a state. To circumvent this problem the basic definition of a candidate state will be taken from the Montevideo convention. This document was one of the first treaties on statehood and its definition incorporates many common elements of a state.

The Montevideo convention describes that a state should have the following qualifications: '1) a permanent population, 2) a defined territory, 3) a government and 4) the capacity to enter into relations with the other states.'(International Law Students Association, 2016, p.1)

Now we have a working definition of what a candidate state is. This leads to the following definition of sovereignty recognition.

Sovereignty recognition happens when a candidate state, with a permanent population, a defined territory, a government, and with the capacity to enter into relations with other states applies for membership of the UN and none of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council use their veto to block the application.

The candidate state has to fulfil all the four criteria of the Montevideo convention. Now that we have decided what sovereign recognition entails, we shift our focus to the operationalisation of the other concepts in the hypotheses.

3.3 Operationalisation of hypotheses

This section covers the operationalisation of the hypotheses. Hypotheses one to three are the structural realist hypotheses. The social constructivist hypotheses are listed after the structural realist and are also numbered one to three. Structuring them as groups is less likely to cause confusion on which hypothesis belongs to which theory. The section below starts with the first three hypotheses derived from structural realist literature.

The structural realist hypotheses

Hypothesis 1SR: A state is more likely to recognise a candidate state if recognition does not upset the regional balance of power.

Several aspects of this hypothesis have already been established. Namely: what the state is, what the candidate state is and what recognition of sovereignty is. The remaining concept from hypothesis one is the regional balance of power. The balance of power can be measured on many levels. Candidate states are, however, entities that have not been established as states yet. Therefore, any change in the balance of power is likely to affect their immediate area. Consequently, the regional balance of power, instead of the global balance of power will be analysed. What the current regional balance of power is, in one of the particular regions of the two candidate states, will be derived from regional security complex literature. Then the impact of the candidate state on the regional balance of power will be analysed.

The next question is: When does a candidate state upset the balance of power? Brown (1997, p.105) describes the balance of power as a chandelier. A chandelier is only balanced when the weights are relatively equal and when the weights are about the same length apart (Brown, 1997, p.105). Brown offers this image of the balance of power as a chandelier in contrast to the traditional balance of scales. A chandelier offers more than two sides of the equilibrium provided by a balance of scales.

The balance of power can thus be upset on two axes, rather than one in the balance of scales metaphor. One scenario is when a state becomes more powerful than the rest, thereby tipping the chandelier's balance. The other way is when states align and become closer to each other (Brown, 1997, p.105). Thus upsetting the balance of power happens when a state in the region becomes more powerful than the rest or when multiple states align too closely against the rest.

How do states become more powerful? Structural realists look at hard power. Hard power consists of material strength and the potential to develop more material strength through population and economy (Mearsheimer, 2013, p.78). These are indicators which are used to establish the balance of power in the region. But small candidate states are unlikely to alter the material balance of power in any significant way because their hard power is usually limited. Their 'weight' alone will not likely tip the balance of the chandelier. Therefore, in addition to hard power, soft power will also be a part of the calculation. Soft power relates to the social component in IR. Structural realists deny the existence of this social component in IR. However, the line between soft and hard power is often very difficult to distinguish (Van Ham,2010, p.19). Bially Mattern (2005, p. 578) claims that soft power is rooted in hard power because hard power is used to force others into compliance. Hard power's strength usually lies in the threat of using it. This makes hard power less hard and soft power much harder. The argument can thus be made that soft and hard power are not mutually exclusive and are actually the same. Soft power works on attraction (Nye, 2008, p.95). If you can make someone want your goal, you do not have to coerce them. According to Nye:

'The soft power of a country rests primarily on three resources: its culture (in places where it is attractive to others), its political values (when it lives up to them at home and abroad), and its foreign policies (when they are seen as legitimate and having moral authority).' (Nye, 2008, p. 97)

How then is attractive soft power embedded in the regional balance of power? Of Nye's three elements, culture and foreign policy play a role in any regional balance of power. The cultural aspect becomes a factor in a regional balance of power simply by being for or against the recognition of the candidate state. The US for example, increased their soft power in Western and Central Europe after the Second World War and the Cold War respectively. People inside these countries were more receptive to US soft power because they were seen as liberators and as the victors over communism (Van Ham, 2010, p.18). This mechanic works according to the same logic in a regional balance of power. States in the region which are supportive of the candidate state will have a larger amount of soft power within the candidate state if it becomes recognised. Soft power can also be increased if the UN is opposed or in favour of recognition. This relates to Nye's third element of having moral authority. States that adhere to the UN point of view increase their soft power through the UN's

moral authority. Soft power relates to the second way to alter the balance of power in Brown's (1997, p.105) chandelier. A state with more soft power has more means to influence others; the weights on the chandelier move closer together.

However, how soft power is measured is an extremely difficult process. Social factors on a whole can usually be said to play a role, but how much social or soft power really matters is a question that has not been resolved (Van Ham, 2010, p.20). In addition, the balance of power too is not defined conclusively (Brown, 1997, p.105). This leads me to adopt some assumptions on the question how much soft power really matters in the balance of power. My assumptions are based on the above paragraphs:

1) Proponents of recognition of the sovereignty of candidate states will enhance their power position through cultural soft power.
2) Opponents of recognition will lose soft power.
3) If the UN supports one of the positions then states with the same position will gain soft power.
4) Soft power only upsets the balance of power if one state experiences a net gain of soft power over all other states.

These assumptions do recognise the importance of soft power without putting too much emphasis on soft power in relation to hard power. This brings me to the following operationalised hypothesis one.

Operationalised Hypothesis 1 SR: A permanent member of the United Nations Security Council will recognise the sovereignty of SADR/South Sudan if none of the states in the region improves its relative power position in the region.

Hypothesis 2
Hypothesis 2SR: A state is more likely to recognise a candidate state if the candidate state is stable.

The concept behind this hypothesis is uncertainty; one of the driving forces behind structural realism. Because states can never be sure about the intentions of the other, they will anticipate worst case scenarios (Mearsheimer, 2013, p.79). A certain level of trust can, however, be established if states act predictably. Therefore, candidate states need to be predictable in order to get recognised as sovereign states. Predictability reduces uncertainty in the international system. Radical regime changes undermine the predictability in international relations. Permanent members will not recognise a candidate state whose regime, with its attitudes and policies, can change at any moment. Electoral results do not qualify as radical, as the state itself does not change. Radical change

resembles the communist revolution in Russia in the beginning of the 20th century. Thus, radical regime change means the violent overthrow of the regime of, or secession from, the 'candidate state' by an armed group inside the state. In addition, the struggle of the armed group needs to be active for more than a year. A few incidents by renegade terrorists are therefore excluded from this definition. This distinction is important as the actions of a few can never fully be prevented, whereas a struggle by an armed group can. Therefore, only candidate states which are free of violent armed groups looking to secede or overthrow the regime of the candidate state will be recognised as sovereigns.

Operationalised Hypothesis 2 SR: A permanent member of the United Nations Security Council will recognise the sovereignty of SADR/ South Sudan if it is free from an armed group, which uses violence for more than a year, to overthrow the government of the candidate state or wishes to secede from the candidate state.

Hypotheses 3A &4 A

Hypothesis 3A SR: A state is more likely to recognise a candidate state if the candidate state enhances the power position of the recognizing state.

Several aspects of this hypothesis have already been established. Namely: what the state is, what the candidate state is and what recognition of sovereignty is. The remaining concept from hypothesis three is power position. Mearsheimer (2013, p.78) sees power as direct military capacity. Wealth and population are considered latent power, as they increase the potential direct military capacity. Position relates to the distribution of power of states against each other. These three concepts are, however, problematic when it comes to the recognition of candidate states. The recognition of another state does not increase the direct military capacity, wealth or population of the recognising state. What then causes a permanent member to recognise a candidate state?

The most important aspect is that the permanent member would benefit from recognising a candidate state. Even though this might not immediately translate into military power. Indicators of such benefits are that a state gains better access to natural resources or allies of the permanent member benefit. Therefore, hypothesis three is split into hypothesis three, which examines the role of resources, and four, which examines the role of allies.

Regional politics again play a role. However, unlike the first hypothesis, the fourth hypothesis now looks at the allies of the permanent members. What does the introduction of a new state do for the regional allies? A recognising state must take into account what its allies will think of its stance, pro or contra recognition. The permanent member takes the interest of its ally into account. Not on a

basis of friendship, but alienating an ally might damage the permanent member's own power position. Therefore, this regional component can be incorporated as an indicator of the realist hypothesis. This makes hypothesis four different from the first structural realist hypothesis by looking at the allies of permanent members instead of the regional balance of power.

Economic considerations play a role in structural realist theory. Natural resources are valuable assets which can improve the power position of states. If a candidate state offers access to these resources, by making the extraction easier, the permanent members will recognise the candidate state. A candidate state offers access to resources when its recognition will result in the easier extraction of resources. This definition circumvents the problem that most candidate states are seceding from already established states. These states are usually already in the business of extracting natural resources present in the territory of the candidate state. Therefore, recognition of a candidate state will most likely not result in the beginning of the extraction of natural resources. Recognition of a candidate state can improve or complicate the extraction for resources and that is why the following definition was chosen.

Operationalised Hypothesis 3 SR: A permanent member of the United Nations Security Council will recognise the sovereignty of SADR/South Sudan when recognition improves access to extracting natural resources.

How a regional ally is determined is the main problem for the operationalisation of hypothesis four. The definition of an alliance as states having signed a treaty of military cooperation is problematic. There is a problem with the signing of treaties. For instance, the US military uses the distinction 'Major Non Nato Ally'. This distinction is a bureaucratic measure which the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Defense can confer upon another state without signing a treaty (United States Code, 2016). Other possible indicators suffer from their own problems. It is questionable if the selling of arms counts as military cooperation, as the selling of arms is non-committal. Various states throughout history have sold arms to both sides in conflicts. As a state cannot be allied to both sides in a conflict, the selling of arms is rejected as military cooperation. Training of soldiers and cooperating in military research constitutes a longer lasting relationship than the selling of arms. These actions constitute military cooperation but are usually classified and are therefore unable to be analysed. In addition, training of personnel and cooperation in research is often done between states that have similar interests without them being allies. The US trains militaries throughout the world in the fight against terrorism. However, most states that receive this training are usually not seen as allies. Similarly, an alliance against international terrorism is unsuitable as an indicator for military cooperation as fighting against terrorism has become a 'hurrah word'. Even the regime in

Sudan, which harboured international terrorists for years, has expressed a commitment to fighting international terrorism. More importantly, terrorism is an internal threat dealt with by the police and intelligence services, not by the army and therefore disqualifies as military cooperation. Therefore alliances will be derived from academic literature which portrays the relations between two states as an alliance.

When allies are established, how do states in the region support the recognition of the candidate state? UN documents do not always include statements of states. Therefore, the positions of states are hard to establish. For the SADR case, the UN General Assembly resolution 46/67, which concerns the MINSRO mission, lists no statements as the resolution was adopted unanimously (UN, 1991a). Thus there are no statements on the recognition of the SADR but only votes in favour of the self-determination of the Sahrawi people. Therefore, states which have recognised the SADR will be seen as supporters of the SADR recognition of sovereignty. Morocco opposes sovereignty of the SADR as it sees that Sahrawi self-determination should be realized as autonomy within Morocco. States which neither recognise the SADR or explain self-determination as autonomy within Morocco are labelled as neutral. For the South Sudan case, UN General Assembly document A/65/PV.108 records the statements of South Sudanese admission to the UN (UN, 2011a). While this time the admission was also adopted unanimously, there was a statement from the representative of African states. The representative introduced the draft resolution for South Sudan to be admitted to the UN on behalf of the group of African states. This means that all members of the group of African states did not oppose the South Sudanese recognition of sovereignty. I consider Sudan itself exempt from this statement as South Sudan emerged from a bloody civil war with the forces of the Sudanese government. Sudan is therefore labelled as opposed.

The regional allies of the permanent members will favour recognition if the governments of these states voice their support for the recognition of the candidate state. Regional allies can also be opposed or take a neutral position. Regional allies are established on the basis of academic literature. This makes the fourth hypothesis as followed.

Operationalised Hypothesis 4A SR: A permanent member of the United Nations Security Council will recognise the sovereignty of SADR/South Sudan when a regional ally favours recognition.

Hypothesis three B is derived from the same literature as hypothesis one and uses the same logic. While the first hypothesis states that a permanent member will actively pursue recognition, the second hypothesis will actively do the opposite.

Hypothesis 3B & 4 B

Hypothesis 3B SR: A state is less likely to recognise a candidate state if the candidate state harms the power position of the recognising state.

Hypothesis three B argues when the use of a veto power by a permanent member of the UN Security Council will happen. A permanent member will veto the application if its relative power position is damaged by the recognition of a candidate state. The logic of this hypothesis works the same as in hypothesis three A and four A, only now the other way around. These hypotheses will not be analysed separately, but will be tested alongside the three A and three B hypotheses.

Operationalised Hypothesis 3B SR: A permanent member of the United Nations Security Council will not recognise the sovereignty of SADR/South Sudan when recognition complicates access to the extracting of natural resources.

Operationalised Hypothesis 4B SR: A permanent member of the United Nations Security Council will not recognise the sovereignty of SADR/South Sudan when a regional ally is opposed to recognition.

This concludes the operationalisation of the realist hypotheses. The following section deals with the social constructivist hypothesis derived from social constructivist's Alexander Wendt's Foucault effect.

The social constructivist hypotheses

There is an important remark that has to be made before the operationalisation of the social constructivist hypotheses continues. The theoretical body of social constructivism is different in ontology than the realist theories. The realist hypotheses are based on rationalist principles, while social constructivist hypotheses are not. Social constructivism argues that actors both shape and are shaped by the environment they act in. The actions of the permanent members cannot be seen out of context. The behaviour of a permanent member is shaped by its interaction with the candidate state. In order for a permanent member to recognise the sovereignty of a candidate state, it therefore needs to have interaction with the candidate state. Any of the constructivist hypotheses need to adhere to this interaction criterion as it is a condition for the hypotheses to take effect. UN General Assembly resolutions will serve as an indicator of interaction. As interaction with a far off, non-state entity is usually limited; knowledge of the candidate state is taken as a minimum definition of the interaction criteria. With this criterion in mind, the operational problems of the constructivist hypotheses are now sorted out.

Hypothesis 1

Hypothesis 1SC: A state will recognise a candidate state when the candidate state is a de facto sovereign.

In Wendt's Foucault effect, there are several processes through which states are formed. Empirical sovereignty was used as the first test for candidate states (Spruyt, 1994 as cited in Wendt, 1999). Powers that established control over a territory used it as a benchmark for attributing the status of sovereignty on other powers which also controlled a given territory. They saw each other as equals because they could control and hold on to a particular territory. Wendt (1999, p.292) argues that the restraint of more powerful states created the sovereignty of less powerful states. These states could flourish because the more powerful actively chose not to assert their control over the territory of the less powerful state. The smaller states could back up their claim to sovereignty not because they asserted themselves militarily, but because they were recognised as sovereigns by the society they ruled over. The societies accepted the claim of the less powerful states of being a sovereign. The state has achieved authority, as Wendt (1999, p.207) calls it. Authority offers a way to become de facto sovereign without direct military control. A state acquires authority when its society accepts the state as having certain powers (Wendt, 1999, pp. 206-.207). Achieving authority without military control happens mostly in the various recognised failed states in modern Africa (Wendt, 1999, p.292). As such, the current trend is reversing the historical process: States acquire authority before direct control. Candidate states need to acquire authority over their society. They do this if they are accepted as the only higher power within their territory by the society they rule over. This brings us to the following hypothesis:

Operationalised Hypothesis 1SC: A permanent member of the UN Security Council will recognise the sovereignty of SADR/South Sudan if the SADR/ South Sudan is regarded as being the sole higher authority by their respective societies.

Hypothesis 2

Hypothesis 2SC: A state will not recognise a candidate state if the candidate state is not perceived as being democratic, capitalist and a nation-state.

State properties are instruments which further narrow down the sovereignty criteria in the Foucault effect. Wendt (1999, p.293) argues that, being democratic, capitalist and a nation state are criteria which candidate states have to meet. Wendt also indicates that there are other state properties that can function as criteria, but he writes that specifically capitalism and democratic state properties are increasingly more important. Being a nation-state has not decreased in importance as a state criteria. Therefore, these three criteria were chosen over possible other criteria. The criteria are intrinsic

values of the candidate state. However, these intrinsic values have constitutive effects in the international system (Wendt, 1999, p.293). Therefore, the actual levels of 'democraticness' or being a nation-state are less important. The importance lies in how other states, in our case the permanent members of the UN Security Council, acknowledge them as such. These criteria are thus not hard criteria like a checklist, but are standards which the candidate state has to meet in the eyes of the recognising states. Because of language barriers between the different permanent members of the UN Security Council, notes from UN Security Council and General Assembly meetings are analysed. These notes are all available in English and therefore suitable for comparison. A candidate state has to pass on all criteria in order to become recognised as a sovereign. In the sections below the indicators for the state properties are developed.

Democracy

According to Peter Mair (2011, p.84), democracy has received renewed interest after the end of the Cold War. Democracy became the most widespread form of government. Subsequently the focus of academic research became deadlocked in a situation in which 'democracies with additives' were designed (Mair, p. 87). Democracy with additives solved, for a time being, the problem of wildly diverging democracies that spawned form former autocratic regimes. The result of this process are illiberal democracies, reflective democracies and even totalitarian democracies (Heywood, 2004, p.220). This focus on the quality of democracy works well established democracies in the western world. It allows comparison between different forms of well established democracies. The cases that this thesis examines are however, not even established as states. Therefore, a ground definition of what a democracy should minimally entail to be considered democratic is needed. According to Heywood (2004, p.220), democracy has become a kind of, as he calls it, a 'hurrah word'. Everyone is quick to label themselves as a democracy. Even communists or fascists label themselves democratic. This is the problem of democracy with additives as Mair (2011, p.87) has called it. The problem with such a definition of democracy is the fact that when everyone is labelled a democracy, democracy becomes meaningless.

What every regime claims however, is that their rule is in the best interest of all, or the majority of its citizens. The Chinese government claims that it represents the fundamental interests of the majority of its citizens (CPC, 2006). Moreover, the primary aim of the revolution was to 'serve the people wholeheartedly'(CPC, 2006).In addition, Russia's constitutions also begins with: 'We the people of the Russian Federation' (Russian Constitution, 1993). Both regimes that western democrats see as authoritarian and repressive regimes imply that their power derives from the people. The Chinese government does so by claiming that their rule is to serve the majority of its citizens, while the Russian government even derives its power form a constitution signed by the people of the Russian

Federation. Therefore, I consider that this goal to serve the people is the lowest common denominator of democracy. Candidate states should be seen as ruling in the interests of their people. The permanent members must perceive the candidate state as ruling in the people's interests. Statements of the permanent members in the notes of the Security Council and General Assembly that mention the candidate states as serving their people serves as an indicator for the democratic state property.

Capitalist

Wendt wrote his book after the end of the Cold War. This period in history is marked by an increase of free markets and an increase in global trade. It seems natural that Wendt sees capitalism as a state property. Capitalism is closely aligned with market economies, with capitalism being the motor behind the market economy. However, like democracies, capitalist systems are diverse (Lippit, 2005, p.5). Because the market economies differ on many levels, a minimal definition should be found. What all capitalist systems entail is that people should trade. Engaging in international trade comes closest to what a candidate state should be in order to be considered capitalist. This indicator might be seen as redundant because capitalism is so widely accepted nowadays. However, this is exactly what makes the capitalist state property so important. Indicators of this definition are statements by the permanent members in the UN Security Council and General Assembly notes that acknowledge and welcome to candidate state's willingness to engage in international trade.

Nation-state

The concept of a nation-state is not conclusively defined. What a nation should be is still subject to debate within the field of nationalism studies (Gellner, 2008, pp. 6-7). According to Gellner: 'Nationalism is primarily a political principle which holds that the political and national unit should be congruent' (Gellner,2008, p.1). Gellner (1925-1995)was an eminent scholar on the subject of nationalism and is one of the most cited authors on the subject. Therefore, his material will be used as a basis for a nation-state property indicator. Gellner (2008) argues that there is a particular violation of the nationalist principle that has severe consequences. That is when the ruling elite is comprised of a different nation than the ruled. This is according to Gellner (2008, p.1) an intolerable breach for nationalists. The distinction of Gellner will provide the basis for the nation-state criterion. Definitions of the nation diverge on cultural and voluntary association with the nation. Further definitions of nation-state are not explored, because there is no consensus on what a nation is. What is important is that the people who rule are considered to come from the same group of people who are ruled. For this thesis the perception of the permanent members trump the perception of the population. When the permanent members see the rulers as belonging to the nation of the candidate state, the nation-state criteria will be fulfilled. Statements of the permanent members in

the UN Security Council and General Assembly serve as indicators for the nation-state criteria. The three state properties lead to the following operationalized hypothesis 5:

Operationalised Hypothesis 2SC: A permanent member of the United Nations Security Council will recognise the sovereignty of SADR/South Sudan if SADR/South Sudan is perceived as ruling in the interest of its people, is willing to engage in international trade and is comprised of a ruling elite whose identity is the same as the people it rules over.

Hypothesis 3

Hypothesis 3SC: A state will not recognise a candidate state if the candidate state poses a direct threat to another state.

As the final part of the Foucault effect, states will not recognise the sovereignty of a candidate state that threatens another sovereign. Claims on territories from another state are called irredenta. Irredentism is different from secession. The goal is to assimilate the irredenta into another state, whereas with secession territories do not merge with another state (Ambrosio, 2011, p. 1347). Candidate states may not have irredentist claims, as these would clearly attempt to violate the territoriality of another state. Therefore, if a candidate state has irredentist claims against another sovereign state, this would prevent the recognition of the candidate states' sovereignty. The only exception to this rule is the state from which the territory is becoming independent. The moment when a third party becomes involved is the moment when the recognition of sovereignty is excluded as an option.

Operationalised hypothesis 3SC: A permanent member of the UN Security Council will not recognise the sovereignty of SADR/South Sudan if SADR/South Sudan claims the territory from a third state.

We now have operationalised the rival hypotheses put forward from the theories in chapter two. The following chapter will elaborate on the context of the SADR and the South Sudan case. The chapter five will then analyse the presence or absence of the rival hypotheses in a systematic fashion. But before I turn to chapter four I would like to make some remarks on the data that I have used for this study.

Data

During this research, whenever possible, primary documents were used. However, this was not always possible. So, in order to construct and substantiate results, secondary sources had to be used. This invites the possibility of bias. Wherever bias was suspected, it was compared with counterarguments proposed by other authors. In chapter four for instance, secondary sources

disagreed whether the SADR was merely a tool in Algeria's foreign policy (Price, 1977, p.7,) or a genuine organisation run by individuals who strived for an independent Western Sahara (Hodges, 1983, pp. 159-161). In this case, other sources did not indicate that the SADR was merely a tool in Algerian foreign policy. This disagreement was mentioned in the text for the reader's awareness.

A second data related problem is that the analysis of the second social constructivist hypothesis relies on the translated notes of the UN Security Council. The UN uses multiple languages and English is not the standard language. While statements are always translated into English, an important problem remains. If some important statements were lost in translation, these were unable to be detected, and the outcome of this research might, as a result, not be fully accurate. This method was chosen as the second social constructivist hypothesis was otherwise unable to be analysed because of the language barrier. With these shortcomings in mind, the fourth chapter, which elaborates on the background of the two cases, begins.

Chapter 4: Background Information

4.1 The Western Sahara

Introduction: What is the Western Sahara?

The Western Sahara is a territory on the western seaboard of Africa's Atlantic coast. The territory is situated between Morocco in the North, Mauritania in the South, and Algeria in the East. There are some 500.000 people living in the Western Sahara who are mostly concentrated in the largest city: La' Youn/El-Ayoun/Laayoune (Simon, 2014, p.256). The territory of the Western Sahara is mainly arid. Large swathes of desert make up most of the landscape in the territory. Temperatures can rise to 40 degrees Celsius on an average summer day, but temperatures of 50 degrees Celsius are no exception. Most areas within the Western Sahara are sparsely populated. An

(Map Nr. 3175 rev. 1, UN, 1995).

increasingly small number of Sahrawi's live as nomads who have no permanent place of residence.

Who are the Sahrawi's?

The origins of the Sahrawi people date back to the 14th century, when local tribes began to intermarriage with the Arabs. According to Zunes (2003, p.332), the Sahrawi's are an Arab people. The name of their government, the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic, is a testament to their identification as Arabs. The Sahrawi's are fiercely nationalistic. The Sahrawi's could have been integrated into the Moroccan state if not for Sahrawi nationalism (Hodges, 1983, p.150; Zunes, 2003, p.322). The Spanish played an instrumental role in instigating this nationalism. In order to defy Moroccan and Mauritanian irredentist claims, the Spanish emphasized the ethnic and cultural distinctiveness of the Sahrawi people (Hodges,1983, p.152; Zunes, 2003, p.332). The distinctiveness of the Sahrawi people was however not artificially created. According to Zunes (2003, p.332), the

nomadic lifestyle, as well as clothing, diet, and poetry, amongst other things, clearly distinguish the Sahrawi Arabs from Moroccan Arabs.

What is Polisario?

Polisario (Frente Popular de Liberación de Saguía el Hamra y Río de Oro) originated as an independence movement by Sahrawi's who had enjoyed foreign education. It was created on the 10th of May 1973 either in Nouackchott, Mauritania (Price, 1977, p.5) or somewhere on the border of the Western Sahara and Mauritania (Hodges,1983, pp. 160-163). The Polisario wants an independent Western Sahara. It first advocated a guerrilla war against the Spanish colonizers, and later against Morocco and Mauritania. Since its origin, Polisario had to compete with other representative bodies of the Sahrawi's for public support. At the onset, most of Polisario's members were not of Sahrawi origin (Price, 1977, p.5). The ethnic makeup of the Polisario in the 1970's included Mauritanians, Malinese, Algerian and Moroccan ethnicities. Many viewed Polisario as an instrument of Algerian foreign policy because they relied much on the Algerian government for support. This has lead price to conclude that: 'Polisario is in every sense an Algerian creation' (Price, 1977, P.6). This view has changed over time. At first, Polisaro was supplied with Soviet weaponry and trained by the Algerian forces in the army base near Tindouf, Algeria. The Sahrawi population had mixed views on Algerian support for Polisario. Some were afraid that the Sahrawi's might become an expendable factor in Algeria's foreign policy. After Polisario made peace with Mauritania in 1979, the UN recognised Polisario as the official representative of the Sahrawi people (UN, 1979).

Before the conflict (before 1976)

The Western Sahara used to be called the Spanish Sahara after the Spanish colonizers. The area was for a long of little economic importance until valuable phosphate deposits were found in the 1950's (Hodges, 1983, p.153). In 1963 the Spanish Sahara was admitted as a Non-Self-Governing Territory by the UN[4]. Spain subsequently came under pressure by the UN to decolonize the region (Simon, 2014, p.257). Neighbouring Morocco claimed sovereignty over the territory on the basis of historical ties to the territory and requested an advisory opinion by the International Court of Justice (ICJ). On the 16th of October 1975, the ICJ stated that while there were some historical ties between Morocco and the Western Sahara, there were no legal ties preventing the decolonization of the Spanish Sahara and the self-determination of the indigenous Sahrawi people (ICJ, 1975, p.79). An overwhelming majority of the Sahrawi's favoured independence when the UN first visited the area in 1975 (Hodges, 1983, pp.198-199). Morocco and Mauritania misinterpreted the ruling of the ICJ and used their twisted

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[4] The United Nations maintains a list of territories which are in a decolonisation process (UN, 2015b). Most of today's African states were once on the list. Nowadays only a handful remain, some of which even declined the offer of self governance (BBC, 2013a).

version as a justification for the 'Green March'. A few weeks after the ICJ ruling, 350.000 unarmed Moroccan civilians marched into the Western Sahara (Simon, 2014, p.257; Hodges, 1983, p.211).

The conflict in the Western Sahara escalated when the Madrid accords were signed in November 1975. These accords were signed between Spain, Morocco and Mauritania to carve up the Western Sahara, despite Spanish promises of Sahrawi independence just weeks before the accords. Since these accords, Spain recognises Moroccan administration of the area, but not its sovereignty over it. This leaves Spain as the official sovereign over the Western Sahara since its departure from the territory in 1975. There are several explanations for this dramatic shift in policy by the Spanish. Spain was under pressure from multiple parties inside the government, who were bickering over what course of action to take, at a time when General Franco lay dying (Hodges, 1983, pp.214-215). While the positions of Morocco and Polisario were important to Spain, the international pressure is what made Spain take the course of action it did. The US and France told the Spanish government bluntly that a policy change in Morocco (calling off the Green March, risking war between Morocco and Spain) was against their interests, especially in a time of instability on the Iberian peninsula (Hodges ,1983, p.215). This pressure proved too much for the Spanish administration. The US and France pressured Morocco and Spain to end their conflict diplomatically. Spain would hand over the territory to the Moroccans.

The primary aim of the Spanish government was to preserve its interests in the region. Many army officers were convinced that this could most easily be done through a neo-colonial framework, in which the Western Sahara was to be nominally independent. The Spanish government also counted on third world countries to support its own claim towards Gibraltar[5]. Support from these countries could be compromised when Spain would withdraw its commitment to support the independence of the Western Sahara (Hodges, 1983, p.214). Spain had come to terms with the Moroccan and Mauritanian government that a tripartite solution was the best alternative (Hodges,1983, p.217). The march presented the negotiations with a fait accompli. On November 14th the parties reached an agreement. Spain was to retreat in the coming months, Morocco and Mauritania would have a governor co-rule the territory with the Spanish Governor General and the Djeema, a Sahrawi council of elders.

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[5] Gibraltar is a Non-Self-Governing territory administered by the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. Spain sees Gibraltar as its own territory because of the geographical position of Gibraltar at the tip of the Iberian peninsula. Great Britain and Spain have had diplomatic incidents regarding the status of Gibraltar (BBC, 2013b).

Armed conflict (1976-1991)

The current conflict started when Spain ceded its control over the territory to Morocco and Mauritania 3 months after the 'Green March' in February 1976. On the day of the transfer Polisario proclaimed the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) even though some territory was occupied by Moroccan and Mauritanian forces (Simon, 2014, p.257). The occupation was rejected by the UN and the ICJ, but had wide domestic support in Morocco (Hodges, 1983, pp.213-214). During the evacuation of the Western Sahara by Spanish military, Polisario took over most of the evacuated outposts in the Western Sahara (Hodges, 1983, p.219). Morocco however also took up three outposts on the eastern border of the Western Sahara and clashed with the Polisario on 31 October 1975. These were the first shots exchanged by the Moroccan military and the Polisario (Hodges, 1983, p.220). Polisario felt betrayed by the Spanish administration who once offered them independence and started, in retaliation, to abduct Spanish fishermen off the Western Sahara coast (Price, 1981, p.20). In exchange for prisoners the Spanish government recognised Polisario officially in 1980 (Price, 1981, p.21).Mauritania occupied the Southern part of the territory while, at the same time, the Moroccans marched in from the North. The Polisario Front quickly mobilized against both Morocco and Mauritania.

Early conventional attacks by the Polisario and Algerians proved ineffective: In June 1976, 100 armed vehicles travelled a 1000 miles from Tindouf to attack the Mauritanian capital, Nouakchott. The attack was a disaster for the Polisario, 200 guerrillas were killed along with the Polisario leader: Sayed el Ouali. Afterwards, Polisario resorted to guerrilla like tactics, sabotaging and destroying vital infrastructure in Mauritania. Polisario conducted their guerrilla war from bases in Algeria, with weapons supplied by Algeria and Libya. Morocco was on the defensive against these highly mobile and tactically superior units (Paul, Clarke, Grill & Dunigan, 2013, p.395). The guerrilla war aimed to make the conflict a war of attrition (Price,1977, p.6). Morocco in turn tripled the size of its armed forces to 150.000 and stationed more than half of them in the occupied zone. Soviet anti air missiles enabled the Polisario to deny the Moroccans air superiority, a crucial advantage for the Polisario. At the same time the Polisario, assisted by the Algerian military, were able to launch a conventional attack into the Moroccan mainland (Paul et al., 2013, p.396). In 1979 had restricted Moroccan occupation to approximately 15% of the territory in the Northwest (Paul et al., 2013, p.396; Hodges, 1983, p.290).

Meanwhile, Mauritania experienced problems with the Polisario attacks. The Polisario attacked the iron ore mining facilities at Zouerate, successfully disrupting the flow of goods. Mauritania is dependent on its iron ore exports and thus was forced by these attacks to engage with Morocco in a common defence pact. This agreement was enacted on the 13th of May 1977. However, in 1979

Mauritania withdrew from the conflict (Price, 1981, p.5). When the coup d'état took place in Mauritania, Polisario offered the new Mauritanian government a temporary ceasefire. The Mauritanian government responded by suspending the military activities against Polisario. In 1979 there was peace between Mauritania and Polisario.

Thus, at the beginning of the 1980's Polisario was winning the war against foreign occupation. Polisario had cornered the Moroccan army in the two enclaves, one in the profitable triangle in the northwest, and one enclave near Dahkla. Polisario was in control of about 85% of the territory (Hodges, 1983, p.290). The situation changed when the US and France supported to the Moroccan government. Until then, the Moroccan army conducted sweeps out of their controlled areas. This tactic proved ineffective against the mobile Polisario militias. The new tactic adopted by the Moroccan military was

(PBS, 2013)

centred on holding the areas that had been swept. To this end, Morocco began construction of a sand berm in the 1980's. This berm is essentially a heavily militarized border wall made up of sand (Paul et al., 2013, p.397). Figure 4.2 shows the berm on a satellite image (PBS, 2013). The wall is more than a 1000 miles long, and effectively stopped the Polisario forces from penetrating the hinterland. After the completion of the wall, the levels of violence declined until a ceasefire between Morocco and Polisario was signed in 1991.

After the ceasefire

The outline of the ceasefire envisioned a transitional period, in which both parties began drawing down military personnel. After the transitional period, the inhabitants of the Western Sahara would vote on independence or inclusion in Morocco (Adebajo, 1995, p.60). The primary task of the UN mission, established in 1991, was to monitor the ceasefire, take care of voter registration and organization of the referendum (UN, 1991b). There are several criteria which a candidate needs to satisfy if he or she wants to be eligible to vote. The first criteria is an age 18 as of December 1993 while being a member of one of the 10 tribes identified by the Spanish census of 1974 (Adebajo, 1995, p.62). The candidate is then placed on the preliminary voter's list if he/she satisfies one of the five criteria listed on the next page.

Voter criteria:

1) Being on the 1974 census list.
2) Inhabiting the territory during the 1974 census.
3) Immediate family of a person on 1 and 2.
4) Persons born outside the territory but having a Saharan father born inside the territory.
5) Persons who lived for 6 consecutive or 12 intermittent years inside the territory prior to the 1974 census.

Morocco tried to file additional voters for the referendum which slowed down the voting registration considerably (Bhatia, 2001, p.292). The conflict over voter eligibility continues to be a deadlock in the referendum. The voter registration was completed in 1998 (Securitycouncilreport, 2015), but no referendum has taken place due to Morocco's disagreement with the UN's voter list. Meanwhile the UN started to seek alternatives to the deadlock. A plan proposed by James Baker, envisaged considerable autonomy for the Sahrawi's inside the Moroccan state with a referendum on independence after four years (Securitycouncilreport, 2015). This plan was unanimously accepted by the UN Security Council and Polisario, but was rejected by Morocco because the referendum would include an option for Sahrawi independence. Since the Baker plan, Morocco does not accept a referendum which includes an option for independence for the Sahrawi's. The search for alternatives which do not focus on independence for the Sahrawi's caused Polisario to lose trust in the UN (Bhatia, 2001, p.293). The result after almost 25 years of UN brokered negotiations is a territory divided by the conflict lines of 1991 with almost zero chance of a diplomatic outcome. The continued stalemate has increased the chances of the return to armed conflict (Bhatia, 2001, p.293; EUobserver, 2016). Young Sahrawi's who spent most of their lives in the refugee camps begin to lose faith in Polisario, as it has not delivered any substantial improvements since the ceasefire (EUobserver, 2016). The defence minister of Polisario claims it is under pressure from youths to resume hostilities.

The distinctiveness of the Sahrawi people as a anarchic, nomadic people has also helped view the conflict in the eyes of the Moroccans as a *mission civilisatriste* (Zunes, 2003, p.333). Since the ceasefire, migration of Moroccans to the Western Sahara has been fuelled by this sentiment. Morocco claims that the practise is entirely different than the Israeli occupation of the West Bank, as Morocco claims it is sending trained and skilled people into the area to develop it (Zunes, 2003, p.333). The Moroccan government tries to encourage Moroccans to live in the Western Sahara through enormous monetary benefits outlined in a so called *Plan d'Urgence* (Price, 1977, p.9). Morocco tries to downplay and even repress the cultural identity of the Sahrawi's in the area it

controls. According to Zunes (2003, p.333), the Moroccan government engages in an almost totalitarian control over the Sahrawi population inside Moroccan occupied territories. Sahrawi's are forbidden to wear their traditional costumes, speak their native dialects, listen to other radio than the state broadcasts, or to meet in groups larger than three. Furthermore, Sahrawi children are shipped to mainland Morocco, and are not returned to their parents in order to assimilate them into the Moroccan society (Zunes, 2003, p.333). In addition, artificial shortages of traditional Sahrawi food are created by the Moroccan government. All of these policies are aimed at the assimilation of the Sahrawi people into the Moroccan state. However, despite the ongoing stalemate, the Sahrawi's have held on to their culture and traditions (Zunes, 2003, p.333).

4.2 The Case of South Sudan

What is the Sudan?

Sudan was the largest country in Africa before South Sudan became independent after two bloody civil wars in 2011. The capital of Sudan, Khartoum, is situated at the junction of the White and Blue Nile rivers. Sudan has, for a long time, been the stage where the Arab world met Africa. The North of Sudan has been Islamic since the Muslim conquest of Egypt in the early Middle Ages. Islam spread down the Nile river and across the Red Sea into Sudan. The Islamization of Sudan was halted by one of the country's greatest natural barriers: the Sudd. The Sudd is a massive swamp where the White Nile floods a large segment of the surrounding plains. The South of the country is very green, in contrast to the northern part which is mostly arid. The people in the South of Sudan have remarkable ethnic diversity as well as religious beliefs, while the North is predominantly inhabited by Arab Muslims. These distinctions between the North and the South of Sudan played an important role in the independence and the subsequent recognition of South Sudanese sovereignty.

Figure 3: A map of Sudan

(Iactivism, 2016)

Who are the people of the Sudan?

Among the 26 million inhabitants in Sudan (Lesch, 1998, p.16), 40% identifies itself as Arab. Other large ethnic groups are the Dinka, Beja, Nuer, Nuba, Nubian, Fur, Bari, Azande and the Shiluks (Lesch,1998, p.17). These peoples inhabited the southern parts of Sudan. Even though 40% of the population saw itself as Arab, it remains unclear what this means. A common definition for Arabs in Sudan are the people who have adopted the Islamic faith, Arab language and customs. Many claim to have ancestors from the Arabian Peninsula, but this is largely not true. Most 'Arabs' are thus Arabized Nubians, Dinka or other ethnic groups. Arabs can be nomads but also adhere sedentary lifestyles in one of the many riverside villages along the Nile. The Muslim Arabs dominate the government in Khartoum. They have extensive control over every government post and try to shape the image of Sudan in their own image as culturally Arabic and religiously Islamic (Lesch, 1998, p.21). The main problem of national identity in Sudan was the divide between the ruling elite and the periphery. The core of the ruling elite of Sudan was composed of Muslim Arabs who held a disproportionate amount of power relative to the other ethnic groups in Sudan (Lesch, 1998, p.210).

According to Lesch (1998, p.18), the southern groups were more divided than the northern Arab Muslims, but they did identify themselves as African. They are also ethnically similar to the Sub-Saharan peoples of Africa (Lesch, 1998, p.18). The Dinka were the largest of the African groups in Sudan, they comprised 40% of the southern population. They lived in small political units along the eastern bank of the White Nile, or were cattle herders in the Bahr al Ghazal in the southwest of Sudan (Lesch, 1998, p.18). There were more ethnic groups that lived in the Equatoria province but those groups had smaller population numbers. These people were related to ethnic groups on the other side of the border (Lesch, 1998, p.18). The two lines that demarcated cultural identification are religion and language. A total of 70% of the Sudanese population was Muslim, and over half spoke Arabic as their native tongue. People who did not speak Arabic spoke one of the Nilotic languages as many ethnicities employed their own language. English is used by the people who speak a Nilotic language to communicate with other ethnic groups. In addition to language, religion was also very differentiated amongst the non Muslim population. There were Roman Catholics, Protestants, Greek Orthodox, Coptic Christians as well as traditional African religion believers (Lesch, 1998, p.20). This made the Islamic dominance of Sudan easier because the other groups had widely diverging languages and cultural heritages. The government of Omar al Bashir strove to assimilate the different cultures into the Muslim Arab culture (Lesch, 1998, p.22). The Islamists claimed that British partition of the Sudan in the 1930's and 1940's was an unnatural obstacle to the spreading of the Islamic faith (Lesch, 1998, p.33). The opposition on the other hand, tried to incorporate all cultures of the Sudan in the government and offered a common future for all. This view was pursued by the moderate

Muslim opposition of Sudan called the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) and the Sudanese People Liberation Movement (SPLM). Meanwhile the dominant opinion of people in the South was that secession was the only option for southerners. They had faced cultural, racial and ethnical discrimination by the northerners in their struggle for equal rights.

The following sections have a somewhat different structure then the SADR case. This is because South Sudan has become an independent, sovereign state and therefore has a clear end date. The next section tells the course of the conflict over three distinct phases. The origin of conflict between the North and the South under colonial rule, the conflict after the independence of Sudan in 1956 and the part leading up to the independence of South Sudan in 2011.

The story of South Sudan's independence

Act I:Under British Rule

After Great Britain stopped the Mahdist[6] revolt in 1888 Sudan became governed by the condominium. While the condominium was in name a government shared equally between the Egyptians and the British the condominium functioned differently in reality. The Governor General of Sudan was appointed by the British government and had to be agreed to by the Khedive (hereditary viceroy) of Egypt. This Governor General who embodied both the civilian rule and military rule of the Sudanese territories could rule by decree. This fact, combined with the fact that the administration of the Sudanese territories went through the Foreign Office, instead of the Colonial Office, granted the Sudanese Governor General a remarkable freedom compared to other colonial Governors (Holt & Daly, 1988, p.120-121). The main concern of the British Governor was maintaining law and order in Sudan. They crushed the remnants of the Mahdist revolt relatively easy. A state of relative tranquillity ensued in the following years. The British exercised control of the Upper Nile basin through 'bog barons'. These barons were often ex-military men with their own private agendas. They had extreme difficulty with administrating the Sudd region (Brendon, 2008, p.365). There were many different peoples living in the region. The indigenous peoples of the Sudd region were involved in witchcraft, worshipping of fetishes, and sometimes cannibalism. The barons focussed more on suppression than actual administration, which sometimes amounted to almost genocidal levels (Brendon, 2008, p.365).

During the 57 years of the condominium administration (1899-1956), the British embarked on radically different policies in the North and the South of Sudan. The North, predominantly inhabited by Muslims, was allowed to construct mosques with government money and had some of its penal

[6] A Mahdi is a self proclaimed messianic figure in Islamic politics. Mahdism played an important role in Sudanese politics in the 20th century (Holt & Daly, 1988, p.119).

code adapted to confirm with Sharia law (Holt & Daly, 1988, p.124). However, at the same time, the condominium government became increasingly concerned about the perceived threat that fanatical Islam (e.g. another Mahdist-like revolt) could pose to the government. In 1922 the British decreed the closed districts order. The aim of this order was to protect the southern population from Islamic influence (Lesch, 2003). The southerners were discouraged to learn Arabic and even to wear Arabic dress. Christian missionary organisations were given plots of land to proselytize. These efforts were not a coordinated attempt to create a South Sudanese identity, but rather to decrease the influence of Islam in the South of Sudan (Holt & Daly, 1988, p.126). Nationalistic pressures inside Sudan increased. All the while, the southern religious policies, as well as anti Arab policies, were isolating the South more and more from the rest of the country. The northern Sudanese political parties were increasingly distrustful of the British government as they felt that Britain tried to split the country in two. When Egypt relinquished its claims on the Sudan, Britain's interests in the Sudan declined. On the 1st of January 1956, Sudan became an independent country (Holt & Daly, 1988, p.159).

Act II: 1956 Independence

In the post independence period Sudan was anything but stable. The mutiny of Sudanese army officers in 1955 sparked the first civil war. The officers eluded capture by taking to the bush and eventually organized themselves as the Anya Nya in 1963 (Holt&Daly, 1988, p.180). Factionalized politics would characterize the period directly after independence. Usually, petty rivalries would cause the government to collapse. The major parties did not even agree on the most basic fundaments of policy (Holt & Daly, 1988, p.168). The religious Umma party strove to install its head, Rahman al Mahdi (the successor of the Mahdi from 1888) as a president for life in Sudan. The revolutionary PDP looked to Egypt as an example, whose revolutionary republican goals were effectively the opposite of a new Mahdi. The economic position of Sudan deteriorated rapidly after independence. Harvests failed and overambitious government projects caused the government to accept US aid. This caused a rift inside the government. The Umma party supported US aid as a counterbalance against Egyptian influence. The pro-Egypt PDP did not approve US aid for the same reason (Holt & Daly, 1988, p.70). In this period of political stagnation and economic decline, the army orchestrated a coup in 1958.

The military regime under president Abboud caused other kinds of problems. The short lived democratic experiment had tried to implement Arabization and Islamization in the South. General Abboud accelerated this process, as the regime confiscated missionary schools and denied missionaries entrance in the country (Holt & Daly, 1988, pp.178-179). The appointment of northerners as governors in southern provinces only worsened the reputation of the military regime in the South of Sudan, while opposition of the regime increased sharply. Increasing corruption, a

declining economy, repression of political parties and Southerners caused the regime to fall. Basically, every civilian actor within Sudan opposed the military regime and when junior officers began revolting, the time was up for Abboud. In 1964 he stepped down (Holt & Daly, 1988, pp.181-183).

The new government however, was only united against the military regime and again had little commonalities on policy initiatives (Holt & Daly, 1988, p.187). A conflict between the Mahdi's grandson and the leadership in the Mahdist Umma party led to a deadlock in government. This allowed Colonel Jafaar Nimeiri to organize an army coup in 1969.

Former Colonel Nimeiri quickly placed the prominent politicians under house arrest. After the poor performance of politicians in the years leading up to the coup, nobody came to the defence of parliamentary democracy. Nimeiri first relied on communist supporters to consolidate his rule. He invaded the island of Aba, the traditional home of the Mahdi's and killed as many as 12.000 followers (Holt & Daly, 1988, p.197). Next, Nimeiri turned on the communists. This left Nimeiri in complete control of Sudanese politics from 1971 onward, as a coup designed to crush Nimeiri was decisively defeated. The new military regime could then focus on problems in the South of Sudan. The Anya Nya had been active in the South since 1963, but neither the rebels nor the government could dominate the South of Sudan. The Anya Nya did become a focal point for Southern grievances. Nimeiri engaged in further repression and northern dominance in the Sudanese government. The government policies of Islamization were resisted from the start by various splinter groups of Anya Nya. Joseph Lagu unified the various factions of Anya Nya into the Southern Sudan Liberation Movement (SSLM) in 1970 (Holt & Daly, 1988, p.200). With the opposition united, Lagu proposed negotiations. Nimeiri, who was not reliant on any party but the military and his personal political party, signed a peace treaty with the SSLM (Holt & Daly, 1988, p.201). This marked the end of the first Sudanese civil war (1956-1972).

The following Addis Ababa agreement (1972) devolved various issues to a high executive council (HEC). Lagu, as the leader of the SSLM became associated with the HEC. When the HEC could not deliver on its promises, the legitimacy of SSLM was questioned. The introduction of the September laws in 1983 sparked the second civil war. This time led by the Sudanese People Liberation Army/ Movement (SPLA/SPLM). Nimeiri was restrained by constant balancing between the population groups in Sudan and he engaged in an Islamization of the government's policies in order to secure popular support. Meanwhile, Hassan al Turabi (a prominent Islamic scholar) became Attorney General and was charged with overseeing if Sudanese policy was in accordance with Islamic law. This culminated into the adoption of the Sharia in 1983. These laws were passed in September, thus

giving them the epithet of the September laws. While Nimeiri gained support from the more radical Islamists, it alienated much of the rest of the Sudanese society. The September laws are seen as the starting point of the second Sudanese civil war. The Sudanese People Liberation Army, led by John Garang, began military operations in a response to these laws. Nimeiri's regime collapsed in 1985 after five years of economical ruin and corruption. Sadiq al Mahdi returned from foreign exile to become president once again after elections in 1986. The government tried to repeal the Sharia laws during the years after the elections. Sadiq was even on the brink of establishing peace with the southerners, who had lost more than a million lives (Burr & Collins, 2003, p.1). This peace initiative however sparked a coup on June the 30th 1989 by Brigadier general Omar al Bashir backed by the National Islamic Front (NIF).

Omar Al Bashir was completely unknown to the Sudanese people until then. Bashir was rumoured to be a NIF sympathizer. He was, however, determined not to let the NIF take over his coup (Burr& Collins, 2003, p.10). Bashir did need personnel to take over the bureaucracy, as he had taken over Sudan with just 30 men. The National Islamic Front was headed by the Attorney General Hassan al Turabi. The NIF was a vehicle for increasing Islamic influence in the Sudan. The NIF was also opposed to the peace settlements that the government initiated with the rebels (Burr& Collins, 2003, p.2). The NIF policies draw on a traditional voice in Sudanese politics that Sudan is one country and above all, an Islamic country. Everywhere in Sudan's revolutionary government ministers with close ties to Turabi or the NIF were installed (Burr& Collins, 2003, p.11). The government headed by the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) was determined to crush all opposition. The RCC replaced the judiciary with fundamentalists. Non Islamic women became second class citizens which could be treated as property (Burr& Collins, 2003, p.22).

The new Islamic state had very few friends in the international arena. It had harboured insurgents from Ethiopia and Uganda. The civil war in the South that was still raging at the time denied the regime friends south of the Sahara desert (Burr& Collins, 2003, p.25). The Arabic states were more enthusiastic about the new government but soon began having doubts about the new regime. Egypt supported the continuation of Sudan as a single country as secession of South Sudan would complicate Egyptian deals for Nile waters (Burr& Collins, 2003, p.27).The pan-Arab and pan-Islamic ideology that the RCC embraced was also welcomed in Libya. However,the third pillar on which the regimes in Libya and Egypt relied, pan-Africanism, remained absent in the rhetoric of the RCC (Burr& Collins, 2003, p.28).

The regime needed weapons for the renewed civil war. Acquiring weaponry was however a problem for the regime. The Arabs did not think highly of the Sudanese officer corps. The Saudi's did not feel

the need to buy the regime weapons as did the Egyptians. The Libyans had a long troubled history with arms deals in Sudan (Burr& Collins, 2003, p. 29). Instead Saddam Hussein's Iraq supplied the revolutionary government with a meagre shipment of arms. Meanwhile the SPLA had inflicted a humiliating defeat on the government and lay within striking distance of the main hydro electric plant powering much of Khartoum (Burr& Collins, 2003, p.29). The civil war escalated after Libya and Iraq delivered shipments of arms to combat the rebel threat.

The civil war would become the main problem of the RCC throughout its existence. The war cost the Sudanese government a million dollars a day (Burr& Collins, 2003, p.36). This caused a huge national debt and prevented the government to properly feed its citizens (Burr& Collins, 2003, p.36). Bashir's RCC thus had an incentive to declare a unilateral ceasefire. Rather than a real desire for peace, the RCC was stalling for time to reorganize and properly arm its armed forces (Burr& Collins, 2003, p.36). John Garang of the SPLA attended the Organisation of African Unity's (OAU) meeting in which Bashir announced his ceasefire and desire for peace. Garang had enough reasons to mistrust the government in Khartoum and wanted more concrete steps from the RCC (Burr& Collins, 2003, p.37). The RCC lost all of its international friends after the regime refused to denounce the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990. In the years following the Iraq war, Sudan found itself more and more isolated in the international community. The regime in Khartoum became known for harbouring terrorists. The government announced that the planned solution to the civil war was to make Sudan a federal state, composed of 6 Northern and 3 Southern states. The governors of the southern provinces were appointed by the government in Khartoum and were Muslims who were either NIF members or supporters (Burr& Collins, 2003, p.52). This plan was clearly against the interests of the southerners.

With the disintegration of Ethiopia, a Muslim Ethiopian militia which was hostile to the SPLA, attacked South Sudanese refugee camps in Ethiopia. These attacks triggered a mutiny in the SPLA leadership. John Garang who was of the Dinka ethnicity was accused by Riek Machar, a Nuer and by Lam Akol, a Shiluk, of abusing his powers, human rights violations and of supposed Dinka dominance within the SPLA. The SPLA split into two factions, the SPLA of John Garang and the faction of Riek Machar (Burr& Collins, 2003, p.53). The latter was equipped by the Sudanese government. The RCC saw this rift as an opportunity to militarily end the war in the South of Sudan (Burr& Collins, 2003, p.54).

Act III: Towards an independent South Sudan

The SPLA gained support from Ethiopia, Eritrea and Uganda in its aim to secede from the Sudan and it gained the upper hand in almost all of South Sudan (Haywood, 2014, p.150). At the same time the

position of the government weakened. Sudan was accused of helping rebels in neighbouring countries as well as harbouring the attempted assassins on president Mubarak of Egypt (Haywood, 2014, p.151). The international community also denounced Sudan for harbouring internationally wanted terrorists. Furthermore, captured weapons from the military of Sudan enabled the SPLA to inflict increasingly more damage to the government itself. The SPLA fostered old and new alliances (politically and militarily) with the opposition in the North. Meanwhile the government of Sudan only made eight reported acts of aggression between 1995 and 1997, while the SPLA launched a major offensive. This proved to the SPLA that the government was unable to defeat the SPLA militarily (Haywood, 2014, p.152). In 1997, the government of Sudan signed a peace treaty with multiple splinter factions of the SPLA. This treaty was the first time, since the start of the insurrection, that the core problems of the conflict were discussed as well as an implementation structure. However, the Comprehensive Peace Accord (CPA) of 1997 did leave out several key issues of the SPLA: Whether South Sudanese people would be subject to the Sharia law and it lacked a timetable for the scheduled referendum. The absence of the time schedule of the referendum caused suspicion amongst the SPLA leadership as they were uncertain whether the government would abide by its promise or not. Therefore the 'proper' SPLA did not sign the CPA of 1997. However, the national assembly of Sudan ratified a different version of the 1997 CPA. The newly ratified agreement reduced the powers of the newly created southern institutions. As a result, the peace agreement broke down and the government began a new offensive after the 1997 CPA.

In the early 2000's the situation changed dramatically. John Garang and Riek Machar who had been rivals for almost 10 years reconciled. The two leaders cemented their newfound friendship with an official agreement making the SPLA the organizational head of the southern resistance again. In addition, John Garang and Omar al Bashir met for the first time in 2002. This meeting was the start of talks that lead to the 2002 Machakos protocol, a first step in the peace process (Haywood, 2014, p.154). Meanwhile the relations of the Sudanese government with the US changed. Sudan had been listed as a country supporting international terrorism and was put on the US sanction list. This changed after the 9/11 attacks. The government of Sudan agreed to open its borders and cooperated with the US to combat terrorism (Haywood, 2014, pp.153-154). The shift in foreign policy by the Bush administration had a profound effect on the situation in Sudan. The oil lobby within the US wanted the sanctions against the regime lifted, enabling them to do business there. Thus, the Bush administration, already before 9/11, changed its stance on Sudan issue, stating that it would favour a solution that would support an agreement which would leave Sudan intact. The 9/11 attacks and the subsequent War on Terror had the administration become actively involved in the peace process. Then in April 2002, the US suggested that the Sudanese government and the SPLA should share

revenues of oil . This was the first time a third party expressed that it would support the sharing wealth inside Sudan. This proposal was followed up by the next US proposal that the entirety of Sudan would exercise freedom of religion (Haywood, 2014, p.157). After three months the government of Sudan caved in to the demand for religious freedom. This ended the implementation of the Sharia in the South of Sudan. These two important issues helped with the establishment of the 2005 CPA which ended the second Sudanese civil war. The most important aspect of the 2005 CPA allowed the South to hold a referendum on secession from the North. At first, the UN supported the talks that were held under the auspices of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), a regional trade organisation. The CPA of 2005 requested that the UN would provide a peacekeeping mission. The UN Security Council established UNMIS which would monitor the ceasefire and help with the implementation of the CPA (UN, 2005). South Sudan threatened to withdraw from the agreement in October 2007, because it accused the Sudanese government of not removing its troops (Irinnews, 2007). Two months later South Sudan rejoined the agreement after Sudan had agreed to rotate the government of Sudan between Juba and Khartoum (BBC, 2007).The brief interlude did not alter the peace agreement, and the scheduled referendum on independence took place in January 2011, as planned. The outcome of the referendum overwhelmingly supported independence of South Sudan. The United nations accepted South Sudan as a new member state on the 14th of July 2011 (UN, 2011b).

Chapter 5: Analysis

5.1 Empirical analysis of the structural realist hypotheses

The research question of this thesis is: **"Why do states recognise the sovereignty of some candidate states, but not all?"** To examine what factors influence the behaviour of states when they recognise another state, seven hypotheses were developed in chapters two and three. These hypotheses predict the importance of different factors during the process of sovereignty recognition. This chapter tests the hypotheses formulated in chapter two and three. The states recognizing the candidate state are the permanent members in the UN Security Council. The SADR case will be explored first because its sovereignty is not recognised by any of the permanent members in the UN Security Council. This could be because the SADR is not seen as a candidate state. In order to establish whether the SADR can be seen as a candidate state, the Montevideo Convention was consulted. Chapter three explained that any entity that could have its sovereignty recognised should meet the criteria of the Montevideo convention. It is a check to see if the Western Sahara can be considered a candidate state or not. According to the Montevideo convention, a state should have 4 things:1) a permanent population. 2) a defined territory. 3) a government. 4) the capacity to enter into relations with other states (International Law Students Association, 2016, p.1).

The population of the Western Sahara lives in the former territory of the Spanish colony of Spanish Sahara. While this territory is sparsely populated and many inhabitants adhere to a nomadic lifestyle, there are enough people living sedentary lives to consider it permanent (Simon, 2014, p.256). The territory that the SADR claims is the same territory defined by the Spanish colonizers. Therefore, the territory of the SADR is certainly defined. Moreover, the Polisario is seen as the representative of the Sahrawi people by the UN (UN, 1979). In addition, Polisario also runs the refugee camps near Tindouf in the Algerian desert as well as the liberated zones behind the Sand berm. This effectively makes the Polisario the proto-government organization as it governs some substantial, albeit sparsely populated areas. The last criteria is also satisfied, as the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic is a member of the African Union (AU, 2016). Membership of the African Union proves that the SADR is capable of engaging in relations with other states. This makes the Western Sahara case a definite candidate state whose sovereignty could be recognised by other states. The next section explores the hypotheses to see why the SADR has not been recognised as a sovereign state.

Operationalised Hypothesis 1 SR: A permanent member of the United Nations Security Council will recognise the sovereignty of the SADR if none of the states in the region improves its relative power position in the region.

Because this hypothesis deals with the regional balance of power, the borders of the regions, where the candidate states are located in, are established first. The SADR lies in the UN administrative region of North Africa (UN, 2016a).This administrative division is rather large and includes Egypt which was not involved in the Western Sahara conflict. Therefore the Maghreb region is used. Buzan and Waever (2003, p.193) see the Maghreb region as a regional sub-complex in the larger Middle Eastern security complex. According to regional security complex theory, states have much more security interests in their region than outside it. Therefore, it seems appropriate to consider the Maghreb as the region of the SADR, instead of North Africa or the Middle East. The Maghreb region is home to one regional power: Algeria. Algeria is considered one of Africa's 'Big Five' countries (ISS, 2015). These Big Five countries are the regional powers within Africa. These states are Algeria, Ethiopia, Egypt, Nigeria and South Africa (ISS, 2015). In addition to Algeria; Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, Mauritania and the SADR are also located within the Maghreb region (see table 5.1). Even though the SADR is not recognised as a state, I have included them in table 5.1 for the purpose of comparison.

The Maghreb region is dominated by Algeria and Morocco. Both countries have a larger population than all other states in the region combined. Algeria has the largest population, economy and military expenditure in the Maghreb region. Morocco is the only state in the region that can compete with Algeria. However, even though their populations are comparable, the scope of the Moroccan and Algerian economies varies greatly. In contrast to these two regional powers, the SADR only controls a small strip of land east of the sand berm. The total population of the Western Sahara numbers 573.000 people. There is no available data on the economy in the Western Sahara as the part west of the sand berm is administered by Morocco, while the part east of the sand berm only has small settlements. The economy of a recognised SADR would be small as some Sahrawi's still adhere to nomadic lifestyles. The most important economic factor is the phosphate mine in Bou Craa. According to Western Sahara Resource Watch (WSRW) the mine produces three million tonnes of phosphate a year, which is worth around 350 million US Dollar (Western Sahara Resource Watch, 2011; Indexmundi, 2016). So in hard power terms, the SADR does not alter the regional balance of power by a great deal.

However, the SADR issue continues to dominate the politics in the Maghreb region. As described in chapter four, Morocco currently occupies most of the territory of the Western Sahara. Algeria, Libya and Mauritania all recognise the SADR. Tunisia has no outspoken position on the issue and is considered neutral. The occupation causes Moroccan soft power to decline relative to the soft power of the other states in the region. The Moroccan occupation of the Western Sahara has damaged Morocco's reputation in the region. The SADR dispute isolates Morocco within Africa and limits its potential to project power within the region (International crisis group, 2015, p.10).

Table 5.1: Population, economy and military spending in the Maghreb Region[7]

	Position on SADR recognition	Population (x1.000)	Economy (In billion US$)	Military Spending as a percentage of GDP
Morocco	Opposed	34.378	103.075	3,2%
Algeria	Supports	39.667	175.077	6,2%
Tunisia	Neutral	11.254	44.272	2,2%
Libya	Supports	6.278	29.721	7,3%
SADR	-	573	-	-
Mauretania	Supports	4.068	4.677	3,9%

Continued occupation of the Western Sahara will not improve Morocco's international reputation. By contrast, a Moroccan renouncement of the Western Sahara might lead to Morocco's integration in the AU and an improvement in relations with states in the region. Zunes (2003, p.333) argues that Morocco's government has invested too much in the Western Sahara and that it is unlikely that it will abandon the territory by itself. What is happening in the Maghreb is that the second most powerful state in the region continues to occupy an economically uninteresting area (Morocco itself has one of the largest phosphate deposits in the world) while its soft power in the region declines. This strengthens the dominant position of Algeria in the region. Morocco's occupation of the Western Sahara does more harm than good to Morocco's power position. The current balance of power within the Maghreb is dominated by Algeria. Morocco is the only power in the region that can compete with Algeria but its current isolation as a result of the occupation restrains Morocco's options. Recognition of the SADR and a subsequent ending of the occupation might move Morocco closer to the other states in the region, most of which recognise the SADR. Only if SADR would fall completely within the sphere of Algerian influence, would occupation be the preferable course of action. In that scenario, Morocco would be surrounded by its rival Algeria on every side. However, chapter four revealed that Polisario and the SADR are not Algerian puppets. The two things that keeps the occupation going are the ties of the Moroccan monarchy to the Western Sahara and the sunk investments in the region (Zunes, 2003, p.333). The green march was launched as a tool to support the Moroccan monarchy. As long as the Western Sahara remains tied to the legitimacy of the monarchy, it remains unlikely that Morocco would give up the occupation of the Western Sahara.

[7] Population data is taken from the 2015 Revision of the World Population (UN, 2016b). Economic data is taken from the IMF World Economic Outlook Database October 2015. Military Spending is taken from the Stockholm international peace research institute military expenditure database 2015 (For Libya, the latest data was 2014).

Recognizing the SADR would thus restore the balance of power in the Maghreb region by moving Morocco closer to other states in the region. That this did not happen proves that the regional balance of power did not play a decisive role in the calculations of the permanent members. Therefore, hypothesis one is falsified for the SADR case.

Operationalised Hypothesis 1 SR: A permanent member of the United Nations Security Council will recognise the sovereignty of South Sudan if none of the states in the region improves its relative power position in the region.

Sudan was a country located on the edge of the Islamic world in Africa. The republic of Sudan tried to align itself with the Middle Eastern, Arab world while most of South Sudan was neither Muslim nor Arab. Buzan and Waever (2003, p.241) locate the whole of Sudan within the Horn pre-complex. According to Buzan and Waever (2003, p.189), Egypt, Sudan's neighbour and one of the Big Five (ISS, 2015), is not part of the Horn region but of the Levantine region in Middle East security complex. The Horn of Africa is not part of the Middle East complex but is part of the Sub-Saharan regional security complex, even though Sudan, Somalia and Djibouti are members of the Arab league (Buzan & Waever, 2003, p.188).

Of the states in the Horn, Ethiopia is one of the Big Five of Africa (ISS, 2015). Ethiopia's population is more than twice the number of the next two largest states in the region combined (UN, 2015). However, the Ethiopian economy was at the time of South Sudan's recognition smaller than Kenya's economy despite Kenya having less than half of Ethiopia's population (International Monetary Fund ,2010). Thus, despite having a very large population, Ethiopia did not have economic dominance in the region. Sudan had an economy that was larger than the Ethiopian and Kenyan economies combined. Unlike the Maghreb region, where the region is dominated by two states, the Horn region hosts multiple powers each with their own problems (see table 5.2). Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan were three comparable powers within the Horn of Africa. Recognition of South Sudan would weaken one of the three powers within the region but not destroy it. Recognition of South Sudan would also not result in the regional dominance by one state. Ethiopia, while having a lot of potential as a regional power, suffered from economical problems which kept it from dominating the Horn of Africa. Kenya, Sudan and the rest of the states in the Horn region could easily balance Ethiopian ascendency in 2010. Soft power did not play an important role in the South Sudan case. Sudan had troubled relations with most of the countries in the Horn during the 1990's (Burr & Collins, 2003, p.25). The regime in Sudan faced international isolation as a result of its harbouring of terrorists. Eritrea and Ethiopia actively supported the SPLA during the 1990's. Other states did not have a clear stance on the issue and are therefore labelled as neutral. Because relations between Sudan and its neighbours

were soured, none of the states in the region supported Sudan's stance on the war in South Sudan. As a result none of the states in the region improved their soft power relatively to each other.

Therefore, the recognition of South Sudan would not upset the balance of power within the Horn of Africa. Since South Sudan did get recognised as a state in 2011, it would seem that the regional balance of power has little importance in the calculation of the permanent members when they recognise a new state. In both cases, the recognition of the candidate state would not upset the regional balance of power. This means that the regional balance of power is not a deciding factor when it comes to sovereignty recognition. Therefore, this hypothesis is rejected as a sufficient cause.

Table 5.2: Population, Economy and Military Expenditures in the Horn of Africa in 2010[8]

	Position on South Sudan recognition	Population (x1.000)	Economy (In billion $)	Military Expenditure as a percentage of GDP
Eritrea	Supports	4.690	2.254	-
Ethiopia	Supports	87.562	30.941	6,7%
Djibouti	Neutral	831	1.137	-
Kenya	Neutral	40.328	32.417	6,4%
Sudan	Opposes	36.115	65.930	-
Somalia	Neutral	9.582	4.431	-
South Sudan[9]	-	10,056	14.465	-

Operationalised Hypothesis 2 SR: A permanent member of the United Nations Security Council will recognise the sovereignty of the SADR if it is free from an armed group, which uses violence for more than a year, to overthrow the government of the candidate state or wishes to secede from the candidate state.

This section deals with the second hypothesis for the SADR and South Sudan. As the hypothesis claims, the SADR needs to be free from an armed group who uses violence for more than a year in

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[8] Population data is taken from the 2015 Revision of the World Population (UN, 2016). Economic data is taken from the IMF World Economic Outlook October 2010. Data for Somalia was taken from the UN population prospect 2010 and the CIA World Factbook estimate. Military spending is taken from the Stockholm International Peace Research Intstitute Military Expenditure Database 2015.
[9] Economic data for South Sudan is taken from the 2012 database, but lists this number for 2010. It is likely that the data from Sudan were adjusted. The UN Food and Agriculture agency lists the population of Sudan upward of 45 Million in 2010 before the secession. The numbers in the table seem to corroborate that.

order to be seen as stable. This will make the candidate state predictable enough in order to be recognised. The SADR conflict is currently still in a ceasefire. The conflict between Polisario and Morocco has not been solved conclusively. The current ceasefire is a result of UN mediation during the end of the 1980's. The ceasefire took effect in 1991 (UN, 1991B). Since the ceasefire, there has been no armed conflict within the areas administered by the Polisario. Polisario has never experienced internal fighting between various splinter factions. It has emerged almost immediately as the representative of the Sahrawi people. However, there are some recent developments that indicate that young Sahrawi's are becoming increasingly dissatisfied with Polisario (Euobserver, 2016). They have lived their entire lives within the refugee camps and feel that Polisario has done little to improve their situation. They advocate a return to armed conflict with Morocco (Euobserver, 2016). This so called M5M group can potentially replace Polisario as the representative should negotiations remain in deadlock. Nevertheless, the group does not engage in an armed conflict with Polisario at this moment. The M5M is also a new group and has not been active for more than a year. Therefore, the SADR is seen as being free of an armed group, who uses violence for more than a year, to overthrow the government of the candidate state or wishes to secede from the candidate state.

Operationalised Hypothesis 2 SR: A permanent member of the United Nations Security Council will recognise the sovereignty of South Sudan if it is free from an armed group, which uses violence for more than a year, to overthrow the government of the candidate state or wishes to secede from the candidate state.

Internal armed conflict has played an important part in the Second Sudanese civil war. The principal organisation advocating for more inclusion of southerners in the Sudanese political system, the SPLA, has experienced numerous splinter factions throughout its existence. The splinter groups saw the SPLA as a vehicle for Dinka dominance in the South. The government of Sudan exploited the disintegration of the southern opposition. The government of Sudan supplied the splinter factions of the SPLA with weapons and money. During the 1990's, the civil war was fought between the SPLA proper against the government and various SPLA splinter factions. The splinter factions brokered a ceasefire with the government in 1997 (Haywood, 2014, p.150). However, the SPLA commanded the largest rebel force in the South of Sudan and did not sign the 1997 CPA. Reconciliation between the splinter factions in the early 2000's enabled the SPLA to act as the sole representative of the southerners once again. Since the reconciliation between the splinter groups there has been no internal armed conflict in South Sudan until South Sudanese independence. However, there have been sporadic uses of violence between the government of Sudan and the SPLA after the 2005 CPA. There have also been some ethnic related tensions in the South of Sudan, but there has not been an

organised armed struggle in South Sudan between the many ethnical groups that live in the South. Thus, there has been no armed group who struggled against the SPLA when South Sudan achieved its independence.

In both cases, there was no armed group trying to overthrow the candidate state. The M5M group has potential to become one and could become a problem for the SADR. Because armed groups did not play a role in both cases, the only certain thing about the second hypothesis is that being free from armed groups seeking a violent overthrow, does not play a decisive role in the process of sovereignty recognition.

Operationalised Hypothesis 3A SR: A permanent member of the United Nations Security Council will recognise the sovereignty of the SADR when recognition improves access to extracting natural resources.

Operationalised Hypothesis 3B SR: A permanent member of the United Nations Security Council will not recognise the sovereignty of SADR when recognition complicates access to the extracting of natural resources.

First of all, in chapter three offering access was defined as: When recognition would improve the extraction of natural resources. The SADR has one important natural resource: phosphate. Phosphate is an important mineral used in agriculture. The Western Sahara is home to an large deposit of phosphate: the Bou Craa mine. The mine is home to the largest conveyor belt in the world that transports the ore to the port of Laayoune, a 100km away. As with the potential oil fields, Morocco currently exploits the phosphate mines in the Western Sahara (Western Sahara Resource Watch, 2011). The European Court of Justice (ECJ) annulled a trade treaty between Morocco and the EU because it included goods produced in the Western Sahara (Western Sahara Resource Watch, 2016). This shows that there are some legal objections to the importation of natural resources from the Western Sahara. The exploitation of the natural resources of the Western Sahara by Morocco continues. The ruling of the ECJ means that Morocco has no legal grounds for the selling of the natural resources of the Western Sahara. Thus, recognition would improve the access to phosphate by eliminating legal objections. The Western Sahara Resource Watch reports annually on companies extracting resources from the Western Sahara. These reports put pressure on companies to abandon the phosphate trade. While there are still companies who do buy phosphate from the Western Sahara, recognition of the SADR would relieve them of this pressure. The recognition of the SADR would, therefore, improve the process of extracting resources for all interested parties.

In addition to phosphate, oil might become an important natural resource in the Western Sahara. However, there is currently no confirmation of oil presence in the Western Sahara. Nevertheless, this has not stopped the SADR in offering oil drilling licenses for areas currently not under its control (Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic Oil and Gas Exploration, 2008). Morocco is exploring the coast of the Western Sahara for oil exploitation as well (Western Sahara Resource Watch, 2014). Nevertheless, until oil gets discovered in the Western Sahara, phosphate remains the most important natural resource.

Operationalised Hypothesis 3 SR: A permanent member of the United Nations Security Council will recognise the sovereignty of South Sudan when recognition improves access to extracting natural resources.

Operationalised Hypothesis 3B SR: A permanent member of the United Nations Security Council will not recognise the sovereignty of South Sudan when recognition complicates access to the extracting of natural resources.

The most important natural resource in South Sudan is oil. The secession of South Sudan would cause a 25% drop of income for the government of Sudan (James, 2015, p.42). During the civil war, the oil installations were seen as targets by both sides. As a result, it took the oil industry twenty years to develop in Sudan. At the end of the 1990's, the oil industry became more important for both sides in order to finance their troops (James, 2015, p.12). At the turn of the century the actual levels of fighting declined .This enabled Indian and Chinese oil companies to develop the industry despite the ongoing conflict (James, 2015, p.12). In the 2005 CPA, the government of Sudan and the SPLA agreed to share future oil revenue. In the years after the 2005 CPA, the government of Sudan spent heavily to improve the refining installations in the North. This meant that while 75% of oil production was done in the South, oil was almost exclusively processed in the North (James, 2015, p.13). The SPLA and the government of Sudan quarrelled over the use of Sudanese pipelines which transported the soon to be South Sudanese oil. Negotiations on the sharing of oil revenue were still going on when South Sudan seceded from Sudan on 9 July 2011. Rapidly after the secession, conflict arose between Sudan and South Sudan over the distribution of oil revenue. The two states fought a border skirmish and South Sudan closed the pipeline, despite being dependent for 98% on oil revenue for income (James, 2015, p.43: International Monetary Fund, 2011). While the period after secession is outside the time period of this thesis, it demonstrates that a continued access to South Sudanese oil was far from certain at the time of South Sudanese secession. All the vital refining industries and transportation means were located in Sudan. Recognising South Sudan without clear agreements on the flow of oil had the consequence of complicating access to South Sudanese oil. This was foreseen

by the permanent members, as the sharing of wealth was one of the key points in the 2005 CPA (James, 2015, p.12).

What is remarkable is that resource extraction would improve with the recognition of the SADR. Whereas in South Sudan, recognition complicated resource extraction. This is remarkable because South Sudan was recognised as a state while the SADR was not. This means that hypothesis three is falsified. Improving access to natural resources does not grant a candidate state recognition of its sovereignty. On the other hand, complicating access to natural resources does not mean that the candidate state will not be recognised as a sovereign. This means that resource extraction is unlikely to play an important role in the process of sovereignty recognition.

Operationalised Hypothesis 4A SR: A permanent member of the United Nations Security Council will recognise the sovereignty of SADR/South Sudan when a regional ally favours recognition.

Operationalised Hypothesis 4B SR: A permanent member of the United Nations Security Council will not recognise the sovereignty of SADR/South Sudan when a regional ally is opposed to recognition.

The fourth hypothesis deals with the regional allies of the permanent member states. Chapter three explained that allies are derived from academic literature. For regions, the same definition is used as with the first hypotheses, based on the security complexes of Buzan and Waever (2003). Both hypotheses four A and four B are analysed here. The first section establishes the allies of the permanent members on the basis of literature. The section thereafter examines the stance of states in the region on the recognition of the candidate states. Finally, conclusions will be drawn on whether allies played an important role in the recognition of sovereignty for these two cases.

China does not have allies in the traditional sense in Africa. Chinese relations with African states revolve around economics and diplomacy. China desires the natural resources that a lot of African countries have in abundance and needs markets to export its own products. Politically, the Chinese do not lecture the African states about human rights or the benefits of democracy. This falls on good ears in most African countries as they are treated as equals instead of countries that need lecturing (Hanauer & Morris, 2014, p.5). China has four strategic goals in Africa according to Hanauer & Morris (2014, pp.5-6).

1) Access to natural resources
2) Markets for export
3) Political legitimacy in international fora
4) Prosperity, security and stability to ensure 1 to 3 are safeguarded in the future

China uses its economic strength to enforce the 'One China' policy. This policy states that China and Taiwan are part of a unified China and that the People's Republic of China is the rightful representative of that unified China. Therefore, China sees the African continent as crucial in the international arena. China does not lend economic assistance to countries who recognise Taiwan as the rightful representative in China. As such, only three countries in Africa still recognise Taiwan (Hanauer & Morris, 2014, p.7). Despite Chinese interest in the continent, investments in Africa remain rather small, only 5,13% of Chinese imports and exports in 2012. For Africa, the Chinese imports and exports constitute close to 16% of imports and exports. These statistics can be narrowed down further, because the total exports to Africa are dominated by a group of four countries who occupy a share of more than 50% of China's total exports (Hanauer & Morris, 2014, p.28). These countries include South Africa (21%), Nigeria (12%), Egypt (11%) and Algeria (7%). Furthermore, Chinese imports from Africa are dominated by two countries: South Africa and Angola which together occupy a share of 74% of China's imports from Africa (International Monetary Fund, 2012). Most of these imports are oil and minerals. So, while China needs the natural resources of Africa, it gets the bulk of these resources from only two states: Angola and South Africa. This means that states in the Maghreb and the Horn region are not key trading partners for China. Therefore, none of the countries in both the Maghreb and the Horn region are considered allies of China.

Hanauer & Morris (2014, p.89) argue that American interests in Africa are quite similar to the four goals that China pursues. However, there are two important differences. While China only enforces the 'One China' principle on economic partners in Africa, the US pursues a much wider agenda in Africa, which includes combating terrorism and curtailing international crime (Hanauer & Morris, 2014, p.89). In addition to these policy goals, US military cooperation goes much further than Chinese arms sales. In line with the US Middle East policy since 1973, the US tries to enjoy and develop relations with nations who have oil or pro-Western values (Price, 1977, p.14). Morocco is considered one of the states in the Middle East which has support for Western values. Morocco has achieved the Major Non Nato Ally (MNNA) status in 2004. The MNNA status gives states certain military benefits that are not available to other states. The MNNA status is also seen as confirming the importance of the relationship with the US(Globalsecurity, 2016). Currently Morocco is considered a very important ally of the US. Arieff describes the view of US government officials on Morocco:

'U.S. officials view Morocco as a key regional ally, counterterrorism partner, constructive player in Middle East policy, and leader in Arab efforts to reform and democratize." U.S. officials would prefer a solution to the Western Sahara dispute that would not destabilize Mohammed VI's rule or negatively affect U.S.-Moroccan security cooperation.'(Arieff, 2014, p.9).

Other allies of the US include Tunisia which also achieved MNNA status in 2015. The US has no strategic allies in East Africa. The US is thus far more engaged in the Maghreb region than in the Horn of Africa region. Sudan has been on the list of states sponsoring terrorist actions since 1993, and has not been cleared from it, even after the 9/11 attacks (US Department of State, 2016). Nevertheless, some countries have had military training by the US: Kenya and Ethiopia. Moreover, the US uses the port facilities of Djibouti in the gulf of Aden. Cooperation between these states and the US is, however, very limited in scope and these states are, therefore, not seen as allies of the US.

The Soviet Union had been an important player in Africa during the Cold War. It vied for influence on the continent alongside the United States. Ideologically inspired groups found economic and military support from the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, during the Cold War, when the Soviet Union was considered an ally of the Algerian regime, the Soviet Union did not back Algeria in the SADR case (Price, 1977, p.14). The advent of Gobachev's regime altered the foreign policy of the USSR dramatically. The USSR would no longer protect the socialist revolution in other countries and eliminated foreign assistance to socialist regimes in Sub-Saharan Africa (Webber, 1992). The loss of superpower status also diminished the capacity of Soviet interests in Africa. Thus, a combination of loss of capacity and ideological de-alignment effectively diminished any Soviet influence in Sub-Saharan Africa. In recent years, Russia has shown interests in the Western Sahara as part of a more active foreign policy (Naumkin, 2015). Still, none of the states in Africa are considered allies of Russia.

France had a colonial empire in Africa for more than a 100 years. Though many of these countries gained independence in the 1960's, French interests and influence remained in Africa. France has been actively promoting the use of the French language in its former colonies (Bennyworth, 2011). France tries to forge closer ties with its former colonies in order to gain economic and security benefits. The French military has maintained bases in the Sub-Saharan colonies after their independence during the Cold War. Many of France's natural resources needed for its nuclear program come from countries like Niger and Gabon. Bennyworth (2011) sees the francophone cultural ties as a typical neo-colonial instrument in the hands of the French government. In the Maghreb region, France has the most interests of any of the permanent members. Morocco and Algeria were both colonized by the French and France still has close ties with the two nations. The official standpoint of the French is non-interference but in practice, France decidedly favours Morocco. France wants to enjoy good relations with both Morocco and Algeria. However, the rivalry between the two states makes this difficult for the French government. Initially, France tried to remain neutral but France's view against Polisario changed when several French enterprises and mining experts were killed in Mauritania as a result of Polisario guerrilla strikes in 1977. France even fought against Polisario during Operation Lamantin in spring of 1977. Operation Lamantin was an air

operation that aided the Mauritanian government in its war against Polisario. French army officers also trained the Moroccan army and reconstructed infrastructure in Dahkla (Price, 1981, p.19). France is therefore considered an ally of Morocco. The French position in the Horn region is less pronounced. The region was never colonized by France. Therefore, French influence is less pronounced in the Horn region. None of the states in the Horn region are considered French allies.

The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (UK) had, at its pinnacle, the largest empire on earth. After the Second World War, the British Empire disintegrated into independent states. The UK was economically devastated by the destruction of the Second World War and was in no condition to support a global empire. The UK tried to hold on to the empire for prestigious reasons, even though this became increasingly difficult in the 1950's (Butler, 2002, p.98). To this end, it eventually failed, as the UK could not maintain its influence in postcolonial territories. The Commonwealth became a system in which former colonies could join after achieving independence. Joining meant that these states acknowledged the monarch of the UK as their head of state. However, this institution failed to chain the interests of its member states to the interests of the UK. The Commonwealth charter explicitly states that all states are responsible for their own policy and are sovereign states (The Commonwealth, 2013, p.1). Therefore, membership of the Commonwealth does not translate into alliances. For instance, Pakistan and India are both members and have a longstanding rivalry. In addition to waning British political influence, English language is not attributed to UK, as the US supplanted the UK as the world's premier power after the Second World War. Therefore, unlike the French, the British have no 'francophonie' neo-colonial institution and no allies in Africa.

Table 5.3 shows the Maghreb nations, their recognitions of the SADR and their permanent member allies.

Table 5.3: Regional allies in the Maghreb	Stance on the recognition of the SADR	Permanent member allies
Morocco	Opposes	US, France
Algeria	Supports	None
Tunisia	Neutral	US
Libya	Supports	None
Mauretania	Supports	None

France was the only permanent member which was directly engaged within the conflict. During Operation Lamantin, French planes bombed Polisario columns after Polisario had captured French nationals (Hodges,1983, p.249). France has been an adamant supporter of Moroccan initiatives to solve the case of the Western Sahara. France's position thus seems to confirm the expectation of the hypothesis. The US on the other hand recognises the right of the Sahrawi's to self-determination without recognising the SADR. As stated before, the other permanent members have no allies in the region and, therefore, hypothesis four does not play a role in their calculation of sovereignty recognition. Tunisia has no prominent stance on the issue and is considered neutral. The regional allies of the US have different opinions on the SADR case. The US itself expressed support for self-determination for the Sahrawi people but sees the Moroccan plan as the best option to achieve self-determination. Therefore, it seems that the hypothesis seems confirmed for the US as well. The SADR case seems to confirm hypothesis four.

Table 5.4: Regional allies in the Horn of Africa	Stance on recognition of South Sudanese independence	Permanent member allies
Djibouti	Neutral	None
Sudan	Opposed	None
Ethiopia	Supports	None
Eritrea	Supports	None
Somalia	Neutral	None
Kenya	Neutral	None

As table 5.4 shows, the situation in the Horn of Africa was fundamentally different. The permanent members had no allies in the Horn region. The absence of regional allies meant that they could not have played a role in the decision to recognise South Sudan as a sovereign state. Even if the permanent members would have had regional allies, they would either be neutral or supportive of South Sudanese recognition. Throughout the civil war, the SPLA received support from Eritrea, Ethiopia and Uganda (Human Rights Watch, 1998). During the admittance of South Sudan to the UN, the resolution was presented by a representative of the group of African states. This meant that the entire group of states in the Horn region recognised South Sudanese sovereignty. In contrast to the Maghreb region, there was no opposition to the secession of South Sudan in the Horn region. Therefore, even if there were allies involved in the Horn region, the permanent members would not have vetoed an application of South Sudan. Therefore, regional allies did not play a role in South

Sudan. Most likely, the role of allies continues to play a crucial role in the recognition of the SADR. Hypothesis four seems confirmed.

5.2 Empirical analysis of the social constructivist hypotheses

Interaction-criteria

In order for the social constructivist hypotheses to apply, the permanent members needed to have interaction with the two cases. In chapter three, awareness was established as minimal interaction. There must have been contact between the permanent members of the UN Security Council and the representatives of the SADR and South Sudan. The representatives of the SADR is the Polisario Front. The UN General Assembly confirmed Polisario as the representative of the Sahrawi people in General Assembly resolution 34/37 (UN, 1979). This means that every member state of the UN is aware of the SADR's existence, at least since 1979. As for the South Sudan case, the SPLA is seen as the representative of the South Sudanese candidate state. The first mention in the Security Council of the SPLA came only in 2004, a year before the signing of the 2005 CPA. In the meeting, the Security Council reaffirmed the unity of Sudan and welcomed the steps taken to peace (UN, 2004). Yet in 1989, during the civil war, the UN began Operation Lifeline Sudan. This operation was aimed at humanitarian relief in Sudan as persisting drought and conflict caused large numbers of refugees. According to Akol (2005, p.54) one of the principal pillars of the operation was that the UN should engage with all parties, including the SPLA, in order to smooth the distribution of aid. Thus at the latest in 1989, the UN and the permanent members were aware of the SPLA. This satisfies the interaction criteria. The three social constructivist hypotheses are now analysed.

Operationalised Hypothesis 1SC: A permanent member of the UN Security Council will recognise the sovereignty of SADR/South Sudan if the SADR/ South Sudan is regarded as being the sole higher authority by their respective societies.

The higher authority in the Western Sahara was contested at the beginning of the conflict. The Spanish consulted the Djeema, a consultative body representing the tribal elders, during their rule of the Spanish Sahara. The Djeema requested larger autonomy within the Western Sahara in 1973 (Hodges, 1983, p.167). The Spanish administration faced pressure of the UN to decolonize the region. Then, in 1974, the Salazarist regime in Portugal fell. This meant that the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique gained independence. This would leave Spain as the sole colonizer in Africa, along with the white settlers in South Africa (Hodges, 1983, p. 168). Therefore, Spain decided to accelerate the process of decolonization. The Djeema was granted internal autonomy, but Spain remained in control of external defence and internal security. The Djeema was transformed into a legislative body and most tribal leaders became a member of the PUNS (Partido Revolucionario

Union Nacional Saharaui) (Hodges, 1983, p.171). This political party was created by Spain to acquire popular support for a close relation with Spain, after a planned referendum on independence in 1975. King Hassan of Morocco did not want an independent Western Sahara and had Spain agree to international arbitration at the ICJ. According to Hodges (1983, p.183) Morocco hoped that the ICJ would establish ties of sovereignty between the Western Sahara and Morocco. King Hassan hoped that territorial integrity would prevail over the right of self determination. Meanwhile, the promised referendum would have to be postponed. In order to appease Morocco, Spain froze the autonomy of the Djeema. The Djeema and the PUNS lost a lot of popular support through this action (Hodges, 1983, p.197). By contrast, Polisario had advocated a guerrilla war against the Spanish from the beginning. The freezing of the autonomy of the Djeema showed the Sahrawi people that the words of the Djeema and the PUNS were not to be trusted. The higher authority shifted to Polisario, which had been, until then, a small guerrilla army.

Polisario received high levels of popular support throughout the conflict. However, the continuation of the diplomatic deadlock has increased support for a return to war. A group called M5M has recently become more popular under young Sahrawi's (Euobserver, 2016). This group has been unable to shift the higher authority to itself. The group is a collection of individuals who are dissatisfied with the current course of the Polisario, because it has yielded little result. The hypothesis predicts that when a sole higher authority exists, a candidate state will be recognised as a sovereign state by the permanent members of the UN Security Council. Polisario has been the sole higher authority within the Sahrawi society for more than 40 years. Yet, the SADR is not recognised as a sovereign state. Therefore, it seems that being regarded as the sole higher authority does not play an important role in the recognition of the SADR's sovereignty.

In South Sudan, the SPLA had been fighting the Sudanese government since 1982. The regime in the North strove to enforce strict religious law in Sudan. This alienated much of the southern population which was not Muslim. The SPLA immediately organised after the implementation of the Sharia laws. The focus of the SPLA was not on secession, the SPLA wanted more incorporation in the political system for southerners and religious freedom in Sudan (Jok and Hutchinson, 1999, p.128). The SPLA managed to assert itself as the sole higher authority because it was so inclusive and appealed to widely held sentiments within the South Sudanese society. However, in 1991, the SPLA ruptured into two factions, one lead by John Garang and one lead by Riek Machar. Both men came from different ethnicities Jong Garang being a Dinka, while Riek Machar was of the Nuer ethnicity. The men differed on the question whether independence of South Sudan was necessary. In addition, Garang's heavy handed rule of the SPLA had created resentment within the SPLA (Jok and Hutchinson, 1999, p.128). So, at least initially, the rift was concentrated within the high command of the SPLA and didn't affect

the position of the SPLA as a sole higher authority. This changed when Ethiopia expelled the South Sudanese refugees after the fall of the Derg regime. The refugees were bombed by the government of Sudan, causing widespread panic and confusion. In this confusion, the people of South Sudan started raiding neighbouring ethnic groups (Jok and Hutchinson, 1999, p.128). These events widened the rift between the two factions of the SPLA as both started to organize around ethnic lines (Jok and Hutchinson, 1999, p.128). This process effectively ended the authority of the SPLA as it disintegrated into multiple factions. Some splinter groups signed a peace agreement with the government of Sudan in 1997. Yet, the government of Sudan ratified another version of the agreement which was against the interests of southerners (Haywood, 2014, p.153). The splinter factions were increasingly disappointed with the government of Sudan. In 2002, the faction of Riek Machar's SPLA reconciled with the faction of John Garang. The two largest SPLA factions were united, once again, in a single organisation (Haywood, 2014, p.154). In the ten years that the SPLA was in disarray, more southerners were killed because of inter-ethnic rivalries than of combat with the North (Jok and Hutchinson, 1999, p.127).

The extensive violence between the ethnic groups in South Sudan during the 1990's raises the question whether the SPLA was able to regain its sole authority. The thing that kept the SPLA united was a common enemy in the government of Sudan. Although the SPLA reunited, the society was directed more at the ethnical leaders than the 'authority' of the SPLA. This means that the years of ethnical violence effectively created different societies located around ethnic lines. However, the leaders of these societies acknowledged the authority of the SPLA, something they did not do the years before. Therefore, the SPLA was able to recover its authority after the reconciliation between the different splinter factions. The society of South Sudan might have been fractured by ethnic conflict, but all members acknowledged the SPLA as the final authority after the reconciliation in 2002. The SPLA was thus the sole higher authority when South Sudan was recognised as a sovereign state in 2011. The fragile state of this authority, combined with the fact that the Polisario has been the sole higher authority in the Western Sahara for years, seems to indicate that being regarded as the sole higher authority does play an important role when sovereignty is being recognised. Authority is most likely a minimal requirement, but does not lead to recognition per se.

Operationalised Hypothesis 2SC: A permanent member of the United Nations Security Council will recognise the sovereignty of the SADR if the SADR is perceived as ruling in the interest of its people, is willing to engage in international trade and is comprised of a ruling elite whose identity is the same as the people it rules over.

The permanent members made a total of 92 statements on the situation in the Western Sahara. The list of documents containing these statements can be found in appendix one. The most striking issue with all these statements is that none of the permanent members mention the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic in any of the 92 statements. Most statements of the permanent members express the desire of a permanent member for a mutually agreeable solution to the conflict in the Western Sahara. All members recognise Polisario as a side in the conflict, but make no comment on Polisario as an organisation or a candidate state. A call to the investigation of alleged human rights abuses is the most substantial inquiry into the state properties of Polisario's SADR. This line of inquiry was not followed up by a statement on democracy, or any other state property of the SADR. Some permanent members stated that the current status quo should not be maintained and that the situation in the refugee camps is undesirable. While there is consensus on the need to arrive at a mutually agreed solution, there is some variation between the permanent members on how this mutually agreed solution could best be obtained.

In 2008, the US made a statement which agrees with the UN Secretary's Envoy opinion that an independent Sahrawi state is not a feasible option and that genuine autonomy under Moroccan rule is the best option. In the years following 2008, the US focuses on a mutually agreeable solution to the conflict without a mention of the autonomy plan. France favours the autonomy plan for the Sahrawi's as well, seeing it as a serious and credible plan. France also insists on a mutually agreeable solution. Where other permanent members raise questions about the human rights situation in the Moroccan administered part of the Western Sahara, France praises Morocco for the measures it has taken to improve the situation in the Western Sahara. The Russian Federation and Chinese statements are fewer in number and stress the importance of Sahrawi self-determination and consensus in the Security Council. In addition, the Chinese statements emphasize that the self-determination of the Sahrawi's must be done by the Sahrawi people themselves. The Chinese delegation is also opposed to the stationing of military troops in administered areas. Despite the Chinese disapproval of apparent Moroccan policy in the Western Sahara, China has abstained regularly on the Western Sahara issue before the instalment of MINURSO in 1991. After 1991, the Chinese statements focus on consensus in the Security Council to move forward. Finally, the UK has expressed its desire to see concrete benchmarks for the MINURSO mission. The mandate of MINURSO is renewed each year, despite calls from the UK, France and the US that the current status quo is untenable.

The absence of even the slightest hint of state properties in permanent member statements indicates that the SADR is not 'perceived' as a state at all. Polisario remains recognised as a side in the conflict but is usually omitted from the statements of the permanent members. Polisario is not

perceived as democratic, capitalist and as a nation state, it is not perceived at all. Social constructivist theory emphasizes the importance of language, and the analysed statements from the Security Council and General Assembly should have expressed the opinion of the permanent members on the candidate state. However, it seems that the permanent members refrain from formulating their opinion; their identification, with the candidate state until an agreement within the conflict is reached. This is also the case in statements regarding self-determination. Chinese statements emphasise the importance of the Sahrawi's doing their own self-determination. The focus on self-determination is problematic, because the concept is ill-defined. Polisario sees self-determination as an independent state for the Sahrawi's while Morocco sees self-determination as autonomy within the Moroccan state. The importance of consensus within the Security Council means that the issue of self-determination is not debated. This reinforces the status quo between the warring parties that most of the permanent members deem undesirable.

Hypothesis 2 seems confirmed for the SADR case. The identification with the SADR does not happen and could be the reason why the SADR has not be recognised as a sovereign state. The case of South Sudan should provide more insight in the importance of identification with the candidate state as a factor in sovereignty recognition.

Operationalised Hypothesis 2SC: A permanent member of the United Nations Security Council will recognise the sovereignty of South Sudan if South Sudan is perceived as ruling in the interest of its people, is willing to engage in international trade and is comprised of a ruling elite whose identity is the same as the people it rules over.

The permanent members made 263 statements related to Sudan until 2012. The list of documents containing these statements can be found in appendix two. South Sudan has almost three times the number of statements compared to the SADR. Despite the high number of statements, the SPLA is only mentioned a few times, usually with reference to the importance of implementation of the 2005 CPA. The vast majority of the statements made by the permanent members concern the situation in Darfur[10]. Most permanent members recognise that the North-South peace is more important than peace in Darfur for a sustainable peace within Sudan. The conflict between the North and the South has had limited influence outside Sudan's borders. The Darfur conflict on the other hand, has large regional implications in addition to its humanitarian consequences.

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[10] Darfur is a region in western Sudan on the border with Chad. Violence erupted in Darfur between the government of Sudan and local militias with economic, religious and social grievances in 2003. The conflict in Darfur has resulted in thousands of deaths and millions of displaced persons and is currently still ongoing (Africa Research Bulletin, 2016).

Almost all statements made by the permanent members relate to the human rights situation in Sudan. This has caused a divide within the Security Council. The United States, the United Kingdom and France have supported sanctions on the regime in Sudan because of human rights violations. China and the Russian Federation have abstained on these issues as they found the imposing of sanctions 'not constructive' to the peace process in Sudan. Russia also stated that the imposing of sanctions by the Security Council could undermine the authority of the Security Council as the council could be seen as a political tool. China repeatedly stated that the government of Sudan is working to improve its human rights situation and that the reports presented in the council did not accurately reflect actual improvement. Another point of discussion was the role of the International Criminal Court (ICC). The ICC was allowed to investigate the war crimes and crimes against humanity that were committed in Darfur. As a result, several high ranking officials of the Sudanese government were put on a wanted list by the ICC, including Sudanese president Omar al Bashir. China and Russia saw this as counterproductive and the US did not think that the ICC was the appropriate way to apprehend the responsible individuals. The ICC issue was of primary importance in the Darfur conflict, but less so in the South Sudanese case as the SPLA and the government of Sudan had made clear arrangements in the 2005 CPA. A UN mission called UNMIS monitored the implementation of the CPA. All permanent members welcomed the cooperation between the government of Sudan and the SPLA in a government of national unity. All members emphasized the importance of the timely implementation of the CPA and the problems between the SPLA and the government of Sudan that could derail this process. Wealth sharing, boundary disputes and citizenship rights were seen by the permanent members as obstacles which needed solving. All member states would respect the outcome of the referendum if it reflected the will of the Sudanese people. In addition, all states agreed that the referendum was valid.

However, the statements made by the permanent members did not express their perception of the SPLA. They did not comment on the 'democraticness', 'capitalistness' or the 'nationstateness' of the SPLA or South Sudan. All member states whished that the outcome of the referendum would reflect the will of the Sudanese people. China and Russia commented, in addition, on the importance of Sudanese territorial integrity and sovereignty. Thus, like the SADR case, it seems that South Sudan is not perceived as a candidate state. Permanent members refrain from formulating their opinion on the SPLA in statements. The focus lies on the will of the Sudanese people, combined with Russian and Chinese statements of Sudanese territorial integrity and sovereignty. The Sudanese are addressed as one people, which they are not, as we have seen in chapter four. The fact that the South is comprised of a very large amount of different ethnicities is not reflected in the statements of the permanent members. Therefore, it seems that the second social constructivist hypothesis is

falsified. None of the permanent members identified the candidate states as democratic, capitalist or as a nation-state. The permanent members actively try to refrain from interfering in the business of another state. The case of South Sudan is different from Darfur because the situation in Darfur affects the entire region, while the conflict in the South was contained within the borders of Sudan. State properties did not play an important role in the decision to recognise the sovereignty of either the SADR or South Sudan. Therefore, Hypothesis two is falsified.

Operationalised Hypothesis 3SC: A permanent member of the UN Security Council will not recognise the sovereignty of SADR/South Sudan if SADR/South Sudan claims the territory from a third state.

The SADR is officially seceding from Spain. However, this situation is not reflected on the ground. Morocco exercises de facto sovereignty over the territories of the Western Sahara. Spain has withdrawn completely form the Western Sahara in the 1970's. The SADR claims the territory which once constituted the Spanish Sahara. This territory is still considered sovereign Spanish soil by the UN but it is administered by Morocco. Now, in order for this hypothesis to work the candidate state should not claim the territory of third state. In the case of the Western Sahara, this would mean that the SADR would claim the territory of a separate state from which it is seceding. This is not the case; SADR only claims the territory that was once part of the Spanish colony. Morocco claims that the Western Sahara is part of Moroccan sovereign land, but this claim was rejected by the ICJ in 1975. It is Morocco which has irredentist claims in the Western Sahara, not the SADR. As for the case of South Sudan, the SPLA did not claim any land outside Sudan as its own. The SPLA stated that it strove for the inclusion of the South Sudanese peoples in the political system of Sudan. Independence was not the official course of the SPLA during the leadership of John Garang (Jok and Hutchinson, 1999, p.128). The focus has always been on Sudan and Sudan alone. While the various peoples in South Sudan have kinsmen living on the other side of the border, the conflict always remained firmly within the territory of Sudan.

In both cases, the candidate states did not lay claims to land other than the state from which they were seceding. This means that absence of irredentism is not a sufficient cause for the recognition of sovereignty. Having irredentist claims could play a negative role in the recognition of sovereignty. But since the two cases were both absent of irredentist claims this means that the negative impact of irredentism could not be tested by these cases.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This chapter summarizes the findings throughout this thesis. The research question will be answered. Subsequently, the conclusions will be presented. After which the limits of research will be addressed. Finally, the theoretical implications will be elaborated upon and the focal points for further research will be discussed.

6.1 Summary

This thesis started out to explore the origin of states; the most important actors in the field of international relations. States are often seen as pre-existing in international relations and most theories remain silent on the creation of new states. To answer the research question:**"Why do states recognise the sovereignty of some candidate states, but not all?"** Two similar cases were compared: the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) and South Sudan. The former seeks recognition as a sovereign state, while the latter was recognised as a sovereign state and was admitted to the United Nations in 2011. Both cases meet the criteria of the Montevideo convention, which outlines the four basic things a state should have: A permanent population, a defined territory, a government and the capacity to engage with other states. Since both cases meet this criteria, we can ask ourselves: Why is one recognised as a sovereign state while the other is not? There must be factor which accounts for their different sovereign status. Structural realism and social constructivism provided two rival frameworks which explain why a state would recognise the sovereignty of another state.

Social constructivism made the convincing argument that states will recognise the sovereignty of other states when they identify a candidate state as being their equal. Alexander Wendt formulated that being a capitalist state, being a democratic state and being a nation state are all important state criteria, which a candidate state has to meet in order to be identified as an equal, sovereign state. However, none of these criteria mattered in the recognition of either the SADR or South Sudan. The permanent members remained silent on these criteria when the SADR or South Sudan was a topic in the UN General Assembly or in the UN Security Council. These state criteria could thus not have played a role in the recognition of these two candidate states. Other hypotheses of social constructivism also could not explain why the SADR was not recognised as a sovereign state. Both governments are seen as the sole higher authority within their states: Polisario in the SADR and the SPLA in South Sudan. What is surprising is that Polisario arguably functioned better as a sole higher authority than the SPLA. The SPLA was fractured along ethnic lines and reunited only to form a united front against the government of Sudan. If this hypothesis would be confirmed, the SADR would be more easily recognised as a sovereign instead of South Sudan. The final social constructivist

hypothesis dealt with claims on territory of states external to the secession. However, both states refrained from claiming the territory of a third party. As the hypothesis predicted, both would be recognised as sovereigns. This did not happen. Therefore, this hypothesis cannot explain why the SADR was not recognised alongside South Sudan. These results could indicate a possibility for refinement of the social constructivist theory. This possibility is explored in the section: implications for theory.

Structural realism argued, in contrast to social constructivism, that states will recognise new states when they will benefit from recognising the candidate state. The only realist hypothesis that played a role in the process of sovereignty recognition of these two cases, was the hypothesis that dealt with the regional allies of the permanent members. This factor continues to play an important role in the recognition of the SADR. Morocco can continue its occupation of the Western Sahara because two of her allies in the United Nations Security Council can veto the recognition of the SADR. Allies did not play a role in the recognition of South Sudan because none of the permanent members were allied to states in the Horn of Africa. It seems, therefore, that regional allies have the ability to block the recognition of a candidate state through their alliance with a permanent member. The other realist hypothesis did not play a role in the recognition of sovereignty, including complications with natural resources, internal stability and the regional balance of power. All these hypotheses will be explored in the next section of this chapter.

For now this section concludes with the remark that none of the two theories fully explain the process of sovereignty recognition. However, of the two theoretical frameworks, only one structural realist hypothesis can account for the non-recognition of the SADR and the recognition of South Sudan. The eight hypotheses were derived from literature in chapter two. The hypotheses were subsequently operationalised in chapter three. Chapter four introduces the background of both cases, in the SADR's case until the present day and in South Sudan's case until it achieved recognition of its sovereignty in 2011. Chapter five tested the hypotheses against empirical evidence. The testing revealed that regional allies of the permanent members in the United Nations Security Council cannot be opposed to the recognition of a candidate state, if recognition of sovereignty should happen.

6.2 Implications for theory

Table 6.2 shows the results of the empirical analysis. Hypothesis four B confirms the importance of regional allies and supports the structural realist framework. The other hypotheses could not explain the difference in outcome. These results have implications for their respective theoretical frameworks, which are explored below.

Table 6.2: The results of the analysis

Hypotheses	SADR	South Sudan	Expectation of the hypothesis	Result
Structural Realist **1) Regional Balance of Power**	Present	Present	Presence leads to recognition	Hypothesis does not explain the difference in outcome.
2) Stable candidate states	Present	Present	Presence leads to recognition	Hypothesis does not explain the difference in outcome.
3) Natural Resources	Present	Absent	Presence leads to recognition	Opposite effect of the hypothesis
4A) Regional allies favouring recognition	Absent	Absent	Presence leads to recognition	Hypothesis could not be tested.
4B) Regional allies opposed to recognition	Present	Absent	Presence prohibits recognition	Hypothesis explains difference in outcome.
Social Constructivist **1) Sole higher authority**	Present	Present	Presence leads to recognition	Hypothesis does not explain the difference in outcome.
2) Perception of the candidate state	Absent	Absent	Presence leads to recognition	Conditions did not influence outcome
3) Refraining from irredentism	Absent	Absent	Absence leads to recognition	Hypothesis does not explain the difference in outcome.

Candidate states are often too small to make a meaningful difference on the power position of permanent members. The regional balance of power, as opposed to the global balance of power, is much more important during the process of recognising a new state. A regional balance of power can be upset by the recognition of a new state. It seems that the regional balance of power itself is of little interest to the permanent members. It is much more important to the allies of the permanent members. This could explain why hypothesis one is falsified while hypothesis four B is confirmed. The regional allies of the permanent members in the region are much more affected by the new state. It seems likely that the permanent members take the opinion of their allies into account when they recognise a new candidate state. As such, the general observation with regard to structural realist

theory is that hard (material) power plays a less important role than soft (immaterial) power in the process of sovereignty recognition. This could explain why we see the opposite effect happening with hypothesis three. The recognition of the SADR would lead to better access to natural resources. The permanent members also knew that the recognition of South Sudan would complicate their access to South Sudanese oilfields yet South Sudan was recognised while the SADR was not. The other hypotheses are falsified as well. If stability plays an important role, the permanent members would quickly recognise the SADR. The SADR could well be the most stable candidate state in the world. For more than 40 years, the Polisario remains unchallenged as the representative of the Sahrawi people. It has continuously advocated the same point of view throughout its existence: the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic should become a independent, sovereign state. By contrast, the SPLA was in a state of war with multiple splinter factions for more than 10 years.

Only the interest of Morocco, a regional ally of two permanent member states can explain why the SADR is not recognised as a sovereign state, while South Sudan is. In the particular case of the SADR, Morocco's interests are tied to the legitimacy of the Moroccan monarchy. If the interest of Moroccan regime were less vital, the SADR might have become a recognised sovereign state. What is interesting, is that all these results seem to indicate, that soft power plays a more important role than hard power during the process of recognition of sovereignty. Economic and military considerations are too small to play an important role in the recognition of sovereignty for both the permanent members and the states in the region.

The social constructivist theory of Alexander Wendt elaborates on the process of sovereignty recognition. Wendt describes how new states come into the state system through the Foucault effect. The first consequence of the Foucault effect affects sovereignty recognition. De facto sovereigns recognise other de facto sovereigns as their equals. This does not mean that candidate states have to militarily assert themselves as de facto sovereigns. Instead, they can also command the authority over their societies. The results have shown that both the Polisario and the SPLA are seen as the sole higher authorities by their respective societies. This hypothesis is most likely a necessary criterion for recognition. If a candidate state does not command the sole higher authority of their societies, states could recognise criminal organizations or business enterprises as sovereign states. However, being regarded as the sole higher authority does not automatically lead to recognition. Therefore this hypothesis cannot explain the outcome in both cases. The second hypothesis of the Foucault effect explains that sovereign states subsequently make distinctions amongst the de facto sovereign states based on state properties or criteria. It seems however, that this process did not play a role in the recognition of sovereignty of these two cases. Both candidate states were mentioned only several times in the statements of the permanent members. It could be

that these statements did not reflect the real identification of the permanent member with the candidate states. This valid point is worked out in the section research limitations. Nevertheless, the current statements do not reveal any identification with the candidate states. The last hypothesis derived from the Foucault effect stated that the candidate states cannot claim the territory of a third state. Neither candidate state made claims to third states, Therefore, this hypothesis cannot explain the difference in outcome between the two candidate states.

Rather than discarding the social constructivist theory, I believe that some observed effects can be explained by Wendt's theory itself. Wendt's theory describes the current international system of states as 'Lockean' (For a full account of Wendt's theory, see chapter two). The states in this system have respect for each others sovereignty and choose not to meddle in each others internal affairs. Since almost all territory on earth is currently claimed by states, the recognition of new sovereign states typically deals with the affairs of other states from which the new state is conceived. Because there are so many different types of states in the world, the lowest common denominator amongst states boils down to a common respect for each others sovereignty. I believe that the very logic of the 'Lockean' system does not allow for additional state criteria (like being democratic, for example) because this will interfere with the sovereignty of other states. This might mean that the current trend, where states become de facto sovereign when they command the authority within a society, allows multiple new state forms. As long as these new states respect the sovereignty of other established states. The last hypothesis that deals with claims on other territories could therefore be an important factor, as claims interfere in the affairs of others and constitutes a clear breach of the sovereignty principle. This observation has profound implications for the admittance of new states in the Lockean state system as the SADR case illustrates.

In general, this research has implications for both theories. First, hard power does not always play the most important part in the calculation of states. Secondly, the logic of the international system might be far more robust than Wendt's theory suggests.

6.3 Research limitations

The research done in this thesis is a paired comparison between two cases that are similar but have different outcomes on the variable of interest: sovereignty recognition. A more detailed explanation why this type of case study was used can be found in chapter three, the section below discusses some restrictions on the results.

During the operationalisation of the structural realist hypotheses some concepts were incorporated that are traditionally un-associated with structural realism like 'soft' power. These concepts were

added in addition to the hard power elements that are associated with structural realism. Therefore, the fundament of structural realism was not replaced with something alien to the theory. Which makes the addition of soft power both appropriate and helpful. In the process of operationalising social constructivist theories, some concepts were operationalised to make them empirically measurable. This allowed for testing of these hypotheses, but came at the price of simplifying the social constructivist concepts to perception through statements. Statements are not optimal for assessing the true opinion of permanent members but they are the best available. Identifying the perception of actors is notoriously difficult. The possible usage of other data, such as interviews, could reveal more information than just statements, though deception always remains an option. Internal memo's could reveal more insight into the mind of states, although these memo's are understandably for internal use only. The written statements from the UN do provide a useful and credible insight that also circumvents the language barrier of state documents.

6.4 Recommendations for further research

Other data, like interviews, are more in line with the concepts that social constructivism employs. This would provide the theory with an easier case and could result in less harsh conclusions than the current results. In addition, more state properties could be analysed to see if specifically these, or state criteria in general, play no role. If future research would include more cases, the phenomenon of sovereignty recognition could be better understood. The results that these two cases provided could be strengthened or refuted, but will improve the body of scientific knowledge regardless of the outcome.

Further investigation in the role of allies in the process of sovereignty recognition is also recommended. The distinction of allies as external, third party states and as parties to a conflict might also reveal new insights in both alliances and the process of sovereignty recognition. In addition, the structure of the regional balance of power could influence the support for allies in the region. In the Maghreb, the structure of the regional balance of power is bipolar, where in the Horn of Africa it is multipolar. This might, in turn, affect the recognition of new states, as the opinion of allies plays an important role in the process of sovereignty recognition. Finally, the concept of power should be more open to multiple interpretations. Hard power alone is a very narrow definition of power. The application of new concepts of power in realist theory might lead to new insights and may help to bridge the theoretical gap between the two theories.

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Appendix 1

This appendix contains the statements taken from UN Security Council and General Assembly notes that The statements are listed in a numerical order per case. The data, document number and speaker are listed below. On the website of the United Nations Bibliographic Information System (UNBIS) the document codes can retrive the notes of each meeting. For the SADR case, the statements for each permanent member state are listed as followed.

France: 1 till 16
United States: 17 till 61
China: 62 till 70
Russian Federation:71 till 78
United Kingdom: 79 till 92

1.UN Meeting   A/C.4/40/SR.11
  Record Symbol:
  Speech Date: 1985
  Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Rocher, A.
                Country/Organization: France

2.UN Meeting   A/C.4/40/SR.21
  Record Symbol:
  Speech Date: 1985
  Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Taix, J.-P.
                Country/Organization: France

3.UN Meeting   A/C.5/49/SR.52
  Record Symbol:
  Speech Date: 19950331
  Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Scotti, Lucien
                Country/Organization: France

4.UN Meeting   A/C.4/52/SR.5
  Record Symbol:
  Speech Date: 19971009
  Speaker/affilation: Country/Organization: Germany. Bundestag
                Country/Organization: France

5.UN Meeting   A/C.4/54/SR.5
  Record Symbol:
  Speech Date: 19991006
  Speaker/affilation: Country/Organization: Germany. Bundestag
                Country/Organization: Gonfreville-l'Orcher (France). Mayor

6.UN Meeting   A/C.4/55/SR.6
  Record Symbol:
  Speech Date: 20000928
  Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Jarry, Robert
                Country/Organization: Le Mans (France). Mayor

7. UN Meeting
   Record Symbol: A/C.4/55/SR.6
   Speech Date: 20000928
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Cazenave, Richard
   Country/Organization: France. Parlement. Assemblée nationale. Groupe d'études parlementaire sur les droits de l'homme. Président

8. UN Meeting
   Record Symbol: S/PV.4801
   Speech Date: 20030731
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Duclos, Michel
   Country/Organization: France

9. UN Meeting
   Record Symbol: S/PV.5431
   Speech Date: 20060428
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Rivière, Nicolas de
   Country/Organization: France

10. UN Meeting
    Record Symbol: S/PV.5560
    Speech Date: 20061031
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Lacroix, Jean-Pierre
    Country/Organization: France

11. UN Meeting
    Record Symbol: A/C.4/62/SR.4
    Speech Date: 20071010
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Lecoq, Jean-Paul
    Country/Organization: Seine-Maritime (France). Deputy

12. UN Meeting
    Record Symbol: S/PV.5884
    Speech Date: 20080430
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Ripert, Jean-Maurice
    Country/Organization: France

13. UN Meeting
    Record Symbol: S/PV.6117
    Speech Date: 20090430
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Ripert, Jean-Maurice
    Country/Organization: France

14. UN Meeting
    Record Symbol: S/PV.6305
    Speech Date: 20100430
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Araud, Gérard
    Country/Organization: France

15. UN Meeting   S/PV.6523
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20110427
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Araud, Gérard
                      Country/Organization: France

16. UN Meeting   S/PV.7435
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20150428
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Lamek, Alexis
                      Country/Organization: France

17. UN Meeting   A/C.4/38/SR.18
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 1983
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Sherman, W.C.
                      Country/Organization: United States

18. UN Meeting   A/C.4/40/SR.21
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 1985
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Feldman, H.J.
                      Country/Organization: United States

19. UN Meeting   A/C.4/40/SR.11
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 1985
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Feldman, H.J.
                      Country/Organization: United States

20. UN Meeting   A/C.4/41/SR.18
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 1986
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Walters, Vernon Anthony
                      Country/Organization: United States

21. UN Meeting   A/C.4/41/SR.11
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 1986
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Addams, D.
                      Country/Organization: National Conference of Black Lawyers (United States)

22. UN Meeting   A/C.4/42/SR.22
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 19871028
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Byrne, P.M.
                      Country/Organization: United States

23. UN Meeting   A/C.4/43/SR.13
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 19881025
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Bunton, C.R.
                 Country/Organization: United States

24. UN Meeting   A/C.5/45/SR.58
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 19910514
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Michalski, M.P.
                 Country/Organization: United States

25. UN Meeting   A/C.5/48/SR.61
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 19940408
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Grant, William
                 Country/Organization: United States

26. UN Meeting   A/C.5/48/SR.66
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 19940606
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Grant, William
                 Country/Organization: United States

27. UN Meeting   A/C.5/48/SR.67
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 19940613
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Michalski, Michael
                 Country/Organization: United States

28. UN Meeting   A/C.4/50/SR.5
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 19951011
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Countryman, Thomas
                 Country/Organization: United States

29. UN Meeting   A/C.4/50/SR.15
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 19951103
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Gnehm, Edward
                 Country/Organization: United States

30. UN Meeting   A/C.5/52/SR.54
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 19980320
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Wharton, Royal
                 Country/Organization: United States

31. UN Meeting   S/PV.4149
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20000531
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Minton, Mark
                      Country/Organization: United States

32. UN Meeting   A/C.4/57/SR.4
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20021002
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Scholte, Suzanne
                      Country/Organization: Defense Forum Foundation (United States)

33. UN Meeting   A/C.4/57/SR.4
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20021002
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Ruddy, Frank
                      Country/Organization: United States

34. UN Meeting   A/C.4/57/SR.4
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20021002
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Finkler, Karin
                      Country/Organization: United States

35. UN Meeting   S/PV.4801
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20030731
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Negroponte, John D.
                      Country/Organization: United States

36. UN Meeting   A/C.4/59/SR.4
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20041006
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Scholte, Suzanne
                      Country/Organization: Defense Forum Foundation (United States)

37. UN Meeting   A/C.4/59/SR.4
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20041006
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Finkler, Karin
                      Country/Organization: United States

38. UN Meeting   A/C.4/59/SR.4
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20041006
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Divine, Melody
                      Country/Organization: United States

39. UN Meeting   A/C.4/59/SR.11
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20041018
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Ang, Melvin
                     Country/Organization: United States

40. UN Meeting   A/C.4/60/SR.3
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20051006
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Hardin, Helen
                     Country/Organization: United States

41. UN Meeting   A/C.4/60/SR.4
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20051007
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Hicks, Tray
                     Country/Organization: United States

42. UN Meeting   A/C.4/60/SR.4
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20051007
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Scholte, Suzanne
                     Country/Organization: Defense Forum Foundation (United States)

43. UN Meeting   A/C.4/60/SR.5
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20051010
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Ruddy, Frank
                     Country/Organization: United States

44. UN Meeting   S/PV.5431
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20060428
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Bolton, John R.
                     Country/Organization: United States

45. UN Meeting   A/C.5/60/SR.63
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20060623
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Attwooll, Melanie
                     Country/Organization: United States

46. UN Meeting   S/PV.5560
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20061031
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Brencick, William
                     Country/Organization: United States

47. UN Meeting Record Symbol: A/C.4/62/SR.3
Speech Date: 20071009
Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Scholte, Suzanne
Country/Organization: Defense Forum Foundation (United States)

48. UN Meeting Record Symbol: A/C.4/62/SR.5
Speech Date: 20071011
Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Plumley, Lindsey M.
Country/Organization: United States-Western Sahara Foundation

49. UN Meeting Record Symbol: S/PV.5884
Speech Date: 20080430
Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Wolff, Alejandro D.
Country/Organization: United States

50. UN Meeting Record Symbol: A/C.4/63/SR.4
Speech Date: 20081008
Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Poblete, Jason
Country/Organization: Defense Forum Foundation (United States)

51. UN Meeting Record Symbol: S/PV.6117
Speech Date: 20090430
Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Rice, Susan E.
Country/Organization: United States

52. UN Meeting Record Symbol: A/C.4/64/SR.3
Speech Date: 20091006
Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Nedrebo, Nina
Country/Organization: United Nations Association of the United States of America

53. UN Meeting Record Symbol: S/PV.6305
Speech Date: 20100430
Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Anderson, Brooke D.
Country/Organization: United States

54. UN Meeting Record Symbol: A/C.4/65/SR.3
Speech Date: 20101005
Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Scholte, Suzanne
Country/Organization: Defense Forum Foundation (United States)

55. UN Meeting Record Symbol: A/C.4/65/SR.4
   Speech Date: 20101006
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Nedrebo, Nina
   Country/Organization: United Nations Association of the United States of America

56. UN Meeting Record Symbol: A/C.4/66/SR.3
   Speech Date: 20111004
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Karimi, Amy
   Country/Organization: Borrowed Voice (Organization : United States)

57. UN Meeting Record Symbol: A/C.4/67/SR.4
   Speech Date: 20121010
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Scholte, Suzanne
   Country/Organization: Defense Forum Foundation (United States)

58. UN Meeting Record Symbol: A/C.4/68/SR.5
   Speech Date: 20131009
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Kahn, Robin
   Country/Organization: United States Citizens for Western Sahara

59. UN Meeting Record Symbol: A/C.4/68/SR.5
   Speech Date: 20131009
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Scholte, Suzanne
   Country/Organization: Defense Forum Foundation (United States)

60. UN Meeting Record Symbol: S/PV.7435
   Speech Date: 20150428
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Sison, Michele J.
   Country/Organization: United States

61. UN Meeting Record Symbol: A/C.4/70/SR.5
   Speech Date: 20151013
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Scholte, Suzanne
   Country/Organization: Defense Forum Foundation (United States)

62. UN Meeting Record Symbol: A/C.4/39/SR.24
   Speech Date: 1984
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Fan, Guoxiang
   Country/Organization: China

63.UN Meeting   A/C.4/40/SR.21
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 1985
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Fan, Guoxiang
                   Country/Organization: China

64.UN Meeting   A/C.4/41/SR.18
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 1986
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: YU, MENGJIA
                   Country/Organization: China

65.UN Meeting   A/C.4/42/SR.22
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 19871028
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: YU, MENGJIA
                   Country/Organization: China

66.UN Meeting   A/C.4/43/SR.8
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 19881018
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Shi, Yanhua
                   Country/Organization: China

67.UN Meeting   A/C.4/44/SR.11
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 19891019
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: YU, MENGJIA
                   Country/Organization: China

68.UN Meeting   A/C.4/46/SR.8
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 19911018
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Liu, Sha
                   Country/Organization: China

69.UN Meeting   S/PV.4801
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20030731
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Zhang, Yishan
                   Country/Organization: China

70.UN Meeting   S/PV.7435
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20150428
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Zhao, Yong
                   Country/Organization: China

71. UN Meeting   S/PV.3179
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 19930302
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Vorontsov, Iu.M. (Iulii M.)
                        Country/Organization: Russian Federation

72. UN Meeting   S/PV.4801
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20030731
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Gatilov, Gennadii Mikhailovich
                        Country/Organization: Russian Federation

73. UN Meeting   A/C.4/59/SR.11
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20041018
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Smirnov, Vadim
                        Country/Organization: Russian Federation

74. UN Meeting   A/61/PV.84
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20061222
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Kovalenko, Andrey V.
                        Country/Organization: Russian Federation

75. UN Meeting   A/C.4/61/SR.9
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20061013
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Sitnikov, Albert V.
                        Country/Organization: Russian Federation

76. UN Meeting   S/PV.5884
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20080430
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Safronkov, Vladimir K.
                        Country/Organization: Russian Federation

77. UN Meeting   S/PV.6117
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20090430
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Churkin, Vitaly I.
                        Country/Organization: Russian Federation

78. UN Meeting   S/PV.6305
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20100430
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Dolgov, Konstantin K.
                        Country/Organization: Russian Federation

79. UN Meeting   A/C.4/70/SR.7
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20151015
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Hallergard, Carl
                      Country/Organization: United Kingdom

80. UN Meeting   S/PV.7435
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20150428
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Wilson, Peter
                      Country/Organization: United Kingdom

81. UN Meeting   A/C.4/66/SR.5
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20111006
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Simanowitz, Stefan
                      Country/Organization: United Kingdom. Parliament. Western Sahara Group

82. UN Meeting   S/PV.6523
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20110427
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Lyall Grant, Mark, Sir
                      Country/Organization: United Kingdom

83. UN Meeting   A/C.4/65/SR.3
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20101005
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Simanowitz, Stefan
                      Country/Organization: United Kingdom. Parliament. Western Sahara Group

84. UN Meeting   S/PV.6305
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20100430
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Quarrey, David
                      Country/Organization: United Kingdom

85. UN Meeting   S/PV.6117
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20090430
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Sawers, John
                      Country/Organization: United Kingdom

86. UN Meeting   A/C.5/61/SR.49
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20070510
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Thomas, Simon
                      Country/Organization: United Kingdom

87.UN Meeting   A/61/PV.79
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 20061214
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Pierce, Karen
                    Country/Organization: United Kingdom

88.UN Meeting   S/PV.5560
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 20061031
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Pierce, Karen
                    Country/Organization: United Kingdom

89.UN Meeting   A/C.4/61/SR.9
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 20061013
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Fawcett, Sara
                    Country/Organization: United Kingdom

90.UN Meeting   S/PV.5431
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 20060428
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Johnston, Paul
                    Country/Organization: United Kingdom

91.UN Meeting   A/C.4/58/SR.4
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 20031008
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Pisa, Adrian
                    Country/Organization: United Kingdom

92.UN Meeting   A/C.5/49/SR.37
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 19941222
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Holland, Patricia
                    Country/Organization: United Kingdom

Appendix 2

This appendix contains the statements taken from UN Security Council and General Assembly notes that concern the South Sudan case. The statements are listed in a numerical order per case. The data, document number and speaker are listed below. On the website of the United Nations Bibliographic Information System (UNBIS) the document codes can retrive the notes of each meeting. For the South Sudan case, the statements for each permanent member state are listed as followed.

United States: 1 till 81
United Kingdom: 82 till 131
France: 132 till 172
Russian Federation: 173 till 212
China: 213 till 263

1.UN Meeting   S/PV.6597
  Record Symbol:
  Speech Date: 20110729
  Speaker/affilation: Speaker: DiCarlo, Rosemary A.
               Country/Organization: United States

2.UN Meeting   S/PV.6583
  Record Symbol:
  Speech Date: 20110713
  Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Rice, Susan E.
               Country/Organization: United States

3.UN Meeting   S/PV.6579
  Record Symbol:
  Speech Date: 20110711
  Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Rice, Susan E.
               Country/Organization: United States

4.UN Meeting   S/PV.6559
  Record Symbol:
  Speech Date: 20110620
  Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Rice, Susan E.
               Country/Organization: United States

5.UN Meeting   S/PV.6478
  Record Symbol:
  Speech Date: 20110209
  Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Rice, Susan E.
               Country/Organization: United States

6.UN Meeting   S/PV.6468
  Record Symbol:
  Speech Date: 20110118
  Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Rice, Susan E.
                  Country/Organization: United States

7.UN Meeting   S/PV.6452
  Record Symbol:
  Speech Date: 20101216
  Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Rice, Susan E.
                  Country/Organization: United States

8.UN Meeting   S/PV.6425
  Record Symbol:
  Speech Date: 20101116
  Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Clinton, Hillary Rodham
                  Country/Organization: United States

9.UN Meeting   S/PV.6397
  Record Symbol:
  Speech Date: 20101014
  Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Rice, Susan E.
                  Country/Organization: United States

10.UN Meeting   S/PV.6338
  Record Symbol:
  Speech Date: 20100614
  Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Rice, Susan E.
                  Country/Organization: United States

11.UN Meeting   S/PV.6230
  Record Symbol:
  Speech Date: 20091204
  Speaker/affilation: Speaker: DiCarlo, Rosemary A.
                  Country/Organization: United States

12.UN Meeting   S/PV.6170
  Record Symbol:
  Speech Date: 20090724
  Speaker/affilation: Speaker: DiCarlo, Rosemary A.
                  Country/Organization: United States

13. UN Meeting   S/PV.6116
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20090430
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Rice, Susan E.
                     Country/Organization: United States

14. UN Meeting   S/PV.6096
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20090320
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Rice, Susan E.
                     Country/Organization: United States

15. UN Meeting   S/PV.6029
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20081203
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: DiCarlo, Rosemary A.
                     Country/Organization: United States

16. UN Meeting   S/PV.6028
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20081203
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: DiCarlo, Rosemary A.
                     Country/Organization: United States

17. UN Meeting   S/PV.6003
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20081028
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Khalilzad, Zalmay
                     Country/Organization: United States

18. UN Meeting   S/PV.5947
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20080731
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Wolff, Alejandro D.
                     Country/Organization: United States

19. UN Meeting   S/PV.5922
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20080619
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Khalilzad, Zalmay
                     Country/Organization: United States

20.UN Meeting   S/PV.5905
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 20080605
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Khalilzad, Zalmay
                 Country/Organization: United States

21.UN Meeting   S/PV.5832
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 20080208
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Khalilzad, Zalmay
                 Country/Organization: United States

22.UN Meeting   S/PV.5792
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 20071206
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: DeLaurentis, Jeffrey
                 Country/Organization: United States

23.UN Meeting   S/PV.5789
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 20071205
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: DeLaurentis, Jeffrey
                 Country/Organization: United States

24.UN Meeting   S/PV.5784
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 20071127
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Khalilzad, Zalmay
                 Country/Organization: United States

25.UN Meeting   A/C.3/62/SR.29
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 20071029
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Rees, Grover Joseph
                 Country/Organization: United States

26.UN Meeting   S/PV.5727
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 20070731
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Khalilzad, Zalmay
                 Country/Organization: United States

27. UN Meeting   S/PV.5571
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20061122
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Sanders, Jackie
                        Country/Organization: United States

28. UN Meeting   A/C.3/61/SR.26
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20061020
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Ceinos-Cox, Mariano
                        Country/Organization: United States

29. UN Meeting   S/PV.5528
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20060918
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Bolton, John R.
                        Country/Organization: United States

30. UN Meeting   S/PV.5520
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20060911
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Brencick, William
                        Country/Organization: United States

31. UN Meeting   S/PV.5519
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20060831
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Bolton, John R.
                        Country/Organization: United States

32. UN Meeting   A/C.5/60/SR.57
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20060609
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Traystman, David A.
                        Country/Organization: United States

33. UN Meeting   S/PV.5434
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20060509
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Rice, Condoleezza
                        Country/Organization: United States

34. UN Meeting   S/PV.5423
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20060425
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Bolton, John R.
                        Country/Organization: United States

35.UN Meeting   A/C.5/60/SR.18
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 20051101
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Attwooll, Melanie
                   Country/Organization: United States

36.UN Meeting   A/59/PV.116
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 20050824
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Urbancic, Frank C.
                   Country/Organization: United States

37.UN Meeting   A/C.5/59/SR.44
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 20050413
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Attwooll, Melanie
                   Country/Organization: United States

38.UN Meeting   S/PV.5158
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 20050331
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Patterson, Anne W.
                   Country/Organization: United States

39.UN Meeting   S/PV.5153
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 20050329
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Holliday, Stuart
                   Country/Organization: United States

40.UN Meeting   A/C.3/59/SR.54
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 20041124
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Scott, Gerald W.
                   Country/Organization: United States

41.UN Meeting   S/PV.5082
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 20041119
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Danforth, John C.
                   Country/Organization: United States

42. UN Meeting   A/C.3/59/SR.30
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20041029
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Scott, Gerald W.
                      Country/Organization: United States

43. UN Meeting   S/PV.5043
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20040924
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Danforth, John C.
                      Country/Organization: United States

44. UN Meeting   S/PV.5043
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20040924
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Danforth, John C.
                      Country/Organization: United States

45. UN Meeting   S/PV.5040
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20040918
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Danforth, John C.
                      Country/Organization: United States

46. UN Meeting   S/PV.5015
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20040730
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Danforth, John C.
                      Country/Organization: United States

47. UN Meeting   S/PV.4988
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20040611
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Cunningham, James
                      Country/Organization: United States

48. UN Meeting   A/C.3/57/SR.56
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20021120
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Negroponte, John D.
                      Country/Organization: United States

49.UN Meeting   A/C.3/56/SR.53
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 20011130
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Foley, Rafael
                     Country/Organization: United States

50.UN Meeting   A/C.3/56/SR.34
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 20011108
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Camponovo, Christopher
                     Country/Organization: United States

51.UN Meeting   S/PV.4384
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 20010928
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Cunningham, James
                     Country/Organization: United States

52.UN Meeting   A/C.3/54/SR.55
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 20001122
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Gallagher, Michael G.
                     Country/Organization: United States

53.UN Meeting   A/C.3/55/SR.55
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 20001110
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Davison, John W.
                     Country/Organization: United States

54.UN Meeting   A/54/PV.84
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 19991217
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Savage, Jennifer
                     Country/Organization: United States

55.UN Meeting   A/C.3/54/SR.52
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 19991118
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Gallagher, Michael G.
                     Country/Organization: United States

56.UN Meeting   A/C.3/54/SR.34
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 19991105
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: McKee, Alan
                       Country/Organization: United States

57.UN Meeting   A/53/PV.92
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 19981217
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Montoya, Regina
                       Country/Organization: United States

58.UN Meeting   A/C.3/53/SR.40
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 19981109
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Burleigh, Peter
                       Country/Organization: United States

59.UN Meeting   A/52/PV.73
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 19971216
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Robinson Hall, Shirley
                       Country/Organization: United States

60.UN Meeting   A/C.3/52/SR.46
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 19971124
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Shapiro, David
                       Country/Organization: United States

61.UN Meeting   A/51/PV.87
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 19961217
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Hormel, James
                       Country/Organization: United States

62.UN Meeting   A/C.3/51/SR.50
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 19961124
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Lebl, Leslie
                       Country/Organization: United States

63. UN Meeting   A/C.3/51/SR.47
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 19961121
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Albright, Madeleine Korbel
                      Country/Organization: United States

64. UN Meeting   S/PV.3690
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 19960816
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Gnehm, Edward
                      Country/Organization: United States

65. UN Meeting   S/PV.3660
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 19960426
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Gnehm, Edward
                      Country/Organization: United States

66. UN Meeting   S/PV.3627
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 19960131
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Albright, Madeleine Korbel
                      Country/Organization: United States

67. UN Meeting   A/C.3/50/SR.56
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 19951213
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Kirkland, Lane
                      Country/Organization: United States

68. UN Meeting   A/C.3/50/SR.53
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 19951211
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Jones, George William
                      Country/Organization: United States

69. UN Meeting   A/C.3/50/SR.41
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 19951128
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Albright, Madeleine Korbel
                      Country/Organization: United States

70. UN Meeting   A/C.3/49/SR.59
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 19941208
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Hope, John
                       Country/Organization: United States

71. UN Meeting   A/C.3/49/SR.45
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 19941128
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Marrero, Victor
                       Country/Organization: United States

72. UN Meeting   A/C.3/48/SR.50
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 19931203
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Thrapp, Deborah
                       Country/Organization: United States

73. UN Meeting   A/C.3/47/SR.56
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 19921203
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Blackwell, K.
                       Country/Organization: United States

74. UN Meeting   A/C.3/47/SR.47
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 19921124
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Perkins, E.
                       Country/Organization: United States

75. UN Meeting   A/C.2/47/SR.25
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 19921029
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Watson, A.F.
                       Country/Organization: United States

76. UN Meeting   A/45/PV.69
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 19901218
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Waldrop, N.
                       Country/Organization: United States

77. UN Meeting   A/44/PV.37
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 19891024
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Franklin, B.H.
                     Country/Organization: United States

78. UN Meeting   S/PV.2526
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 1984
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Clark, W.
                     Country/Organization: United States

79. UN Meeting   S/PV.2522
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 1984
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Clark, W.
                     Country/Organization: United States

80. UN Meeting   S/PV.2521
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 1984
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Kirkpatrick, Jeane J.
                     Country/Organization: United States

81. UN Meeting   A/C.3/38/SR.71
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 1983
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Herzberg, J.M.
                     Country/Organization: United States

82. UN Meeting   S/PV.6597
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 20110729
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Lyall Grant, Mark, Sir
                     Country/Organization: United Kingdom

83. UN Meeting   S/PV.6583
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 20110713
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Bellingham, Henry
                     Country/Organization: United Kingdom

84. UN Meeting   S/PV.6579
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 20110711
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Lyall Grant, Mark, Sir
                      Country/Organization: United Kingdom

85. UN Meeting   S/PV.6559
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 20110620
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Lyall Grant, Mark, Sir
                      Country/Organization: United Kingdom

86. UN Meeting   S/PV.6478
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 20110209
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Lyall Grant, Mark, Sir
                      Country/Organization: United Kingdom

87. UN Meeting   S/PV.6468
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 20110118
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Lyall Grant, Mark, Sir
                      Country/Organization: United Kingdom

88. UN Meeting   S/PV.6452
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 20101216
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Lyall Grant, Mark, Sir
                      Country/Organization: United Kingdom

89. UN Meeting   S/PV.6425
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 20101116
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Hague, William
                      Country/Organization: United Kingdom

90. UN Meeting   S/PV.6397
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 20101014
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Lyall Grant, Mark, Sir
                      Country/Organization: United Kingdom

91.UN Meeting   S/PV.6338
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 20100614
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Lyall Grant, Mark, Sir
                      Country/Organization: United Kingdom

92.UN Meeting   S/PV.6230
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 20091204
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Lyall Grant, Mark, Sir
                      Country/Organization: United Kingdom

93.UN Meeting   S/PV.6170
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 20090724
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Sawers, John
                      Country/Organization: United Kingdom

94.UN Meeting   S/PV.6131
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 20090528
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Sawers, John
                      Country/Organization: United Kingdom

95.UN Meeting   S/PV.6116
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 20090430
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Sawers, John
                      Country/Organization: United Kingdom

96.UN Meeting   S/PV.6096
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 20090320
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Sawers, John
                      Country/Organization: United Kingdom

97.UN Meeting   S/PV.6029
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 20081203
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Pierce, Karen
                      Country/Organization: United Kingdom

98.UN Meeting   S/PV.6028
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 20081203
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Pierce, Karen
                       Country/Organization: United Kingdom

99.UN Meeting   S/PV.5947
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 20080731
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Sawers, John
                       Country/Organization: United Kingdom

100.UN Meeting   S/PV.5922
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 20080619
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Sawers, John
                       Country/Organization: United Kingdom

101.UN Meeting   S/PV.5915
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 20080618
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Sawers, John
                       Country/Organization: United Kingdom

102.UN Meeting   S/PV.5905
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 20080605
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Quarrey, David
                       Country/Organization: United Kingdom

103.UN Meeting   S/PV.5832
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 20080208
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Sawers, John
                       Country/Organization: United Kingdom

104.UN Meeting   S/PV.5792
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 20071206
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Pierce, Karen
                       Country/Organization: United Kingdom

105.UN Meeting   S/PV.5789
     Record Symbol:
     Speech Date: 20071205
     Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Sawers, John
                         Country/Organization: United Kingdom

106.UN Meeting   S/PV.5784
     Record Symbol:
     Speech Date: 20071127
     Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Sawers, John
                         Country/Organization: United Kingdom

107.UN Meeting   S/PV.5727
     Record Symbol:
     Speech Date: 20070731
     Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Parry, Emyr Jones
                         Country/Organization: United Kingdom

108.UN Meeting   S/PV.5717
     Record Symbol:
     Speech Date: 20070716
     Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Pierce, Karen
                         Country/Organization: United Kingdom

109.UN Meeting   S/PV.5706
     Record Symbol:
     Speech Date: 20070626
     Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Parry, Emyr Jones
                         Country/Organization: United Kingdom

110.UN Meeting   A/C.5/61/SR.49
     Record Symbol:
     Speech Date: 20070510
     Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Thomas, Simon
                         Country/Organization: United Kingdom

111.UN Meeting   S/PV.5571
     Record Symbol:
     Speech Date: 20061122
     Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Pierce, Karen
                         Country/Organization: United Kingdom

112. UN Meeting   S/PV.5528
     Record Symbol:
     Speech Date: 20060918
     Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Triesman, David
                         Country/Organization: United Kingdom

113. UN Meeting   S/PV.5520
     Record Symbol:
     Speech Date: 20060911
     Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Parry, Emyr Jones
                         Country/Organization: United Kingdom

114. UN Meeting   S/PV.5519
     Record Symbol:
     Speech Date: 20060831
     Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Pierce, Karen
                         Country/Organization: United Kingdom

115. UN Meeting   S/PV.5478
     Record Symbol:
     Speech Date: 20060629
     Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Parry, Emyr Jones
                         Country/Organization: United Kingdom

116. UN Meeting   S/PV.5462
     Record Symbol:
     Speech Date: 20060615
     Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Parry, Emyr Jones
                         Country/Organization: United Kingdom

117. UN Meeting   S/PV.5434
     Record Symbol:
     Speech Date: 20060509
     Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Beckett, Margaret
                         Country/Organization: United Kingdom

118. UN Meeting   A/C.3/60/SR.47
     Record Symbol:
     Speech Date: 20051123
     Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Parry, Emyr Jones
                         Country/Organization: United Kingdom

119.UN Meeting A/C.3/60/SR.37
  Record Symbol:
  Speech Date: 20051109
  Speaker/affilation: Speaker: O'Neill, Michael
        Country/Organization: United Kingdom

120.UN Meeting S/PV.5158
  Record Symbol:
  Speech Date: 20050331
  Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Parry, Emyr Jones
        Country/Organization: United Kingdom

121.UN Meeting S/PV.5082
  Record Symbol:
  Speech Date: 20041119
  Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Parry, Emyr Jones
        Country/Organization: United Kingdom

122.UN Meeting S/PV.5043
  Record Symbol:
  Speech Date: 20040924
  Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Parry, Emyr Jones
        Country/Organization: United Kingdom

123.UN Meeting S/PV.5040
  Record Symbol:
  Speech Date: 20040918
  Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Parry, Emyr Jones
        Country/Organization: United Kingdom

124.UN Meeting S/PV.5015
  Record Symbol:
  Speech Date: 20040730
  Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Parry, Emyr Jones
        Country/Organization: United Kingdom

125.UN Meeting S/PV.4988
  Record Symbol:
  Speech Date: 20040611
  Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Parry, Emyr Jones
        Country/Organization: United Kingdom

126. UN Meeting   S/PV.3690
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 19960816
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Weston, John, Sir
                        Country/Organization: United Kingdom

127. UN Meeting   S/PV.3660
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 19960426
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Weston, John, Sir
                        Country/Organization: United Kingdom

128. UN Meeting   S/PV.3627
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 19960131
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Weston, John, Sir
                        Country/Organization: United Kingdom

129. UN Meeting   A/44/PV.37
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 19891024
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Richardson, T.L.
                        Country/Organization: United Kingdom

130. UN Meeting   S/PV.2523
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 1984
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Thomson, John
                        Country/Organization: United Kingdom

131. UN Meeting   S/PV.2521
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 1984
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Thomson, John
                        Country/Organization: United Kingdom

132. UN Meeting   S/PV.6656
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20111111
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Ladsous, Hervé
                        Country/Organization: France

133.UN Meeting   S/PV.6583
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20110713
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Douillet, David
                    Country/Organization: France

134.UN Meeting   S/PV.6579
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20110711
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Araud, Gérard
                    Country/Organization: France

135.UN Meeting   S/PV.6567
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20110627
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Araud, Gérard
                    Country/Organization: France

136.UN Meeting   S/PV.6559
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20110620
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Araud, Gérard
                    Country/Organization: France

137.UN Meeting   S/PV.6478
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20110209
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Araud, Gérard
                    Country/Organization: France

138.UN Meeting   S/PV.6468
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20110118
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Araud, Gérard
                    Country/Organization: France

139.UN Meeting   S/PV.6452
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20101216
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Araud, Gérard
                    Country/Organization: France

140. UN Meeting   S/PV.6425
     Record Symbol:
     Speech Date: 20101116
     Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Araud, Gérard
                         Country/Organization: France

141. UN Meeting   S/PV.6338
     Record Symbol:
     Speech Date: 20100614
     Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Araud, Gérard
                         Country/Organization: France

142. UN Meeting   S/PV.6230
     Record Symbol:
     Speech Date: 20091204
     Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Araud, Gérard
                         Country/Organization: France

143. UN Meeting   S/PV.6170
     Record Symbol:
     Speech Date: 20090724
     Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Lacroix, Jean-Pierre
                         Country/Organization: France

144. UN Meeting   S/PV.6116
     Record Symbol:
     Speech Date: 20090430
     Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Ripert, Jean-Maurice
                         Country/Organization: France

145. UN Meeting   S/PV.6096
     Record Symbol:
     Speech Date: 20090320
     Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Ripert, Jean-Maurice
                         Country/Organization: France

146. UN Meeting   S/PV.6029
     Record Symbol:
     Speech Date: 20081203
     Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Ripert, Jean-Maurice
                         Country/Organization: France

147. UN Meeting   S/PV.6028
     Record Symbol:
     Speech Date: 20081203
     Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Ripert, Jean-Maurice
                         Country/Organization: France

148. UN Meeting   S/PV.5947
     Record Symbol:
     Speech Date: 20080731
     Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Rivière, Nicolas de
                         Country/Organization: France

149. UN Meeting   S/PV.5922
     Record Symbol:
     Speech Date: 20080619
     Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Ripert, Jean-Maurice
                         Country/Organization: France

150. UN Meeting   S/PV.5915
     Record Symbol:
     Speech Date: 20080618
     Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Ripert, Jean-Maurice
                         Country/Organization: France

151. UN Meeting   S/PV.5905
     Record Symbol:
     Speech Date: 20080605
     Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Lacroix, Jean-Pierre
                         Country/Organization: France

152. UN Meeting   S/PV.5832
     Record Symbol:
     Speech Date: 20080208
     Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Ripert, Jean-Maurice
                         Country/Organization: France

153. UN Meeting   S/PV.5789
     Record Symbol:
     Speech Date: 20071205
     Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Ripert, Jean-Maurice
                         Country/Organization: France

154.UN Meeting S/PV.5784
  Record Symbol:
  Speech Date: 20071127
  Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Ripert, Jean-Maurice
        Country/Organization: France

155.UN Meeting S/PV.5727
  Record Symbol:
  Speech Date: 20070731
  Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Lacroix, Jean-Pierre
        Country/Organization: France

156.UN Meeting S/PV.5571
  Record Symbol:
  Speech Date: 20061122
  Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Lacroix, Jean-Pierre
        Country/Organization: France

157.UN Meeting S/PV.5528
  Record Symbol:
  Speech Date: 20060918
  Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Lacroix, Jean-Pierre
        Country/Organization: France

158.UN Meeting S/PV.5520
  Record Symbol:
  Speech Date: 20060911
  Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Rochereau de la Sablière, J.-M.
        Country/Organization: France

159.UN Meeting S/PV.5519
  Record Symbol:
  Speech Date: 20060831
  Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Lacroix, Jean-Pierre
        Country/Organization: France

160.UN Meeting S/PV.5478
  Record Symbol:
  Speech Date: 20060629
  Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Rochereau de la Sablière, J.-M.
        Country/Organization: France

161.UN Meeting   S/PV.5462
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20060615
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Rochereau de la Sablière, J.-M.
                        Country/Organization: France

162.UN Meeting   S/PV.5434
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20060509
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Douste-Blazy, Philippe
                        Country/Organization: France

163.UN Meeting   S/PV.5158
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20050331
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Rochereau de la Sablière, J.-M.
                        Country/Organization: France

164.UN Meeting   S/PV.5082
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20041119
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Rochereau de la Sablière, J.-M.
                        Country/Organization: France

165.UN Meeting   S/PV.5043
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20040924
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Rochereau de la Sablière, J.-M.
                        Country/Organization: France

166.UN Meeting   S/PV.5040
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20040918
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Rochereau de la Sablière, J.-M.
                        Country/Organization: France

167.UN Meeting   S/PV.5015
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20040730
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Rochereau de la Sablière, J.-M.
                        Country/Organization: France

168. UN Meeting   A/C.3/55/SR.55
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20001110
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Châtaigner, Jean-Marc
                        Country/Organization: France

169. UN Meeting   S/PV.3690
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 19960816
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Ladsous, Hervé
                        Country/Organization: France

170. UN Meeting   S/PV.3660
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 19960426
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Thiebaud, Philippe
                        Country/Organization: France

171. UN Meeting   S/PV.3627
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 19960131
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Ladsous, Hervé
                        Country/Organization: France

172. UN Meeting   S/PV.2521
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 1984
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Louet, P.
                        Country/Organization: France

173. UN Meeting   S/PV.6597
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20110729
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Pankin, Alexander A.
                        Country/Organization: Russian Federation

174. UN Meeting   S/PV.6583
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20110713
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Bogdanov, Mikhail L.
                        Country/Organization: Russian Federation

175.UN Meeting   S/PV.6579
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20110711
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Pankin, Alexander A.
                        Country/Organization: Russian Federation

176.UN Meeting   S/PV.6559
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20110620
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Churkin, Vitaly I.
                        Country/Organization: Russian Federation

177.UN Meeting   S/PV.6478
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20110209
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Churkin, Vitaly I.
                        Country/Organization: Russian Federation

178.UN Meeting   S/PV.6468
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20110118
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Churkin, Vitaly I.
                        Country/Organization: Russian Federation

179.UN Meeting   S/PV.6452
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20101216
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Churkin, Vitaly I.
                        Country/Organization: Russian Federation

180.UN Meeting   S/PV.6425
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20101116
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Churkin, Vitaly I.
                        Country/Organization: Russian Federation

181.UN Meeting   S/PV.6230
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20091204
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Churkin, Vitaly I.
                        Country/Organization: Russian Federation

182. UN Meeting   S/PV.6170
     Record Symbol:
     Speech Date: 20090724
     Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Margelov, Mikhail
                       Country/Organization: Russian Federation

183. UN Meeting   S/PV.6096
     Record Symbol:
     Speech Date: 20090320
     Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Churkin, Vitaly I.
                       Country/Organization: Russian Federation

184. UN Meeting   S/PV.6029
     Record Symbol:
     Speech Date: 20081203
     Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Dolgov, Konstantin K.
                       Country/Organization: Russian Federation

185. UN Meeting   S/PV.6028
     Record Symbol:
     Speech Date: 20081203
     Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Churkin, Vitaly I.
                       Country/Organization: Russian Federation

186. UN Meeting   S/PV.5947
     Record Symbol:
     Speech Date: 20080731
     Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Churkin, Vitaly I.
                       Country/Organization: Russian Federation

187. UN Meeting   S/PV.5922
     Record Symbol:
     Speech Date: 20080619
     Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Dolgov, Konstantin K.
                       Country/Organization: Russian Federation

188. UN Meeting   S/PV.5905
     Record Symbol:
     Speech Date: 20080605
     Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Kuzmin, Gennady V.
                       Country/Organization: Russian Federation

189.UN Meeting   S/PV.5832
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 20080208
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Churkin, Vitaly I.
                      Country/Organization: Russian Federation

190.UN Meeting   S/PV.5792
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 20071206
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Dolgov, Konstantin K.
                      Country/Organization: Russian Federation

191.UN Meeting   S/PV.5789
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 20071205
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Rogachev, Ilya
                      Country/Organization: Russian Federation

192.UN Meeting   S/PV.5784
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 20071127
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Churkin, Vitaly I.
                      Country/Organization: Russian Federation

193.UN Meeting   S/PV.5727
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 20070731
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Churkin, Vitaly I.
                      Country/Organization: Russian Federation

194.UN Meeting   S/PV.5571
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 20061122
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Dolgov, Konstantin K.
                      Country/Organization: Russian Federation

195.UN Meeting   S/PV.5528
   Record Symbol:
   Speech Date: 20060918
   Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Dolgov, Konstantin K.
                      Country/Organization: Russian Federation

196. UN Meeting   S/PV.5520
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20060911
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Churkin, Vitaly I.
                      Country/Organization: Russian Federation

197. UN Meeting   S/PV.5519
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20060831
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Churkin, Vitaly I.
                      Country/Organization: Russian Federation

198. UN Meeting   S/PV.5439
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20060516
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Churkin, Vitaly I.
                      Country/Organization: Russian Federation

199. UN Meeting   S/PV.5434
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20060509
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Lavrov, Sergei Viktorovich
                      Country/Organization: Russian Federation

200. UN Meeting   S/PV.5423
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20060425
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Dolgov, Konstantin K.
                      Country/Organization: Russian Federation

201. UN Meeting   S/PV.5158
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20050331
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Denisov, Andrey
                      Country/Organization: Russian Federation

202. UN Meeting   S/PV.5153
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20050329
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Denisov, Andrey
                      Country/Organization: Russian Federation

203.UN Meeting   S/PV.5082
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20041119
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Denisov, Andrey
                     Country/Organization: Russian Federation

204.UN Meeting   S/PV.5043
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20040924
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Denisov, Andrey
                     Country/Organization: Russian Federation

205.UN Meeting   S/PV.5040
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20040918
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Denisov, Andrey
                     Country/Organization: Russian Federation

206.UN Meeting   S/PV.5015
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20040730
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Denisov, Andrey
                     Country/Organization: Russian Federation

207.UN Meeting   A/C.3/56/SR.34
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20011108
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Rogov, Alexey
                     Country/Organization: Russian Federation

208.UN Meeting   S/PV.4384
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20010928
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Granovsky, Andrei
                     Country/Organization: Russian Federation

209.UN Meeting   S/PV.3690
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 19960816
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Lavrov, Sergei Viktorovich
                     Country/Organization: Russian Federation

210. UN Meeting   S/PV.3660
      Record Symbol:
      Speech Date: 19960426
      Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Lavrov, Sergei Viktorovich
                          Country/Organization: Russian Federation

211. UN Meeting   S/PV.3627
      Record Symbol:
      Speech Date: 19960131
      Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Fedotov, Yuriy V.
                          Country/Organization: Russian Federation

212. UN Meeting   A/C.3/50/SR.56
      Record Symbol:
      Speech Date: 19951213
      Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Bouchmarinov, Sergei
                          Country/Organization: Russian Federation

213. UN Meeting   S/PV.6597
      Record Symbol:
      Speech Date: 20110729
      Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Wang, Min
                          Country/Organization: China

214. UN Meeting   S/PV.6583
      Record Symbol:
      Speech Date: 20110713
      Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Wang, Min
                          Country/Organization: China

215. UN Meeting   S/PV.6559
      Record Symbol:
      Speech Date: 20110620
      Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Wang, Min
                          Country/Organization: China

216. UN Meeting   S/PV.6478
      Record Symbol:
      Speech Date: 20110209
      Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Li, Baodong
                          Country/Organization: China

217.UN Meeting   S/PV.6468
      Record Symbol:
      Speech Date: 20110118
      Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Wang, Min
                          Country/Organization: China

218.UN Meeting   S/PV.6452
      Record Symbol:
      Speech Date: 20101216
      Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Yang, Tao
                          Country/Organization: China

219.UN Meeting   S/PV.6425
      Record Symbol:
      Speech Date: 20101116
      Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Li, Baodong
                          Country/Organization: China

220.UN Meeting   S/PV.6401
      Record Symbol:
      Speech Date: 20101014
      Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Yang, Tao
                          Country/Organization: China

221.UN Meeting   S/PV.6338
      Record Symbol:
      Speech Date: 20100614
      Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Li, Baodong
                          Country/Organization: China

222.UN Meeting   S/PV.6230
      Record Symbol:
      Speech Date: 20091204
      Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Liu, Zhenmin
                          Country/Organization: China

223.UN Meeting   S/PV.6170
      Record Symbol:
      Speech Date: 20090724
      Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Liu, Zhenmin
                          Country/Organization: China

224.UN Meeting   S/PV.6096
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20090320
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Liu, Zhenmin
                 Country/Organization: China

225.UN Meeting   S/PV.6028
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20081203
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Zhang, Yesui
                 Country/Organization: China

226.UN Meeting   S/PV.6029
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20081203
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: La, Yifan
                 Country/Organization: China

227.UN Meeting   S/PV.5947
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20080731
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Wang, Guangya
                 Country/Organization: China

228.UN Meeting   S/PV.5922
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20080619
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Liu, Zhenmin
                 Country/Organization: China

229.UN Meeting   S/PV.5905
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20080605
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: La, Yifan
                 Country/Organization: China

230.UN Meeting   S/PV.5832
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20080208
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Wang, Guangya
                 Country/Organization: China

231.UN Meeting   S/PV.5789
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20071205
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Liu, Zhenmin
                   Country/Organization: China

232.UN Meeting   S/PV.5784
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20071127
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Wang, Guangya
                   Country/Organization: China

233.UN Meeting   A/C.3/62/SR.29
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20071029
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Ke, Yousheng
                   Country/Organization: China

234.UN Meeting   S/PV.5727
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20070731
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Wang, Guangya
                   Country/Organization: China

235.UN Meeting   S/PV.5571
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20061122
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Liu, Zhenmin
                   Country/Organization: China

236.UN Meeting   A/C.3/61/SR.26
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20061020
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Guo, Jiakun
                   Country/Organization: China

237.UN Meeting   S/PV.5528
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20060918
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Li, Junhua
                   Country/Organization: China

238. UN Meeting   S/PV.5520
     Record Symbol:
     Speech Date: 20060911
     Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Liu, Zhenmin
                         Country/Organization: China

239. UN Meeting   S/PV.5519
     Record Symbol:
     Speech Date: 20060831
     Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Wang, Guangya
                         Country/Organization: China

240. UN Meeting   A/C.5/60/SR.58
     Record Symbol:
     Speech Date: 20060612
     Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Wang, Xinxia
                         Country/Organization: China

241. UN Meeting   S/PV.5439
     Record Symbol:
     Speech Date: 20060516
     Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Zhang, Yishan
                         Country/Organization: China

242. UN Meeting   S/PV.5434
     Record Symbol:
     Speech Date: 20060509
     Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Li, Zhaoxing
                         Country/Organization: China

243. UN Meeting   S/PV.5423
     Record Symbol:
     Speech Date: 20060425
     Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Wang, Guangya
                         Country/Organization: China

244. UN Meeting   A/C.3/60/SR.47
     Record Symbol:
     Speech Date: 20051123
     Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Xie, Bohua
                         Country/Organization: China

245. UN Meeting   A/C.3/60/SR.26
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20051027
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: La, Yifan
                      Country/Organization: China

246. UN Meeting   A/C.5/59/SR.44
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20050413
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Wang, Xinxia
                      Country/Organization: China

247. UN Meeting   S/PV.5158
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20050331
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Wang, Guangya
                      Country/Organization: China

248. UN Meeting   S/PV.5153
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20050329
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Wang, Guangya
                      Country/Organization: China

249. UN Meeting   A/C.3/59/SR.51
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20041123
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Xie, Bohua
                      Country/Organization: China

250. UN Meeting   S/PV.5082
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20041119
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Wang, Guangya
                      Country/Organization: China

251. UN Meeting   S/PV.5043
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20040924
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Wang, Guangya
                      Country/Organization: China

252. UN Meeting   S/PV.5040
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20040918
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Wang, Guangya
                        Country/Organization: China

253. UN Meeting   S/PV.5015
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20040730
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Zhang, Yishan
                        Country/Organization: China

254. UN Meeting   A/C.3/57/SR.56
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20021120
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Xie, Bohua
                        Country/Organization: China

255. UN Meeting   A/C.3/57/SR.37
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20021106
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Zhang, Meifang
                        Country/Organization: China

256. UN Meeting   E/2002/SR.39
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20020725
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Xie, Bohua
                        Country/Organization: China

257. UN Meeting   A/C.3/56/SR.53
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20011130
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Shen, Guofang
                        Country/Organization: China

258. UN Meeting   A/C.3/55/SR.35
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 20001025
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Yu, Wenzhe
                        Country/Organization: China

259. UN Meeting   A/C.3/54/SR.34
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 19991105
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Yu, Wenzhe
                       Country/Organization: China

260. UN Meeting   S/PV.3690
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 19960816
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Qin, Huasun
                       Country/Organization: China

261. UN Meeting   S/PV.3660
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 19960426
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Qin, Huasun
                       Country/Organization: China

262. UN Meeting   S/PV.3627
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 19960131
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Qin, Huasun
                       Country/Organization: China

263. UN Meeting   A/C.3/47/SR.58
    Record Symbol:
    Speech Date: 19921204
    Speaker/affilation: Speaker: Zhang, Yishan
                       Country/Organization: China