

Notes

1 The Study of Sovereignty, Intervention and Peace Operations in International Relations

1. Out of the current 16 peace missions, 7 are in Africa (UN Factsheet, 2011).
2. With the term institutionalization I refer to the fact that there are no clear guidelines on how regional organizations should behave in case of an intervention, apart from Chapter VIII in the UN charter, which is rather vague and hard to classify as guidelines.
3. In the concept of peace-operation literature, I include state and institution-building, and analyses of international administration as they all aim for stabilization of the state.

2 Analysing a Moving Target: The Complex Concept of Sovereignty

1. This is an altered version of the phrase: 'Rose is a rose is a rose is a rose' from the *Sacred Emily* poem in Gertrude Stein's 1922 book *Geography and Plays*, which is often interpreted as 'things are what they are'.
2. Rare exceptions to this rule exist, see for example the derecognition of Kosovo in the Serbian case.
3. This does not exclude variations or changes in the operational meaning of sovereignty, see Biersteker (2002, p. 167).
4. The analytical tools in this framework have been inspired by Weber (1995).
5. Compare this with Alexander Wendt's idea of 'anarchy' in Wendt (1992).
6. To simplify the reading, I have placed postmodernists, poststructuralism and critical theory in the category of relativists, despite the differences between them. This is because the main difference between these approaches and constructivism remains the same.
7. To emphasize the think line between postmodernists and constructivists, see Ruggie's work for additional discussions about postmodernist constructivists and Hopf's work on critical constructivists (Hopf, 1998, pp. 171–200; Ruggie, 1998, pp. 855–885).
8. The notion of interpretive community is borrowed from Weber, 1995, and Fish, 1980.
9. Additional arguments supporting this analysis of Weber's interpretive community can be found in Balzacq, 2005, p. 176, as the author insists on the fact that a speech act needs to be sincere. This is not always the case with a legitimizing discourse addressed at an interpretive community.
10. Intertextuality does not replace intersubjectivity but is complementary to it.

11. As always there are exceptions to the rule and Kosovo could, for example, be discussed as a case where the legal sovereignty of Serbia has been destabilized.
12. This does not mean that the author considers an intervention in this case illegitimate, just that the justification for an intervention will need to have another foundation in order to work.
13. One might argue that this is also the case in states with a dictatorship, that the logic of representation is absent and hence the political aspect of sovereignty is destabilized in the sense that the people no longer constitute the basis for sovereignty.

3 Intervention, Justifications and Interpretations: The Case of ECOWAS in Liberia

1. The reason the EU is not included in this analysis is simply because it was not a major player in the international field at the time. The organization became one before the war was over and is today one of the main actors in Liberia. However, for this particular analysis it did not play a crucial role so is left out.
2. Among those promoted were Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, the current president at the time of writing (2011). Harris (1999, p. 432).
3. Opinions differ greatly in the literature as to whether the decision was in accordance with the UN charter; whether the mission was sent as a peacekeeping force or rather as a force aimed only at preventing Charles Taylor from getting into power; and whether the intervention was successful or not (See for example Aderinsola 1996, pp. 149–183; Mortimer, 1996, pp. 149–165; Van Walraven, 1999; Gershoni, 1997, pp. 55–76; Aboagye and Bah, 2005; Bøås, 2005, pp. 73–88; Déme, 2005).
4. ULIMO was created in Sierra Leone with help from the government by anti-Taylor refugees from Liberia. The government in Sierra Leone supported the rebels as revenge for Taylor's help in the formation of a rebel faction in Sierra Leone; the Revolutionary United Front, who started a civil war in 1991 in Sierra Leone (See for example Ellis, 1995, p. 170; Howe, 1996, p. 156; Van Walraven, 1999).
5. The SMC only had an official mandate to work as a mediator in interstate conflicts (See Van Walraven, 1999, p. 36).
6. For more details on the constitution of ECOWAS's different institutions, see Van Walraven (2005, pp. 14–18).
7. 'Should the Security Council consider that measures provided for in Article 41 would be inadequate or have proved to be inadequate, it may take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security.' (UN Charter, Chapter VII, Article 42).
8. Emphasis added.
9. See for example the discussions relating to this: 'The Reagan Administration admitted to the Congress that the Doe Government did not, in fact, meet the high standards for democratic and human rights practices that Congress had established. At the same time, it was willing to ignore the fact that the 1985 election was fraudulent, and that serious irregularities in human

- rights abuses had existed throughout the process.' In the US House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Africa of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, 101st Congress, 2nd Session, Hearing on US Policy and the Crisis in Liberia, 19 June 1990, in Weller, 1994, pp. 43–57.
10. For a more detailed explanation concerning the rules and provisions of ECOWAS on this matter, see Déme (2005, pp. 60–63); Van Walraven (1999, pp. 27–28).
 11. Burkina Faso, the Ivory Coast and to a certain degree Nigeria were supposedly supporting different factions in the conflict.
 12. There was, however, yet another external supporter of the conflict which could be found in Libya, but this was never mentioned in the motivations for the intervention, see Déme (2005, p. 60).
 13. Speaking to foreign journalists in Monrovia on 11 June, President Doe had 'expressed hope that the USA will join Liberia in searching for peace in the current conflict' (*BBC Monitoring Report*, 14 June 1990 in Weller, 1994, p. xxii; Wippman, 1993, pp. 159, 165; Van Walraven, 1999, p. 111).
 14. The reason for the importance of this discussion is that a UN authorization of the intervention would have made the action legal and therefore also largely uncontested in the international community. Aboagye and Bah (2005, p. 2).
 15. See Corten for another view on this issue, who is considering that Doe's letter gave ECOWAS permission to intervene without UNSC authorization, as it is only in circumstances of coercion that the authorization is needed. He also emphasizes that the parties to the conflict came to accept one of many peace accords proposed by ECOWAS as a sign of non-coercive action. However, ECOWAS never stated the letter as a reason to intervene; instead they claimed that there was no functioning government, thus intervening to remedy the chaos in the state. Secondly, at the time of the intervention, not all parties to the conflict agreed on its legitimacy. The strongest party at the time, the NPFL who controlled most of the country, was against the intervention, Corten (2008, pp. 569–579).

4 Sanctions, Justifications and Reactions: The Case of the Regional Initiative in Burundi

1. The secretary-general suggested a military presence in Zaire ready to intervene rapidly in Burundi if the situation worsened. See UN, S/1995/1068, 29 December 1995.
2. The Mwanza peace process was initiated in late April 1996, with Nyerere hosting a series of talks between the leaders of UPRONA and FRODEBU; see Hoskins and Nutt (1997, p. 6).
3. It is obviously a question open for discussion whether these states actually had a functioning democratic system or not at the time of the sanctions, but officially this was the case.
4. This can be compared with the US intervention in Panama depicted in Weber (1995, pp. 16, 102–106).
5. This was, however, the case with the US intervention in Panama, see Weber (1995, pp. 16, 102–106).

6 Capacity-Building and Local Ownership: Indicators of Sovereignty?

1. For a general view on sovereignty from the perspective of the local population in states with UN missions, see Pouligny (2004, pp. 199–237).
2. The next sections will develop thoughts I earlier discussed in Wilén (2009).
3. The resolution adopted by the UN General Assembly at the end of the world summit refers to the word ‘democracy’ more than 13 times, and states the following: ‘We reaffirm that democracy is a universal value based on the freely expressed will of people to determine their own political, economic, social and cultural systems, and their full participation in all aspects of their lives’ (A/RES/60, 16 September 2005, paragraph 135; for more on this subject, see Delcourt and Wilén, 2007, pp. 57–97).
4. See, for example, the reaction of Venezuela to the idea of imposing any kind of reconstruction process to the failed states (S/PV.5225, 12 July 2005, p. 25) or ‘General assembly, by one of several texts adopted, defers start of transition period for graduation of Maldives from least developed country list’ (General Assembly, GA/10427, 30 November 2005, available at: www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2005/ga10427.doc.htm; for more on failed states, see Chapaux and Wilén, 2009).
5. This is comparable to Schwarz and Jütersonke’s statement concerning the elections in Iraq: ‘It seems that the actual result of the elections is to give greater international legitimacy to the military occupation’ (Schwarz and Jütersonke, 2005, p. 660).

7 Destabilization: So What? An Analysis of the Political Consequences of the Interventions on a Regional and International Level

1. However, legally ECOWAS still needs to ask the Security Council for authorization, as both ECOWAS and its members have endorsed the UN charter.
2. The sort of power used in the expression, ‘balance of power’, refers here to the traditional realist interpretation as the ability to use material resources to get others to do what they otherwise would not; for a version of this see Dahl (1957, pp. 201–215).
3. For a longer discussion concerning this problem – intervening forces prolonging an internal conflict – see Ignatieff (2003, pp. 316–317).
4. Some authors argue that the refugees can also be seen as an asset for Tanzania, see Ongpin (2008, pp. 13–23).
5. Here, middle power refers to the definition used by Schoeman as the size and rank which places the state in an international division of labour in which they have the opportunity of exerting a type of moral influence on the international system, a role it accepts and actively seeks to play, see Schoeman (2003, p. 351).
6. This topic is debated as the UN police commissioner, Mohammed Alhassan, said in a press conference that: ‘I normally hear the LNP is not armed. The LNP is armed. Every night the LNP armed over 20 to 25 officers on anti-robbery patrols... We only armed officers who are going on duties that

require the use of arms', while the LNP inspector general said: 'We have few arms and arrangement is being made to have more arms. But these things take time. So the UN still has supervision on this' see UNMIL, weekly press briefing, 2 January 2008. All the interviewees I talked to during my field trip, including a UN CIMIC responsible, said that the Liberian police were not allowed to carry arms, resulting in a dependency on the UN force: 'Who are the first people that they call when there is a dispute? ... who's the 911? Well, it is the force [UNMIL], but it really should be the police', Interview with UN CIMIC responsible in Monrovia, 26 April 2008.

7. In December 2006, 300 elite UN-trained officers were allowed to carry arms, but the large majority of the police force remains unarmed, see BBC News, Africa, '*New Liberia police get first guns*', 1 December 2006.
8. The section on Burundi and the PBC is to a large part drawn from the paper: 'Can you express your discontent when you are considered a failed state? From an ethic of identity to an ethic of capacity', co-written with V. Chapaux and presented at the World Congress of Political Science, IPSA, Santiago, Chile, 12–16 July 2009.
9. 'To prevent states from sliding back into conflict or to develop into failed states must be one of the top priorities of the UN in the years to come' – Statement by the president of the UN general assembly H.E. Jan Eliasson at the first session of the organizational committee of the peacebuilding commission, UN headquarters, New York, 23 June 2006.
10. The fact that the UN could enter so much into the idea of peacebuilding was criticized by the state of Venezuela – Kherad (2008, p. 266).
11. What is interesting to observe is that Burundi changed its priorities only two months after the first meeting, in which it had expressed a detailed account of its wishes to a wider and more fuzzy approach, stating that: '[Burundi] had identified good governance, security, the strengthening of justice, promotion of human rights, land ownership and budgetary support as key peacebuilding priorities', see UN, PBC/1/BDI/SR.1, 12 December 2006, paragraph 5.

8 Concluding Remarks

1. This can of course be discussed if they are actually intended to function 'just' as 'rhetorical legitimizers' rather than as channels of participation, but here I judge from what is written in the UN documents without trying to interpret the additional intentions behind their objectives.
2. As the previous section explained, the conditionality in itself was not the triggering cause of the interventions, what is meant here is the underlying idea of particular conditions that need to be fulfilled in order for a state to enjoy complete sovereignty.

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Index

- absolute authority, 11, 22, 29, 59, 112
- absolute sovereignty, 14, 18, 22
- accountability, 30
- African Great Lakes, 78, 84
- African Mission in Burundi (AMIB), 69
- African Union (AU), 6, 147, 154, 158
- African 'World War,' 93–7
- Agenda 21, United Nations, 121
- Agenda for Peace, A* (Ghali), 16
- Ajello, Aldo, 109
- Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo–Zaire (AFDL), 94
- Americo-Liberians, 40
- analytical tools
 - in domestic community, 26
 - in interpretive community, 26
 - intersubjectivity, notion of, 26
 - logic of representation, 26
 - for social constructivism, 26
- Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL), 42–3, 57, 148
- Arusha accord, 68–9
- assistance
 - external, 37, 173–7, 187
 - financial, 149
 - foreign, 33, 70
 - humanitarian, 67, 86
 - military, 104–5
 - security, 70, 71
 - technical, 128
- authority
 - absolute, 11, 22, 29, 59, 112
 - Burundian, 80
 - central, 32
 - co-signature, 161
 - complete, 21
 - de facto, 21, 22, 35–7, 159
 - discursive, 29
 - ECOWAS, 46, 50–1, 147
 - empowerment of, 33
 - exclusive, 36, 159
 - final, 173–4
 - governing, 36, 153
 - independent, 19
 - internal, 152–3
 - political, 11, 137–8, 186
 - right to, 14, 33
 - sovereignty and, 20–1, 31, 187
 - of state, 148
 - supreme, 19
 - ultimate, 19, 158, 162–4, 168, 173, 175
 - United Nations (UN), 176
 - unrepresentative, 137
- Banyamulenge rebellion, 94
- Banyarwandas, 94
- Bemba, Jean-Pierre, 96
- Blue Helmets, 71, 176
- Bryant, Gyude, 44
- Bujumbura, A., 72, 133
- Burundi
 - Government of, 71
 - regional initiative in, 63–91
 - sanctions imposed on, 150–5
 - South Africa, opportunities for, 150–5
 - sovereignty, stabilization of, 38
 - Tanzania, opportunities for, 150–5
 - United Nations in, 164–8
- Buyoya, Major Pierre, 66, 82–3
- capacity-building and local ownership, 116–44
- arbitrary implementation of, 127–9
- capacity-taking vs., 133–6
- concepts of, 143
- contradictory consequences of, 140–2
- functions of, 136–42
- legitimizing, filling of, 137–40
- local ownership, 123–5

- capacity-building and local ownership – *continued*
- operational indicators, translating sovereignty to, 117–25
- paradoxical, results of interpretation of sovereignty and, 142–4
- to peace operations, conceptual history on, 120–3
- states' sovereignty, reinforcement of target, 136–42
- time pressure, dependency syndrome and, 129–33
- United Nations, legitimacy of, 136–42
- capacity-taking, 133–6
- Central Africa, 65
- central authority, 32
- Charter of the United Nations, 71
- Civil War, 42–4, 66–70
- co-signature authority, 161
- co-sovereignty, 160–1
- Cold War, 26, 125
- collective legitimization, 137, 138, 142
- collective security, 104
- collective self-defense, 157
- colonization, 165
- Comité international d'Accompagnement de la transition (CIAT), 169
- community
 - domestic, 26, 29–31, 36, 39, 49–50, 60, 88–90, 103
 - epistemic, 27
 - external, 75
 - global, 14–15, 146
 - international, 1–3, 12–14, 20, 26, 32, 43–5, 138, 140
 - interpretive, 13, 26–9, 38–9, 48, 54, 80, 86, 109–10, 115
 - political, 11
 - regional, 114
- conditional sovereignty, 15, 17
- conditionality, 185–6
- Congolese Military, 132
- Congolese Rally for Democracy (RCD), 95, 98
- Constitution of Liberia, 50
- constructive sovereignty, 11, 23
- continuity of sovereignty, 19
- control and sovereignty, 20–1
- cosmopolitans, 15–16
- country ownership, 118
- de facto authority, 21, 22, 35–7, 159
- de facto sovereignty, 14
- defense and security, 98–9, 157
- Democratic Liberation Forces of Rwanda (FDLR), 156
- Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), crisis in, 93–7
 - African 'World War,' 93–7
 - heart of darkness during, 93–7
 - United Nations in, 169–75
- democratic values, 74, 110–11
- Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), 139
- dependency syndrome, 129–33
- destabilization, 1, 3, 8, 31–8
 - external, 36–7
 - interventions for, 32–4
 - justifications for, 188–9
 - in Liberia, 58–62
 - peace initiatives and, 31–2
 - political aspects of, 34–5
 - population and, role of, 35–6
 - in regional initiative, outcome of, 88–91
 - in South African Development Community, 112–15
 - types of, 34–8
- diplomatic initiatives, 107
- disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR), 177
- discursive authority, 29
- Doe, Samuel, 41–3, 45, 47, 49, 52, 54, 59, 104, 146
- domestic community, 26, 29–31, 36, 39, 49–50, 60, 88–90, 103
- ECOMIL, 44
- Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), 6, 25, 39–62, 103
 - authority of, 46, 50–1, 147
 - interpretive community, 28
 - interventions by, 39, 146–50

- Protocol for Mutual Assistance on Defense (PMAD), 50–1
- Standing Mediation Committee, 28, 54
- ECOWAS Ceasefire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), 42–3, 45–8, 57, 148
- European Union (EU)
 - international community, 84–5, 108–9
 - sovereignty in, 21
- exclusive authority, 36, 159
- exercise of power, 11, 16
- external assistance, 37, 173–7, 187
- external destabilization, 36–7
- external sovereignty, 13–14, 19, 21, 22, 29, 37
- final authority, 173–4
- Firestone Company, 40
- Front for Democracy in Burundi (FRODEBU), 66–7, 69
- Front-Line States (FLS), 97, 100–1
- genocide in 1972, 65–6
- Global and All-Inclusive Agreement on the Transition in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, 96
- global community, 14–15, 146
- global values, 2
- good governance, 117–18
- Governance and Economic Management Assistance Program (GEMAP), 161, 174
- governing authority, 36, 153
- government, sovereignty and role of, 33
- government destabilization, 36
- human rights, 16
- human security, 17, 89
- human values, 15
- humanitarian assistance, 67, 86
- humanitarian interventions, 33–4
- Hutus, 64–7, 69–70, 94–5
- independence, assertion of, 164–6
- Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (INPFL), 42–3, 57, 148
- inequality, 14–15
- inner legitimization, 16
- institution-building, 121
- institutional power, 149–50
- Integrated Office in Burundi (BINUB), 69, 125–8, 131, 166, 168, 177
- interdependence, 21
- Interim Government of National Unity of Liberia, 50, 57
- internal legitimization, 16
- internal sovereignty, 13–14, 22, 29, 37
- International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, 3, 17
- international community, 1–3, 12–14, 20, 26, 32, 43–5, 138, 140
 - European Union, 84–5, 108–9
- International Contact Group for Liberia (ICGL), 159
- international interventions, 2, 5
- International Monetary Fund (IMF), 108, 124, 161
- international relations, 1–9
- international sovereignty, 1–6, 8–9, 10–11, 14–15, 20
- International Stabilization Force, 159
- international values, 138
- interpretations of sovereignty, 2, 3–4
 - analysis of, 10, 23–38
 - changing, 23
 - reconstructing, 28
 - of social constructivism, choice of, 23–31
- interpretive community, 13, 26–9, 38–9, 48, 54, 80, 86, 109–10, 115
- Interstate Defense and Security Committee (ISDSC), 101
- intersubjectivity, 26
- intertextuality, 28–9
- intervening power, 35
- intervention by invitation, 32–3
- interventions
 - based on conditionally, 185–6
 - for destabilization, 32–4
 - humanitarian, 33–4
 - legal basis for, official reasons and, 99–106
 - legal bias for, 47–51

- interventions – *continued*
 military, 32–4
 multilateral, 3
- Johnson-Sirleaf, Ellen, 44
 judicial power, 35
 justifications
 for destabilization, 188–9
 for interventions, 3–4
- Kabila, Joseph, 95, 96, 101, 104, 106,
 111, 156, 169
 Kabila, Laurent, 92, 96, 169
 Kagame, Paul, 77, 94, 156
- legal sovereignty, 11, 14, 19, 21–2
 legislative power, 81
 legitimization
 capacity-building and local
 ownership, filling of, 137–40
 collective, 137, 138, 142
- Liberia
 actors involved in, 45–51
 army of, 160
 Civil War in, 42–4
 Constitution of, 50
 destabilization in, outcome of,
 58–62
 historical background of, 40–4
 Interim Government of National
 Unity of, 50, 57
 internal disagreements within, 46–7
 international community, reactions
 from, 51–8
 interventions in, 39–40
 sovereignty, stabilization of, 8, 26,
 38
- Liberians United for Reconciliation
 and Democracy (LURD), 43
 local ownership, 120, 123–5
 logic of representation
 analytical tools for, 26
- Løj, Ellen Margrethe, 160
- Mandela, Nelson, 68, 100, 101, 105,
 108, 155
 middle power, 154–5
 military assistance, 104–5
 military interventions, 32–4
 military power, 149, 151, 156
 Mobutu, Joseph, 94, 95
 Monrovia, 52, 59, 130, 132–3,
 160
- Movement for Democracy in Liberia
 (MODEL), 43
 Movement for the Liberation of the
 Congo (MLC), 96
 Mugabe, Robert, 98, 100, 101, 103,
 104, 111, 113, 155
 multilateral interventions, 3
- National Council for the Defense of
 the Democracy (CNDD), 164–6
 National Council for the Defense of
 the Democracy-Forces for the
 Defense of Democracy
 (CNDD-FDD), 69–71
 national ownership, 119, 120, 121,
 124, 126, 131–2, 135
- National Patriotic Front of Liberia
 (NPFL), 42, 45, 47, 55, 57, 146
- National Union for the Total
 Independence of Angola (UNITA),
 99, 111, 155
- Ndadaye, Melchior, 66, 70
 negative sovereignty, 19
 neo-colonialism, 155
 neo-imperialism, 155
 Nkurunziza, Pierre, 69
 non-governmental organizations
 (NGOs), 68, 70, 80, 103, 152, 165
 norm, sovereignty as, 11
 normative aspects of sovereignty,
 14–16
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization
 (NATO), 20
- Nyerere, Julius, 68, 79, 84–5, 87,
 150–1
- Observer Mission in the Democratic
 Republic of the Congo (MONUC),
 96, 125–6, 158, 171
- Operation Sovereign Legitimacy
 (OSLEG), 98, 99, 101
- Opérations de Nations Unies au Burundi*
 (ONUB), 125, 126–7
- Operations in Burundi (ONUB), 69,
 128–31, 136, 158, 164–5, 174, 176

- Organization of African Unity, 76
- Organization of African Unity (OAU), 39, 79, 102, 150
international community, 54–5,
85–6, 109–10
- Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUSCO), 97, 127
- ownership
country, 118
cultural property, 123
local, *see* local ownership
national, 119, 121, 124, 126, 131–2,
135
- Party for the Liberation of the Hutu People – National Liberation Forces (PALIPEHUTU – FNL), 69
- PBC, 166–8, 174, 177
- Peace Building Commission,
adaptation of conditions of,
166–8
- peace initiatives and destabilization,
31–2
- peace-operations
conceptual history on, 120–3
interventions in, 9
sovereignty in, 4–5, 9
- People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola – Labour Party (MPLA), 99
- political authority, 11, 137–8,
186
- political power, 9, 41, 119
- political sovereignty, 14, 34–5
- population
destabilization and, role of, 35–6
as foundation for sovereignty,
29, 33
- positive sovereignty, 19
- power
absolute, 21
exercise of, 11, 16
institutional, 149–50
international middle, 154–5
legitimization of, 11, 16
military, 149, 151, 156
political, 9, 41, 119
regional, 109, 147, 155, 156
- PricewaterhouseCoopers, 171
- Protocol for Mutual Assistance on Defense (PMAD), 50–1
- rationalist perspective on social
constructivism, 24–5
- rationalist perspective on sovereignty,
23–4
- regional and international level
sovereignty, 145–78
in Burundi, 146–58
in Liberia, 146–58
in United Nations, 158–75
- regional initiatives
in Burundi, 63–91
destabilization of sovereignty in,
outcome of, 88–91
international community reactions
from, 79–87
sanctions, actors and decision for
imposing, 70–8
segregation, 63–70
- regional power, 109, 147, 155, 156
- Regional Sanctions Coordinating
Committee (RSCC), 75, 80
- regional security, 51, 89, 155
- relativist perspective on social
constructivism, 24–5
- responsibility, sovereignty as,
16–18
- Responsibility to Protect, The*, 3, 17, 56,
61, 118
- Rwandan Patriotic Front, (RPF) 94
- sanctions
Burundi, imposed on, 150–5
internal discussions on, unofficial
reasons and, 76–8
regional initiative, 70–8
- Scott Fellowship Programme, 134
- Second Arusha Regional Summit,
72–3, 88
- security
collective, 104
defense and, 98–9, 157
human, 17, 89
regional, 51, 89, 155
stability and, 51
security assistance, 70, 71

- Security Sector Reform (SSR), 170, 173
- segregation
- Civil war and, 66–70
 - elections in 1993, 66–70
 - genocide in 1972, 65–66
 - historical background on, 64–5
 - regional initiative, 63–70
- self-defense, collective, 157
- social constructivism, 23–31
- solidarists, 15
- South Africa, 150–5
- South African Development Community (SADC), 92–115
- creation of, 97–8
 - Democratic Republic of Congo, crisis in, 93–7
 - destabilization in, outcome of, 112–15
 - international community reactions from, 106–12
 - intervention in, 98–106
- Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC), 97
- sovereign authority, 31, 187
- sovereign state
- components of, 12
 - creation of, 12–13
 - prerequisites for, 12–22
 - solidarists *vs.* pluralist debate on, 14–16
 - state of sovereignty *vs.*, absolute *vs.* changing aspect of, 18–22
- see also* sovereignty
- sovereignty
- absolute, 14, 18, 22
 - academic debate over, 1, 2
 - analysis of, 29, 30–1, 180–1
 - changing aspects of, 19–20
 - conditional, 15, 17
 - constructive, 11, 23
 - decline of, 20, 21–2
 - destabilization of, 1, 3, 8, 31–8
 - external, 13–14, 19, 21, 22, 29, 37
 - internal, 13–14, 22, 29, 37
 - international, 1–6, 8–9, 10–11, 14–15, 20
 - interpretations of, 2, 3–6, 10, 23–38
 - intervention for stabilization of, 3, 37, 185–6
 - legal, 11, 14, 19, 21–2
 - normative aspects of, 14–16
 - in peace-operations, 4–5, 9
 - political, 14, 34–5
 - population as foundation for, 29, 33
 - rationalist perspective on, 23–4
 - relativist perspective on, 24–5
 - as responsibility, 16–18
 - as right, 11, 186–7
 - as rule, 11, 16
 - stabilization of, 38
 - state and, 12, 14–15, 17, 19, 31
 - as a status, 21–2
 - theoretical analysis of, 4, 185–9
- stabilization of sovereignty, 38
- Standing Mediation Committee (SMC), 28, 46–8, 50–1, 54
- state, sovereignty and
- boundaries between, 17
 - constitutive relationship between, 12, 19, 31
- state of sovereignty
- reinforcement of target, 136–42
 - sovereign state *vs.*, absolute *vs.* changing aspect of, 18–22
- status, sovereignty as, 21–2
- Subcommittee on Africa of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, 52
- supreme authority, 19
- Taylor, Charles, 42, 44–5, 47, 49, 55, 57, 59, 146–8
- Taylorland, 43
- theoretical analysis of sovereignty, 4, 185–9
- time pressure, dependency syndrome and, 129–33
- True Whig Party (TWP), 41
- trusteeship, 165
- Tutsis, 64–7, 69–70, 94–5
- ULIMO-J, 43
- ULIMO-K, 43

- ultimate authority, 19, 158, 162–4, 168, 173, 175
- Union for National Progress (UPRONA), 65, 67, 70–1, 164
- United Liberation of Liberia Movement for Democracy (ULIMO), 43
- United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL), 44, 57, 122, 125, 126, 132, 158, 160, 162
 - co-sovereignty, introduction of, 160–1
 - in Liberia, 159–64
 - United Nations (UN) mandates for, 161–4
- United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL), 43, 56–7
- United Nations (UN)
 - Agenda 21, 121
 - authority of, 176
 - in Burundi, 164–8
 - capacity-building and local ownership, legitimacy of, 136–42
 - Charter of the, 71
 - in the Congo, 169–75
 - Development Programme of, 134
 - Economic and Social Council of, 120
 - General Assembly of, 128
 - High Panel of, 17
- Integrated Office in Burundi (BINUB), 69, 122, 125–8, 131, 166, 168, 177
- international community, 55–7, 106–8
- Observer Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, 96, 125–6, 158, 171
- Operations in Burundi, 69, 128–31, 136, 158, 164–5, 174, 176
- Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo, 97, 127
- Security Council of, 46, 48, 55–6, 70, 79, 147, 158, 164
- sovereignty in, 38
- UNMIL in Liberia, 159–64
- United States (US)
 - Department of State of, 53, 81–4, 152
- values
 - common, 15, 99
 - democratic, 74, 110–11
- watershed event, 65
- weak states, 125
- Windhoek Treaty, 97
- World Bank, 124, 129, 161
- World Health Organization, 77