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Preface

In the program of the Master International Public management and Policy, a lot of courses focus on International organizations, the way these organizations were founded and how they work. The Actors, that is, the members of these International Organizations, are often nation states, represented by their Governments.

During a youth pilgrimage organized by the Dutch Order of the Holy Sepulchre I visited Israel en Palestine. Part of our journey had a religious aspect but we also learned about the situation in the Middle East. We had some discussions with Palestinian students at the University of Bethlehem about the conflicts between Israel and Palestine
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The stories of those students made me reflect on the issue. For them Palestine is a state, but in the International community Palestine is not fully recognized as such. The differences between Israel and Palestine were caused by numerous factors but my personal question was whether the two countries would be able to compete on other levels while their status is not the same. I realized that the two 'states' are different in so many ways that a case study on this subject can be expected to be extremely hard and frustrating.

But my interest in the way the International community deals with these different types of Actors remained. Due to the Globalization process, more and more issues are dealt with on a global level. With that, economic development has become more a global process than one of individual countries. This makes nation states increasingly dependent on other states, on international organizations but also on unrecognized areas and unofficial organizations.

I started the Masters program in international public management and policy in September 2005. I would like to express my gratitude to Frans van Nispen and Sonja Balsem for making this program possible and for their personal interest in every student.

I started this Research project almost a year ago, during this period I received a lot of support. First I would like to express my gratitude to Ko Colijn and Johan Posseth for their supervision on this research project. They guided me along the way and gave me a lot of feedback on how to proceed with the project. Next to that I would like to thank Agnes Trooster who helped me

to improve my English writing and pointed out some personal habits in my writing. Last but not least I would like to thank my parents for their support and their patience.

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction

There are many different ways of looking at the International Community. Different interests can cause different ways of looking at international problems but organizations with the same interest can also have completely different points of view. Realism and liberalism are examples of very popular theories on world politics.

Realism has been the dominant theory in world politics. Statism is the centrepiece of Realism, This involves two theories; first, the state is the pre-eminent Actor and all other Actors in world politics are of less significance. Second, state "sovereignty" implies the existence of an independent political community, one which has juridical authority over its territory (Baylis & Smith, 1999, p.112). Realism argues that all states have one main goal, which is survival; all other goals such as social or economic prosperity are low politics. Another key point of Realism is that no other state can be trusted when the survival of your own state is a stake; this principle is called 'self help'. Of course there are different forms of Realism but the main criticism remains the same. Self help is not an inevitable consequence of the absence of a world government; self-help is the game which states have chosen to play. Moreover, there are historical and contemporary examples of states having given preference to collective security systems, or forms of regional integration, instead of self-help (Baylis& Smith, 1999, p.119).

Liberalism is another theory in world politics. Early liberals rejected the idea that conflict was a natural condition for relations between states. Central to Idealism was the formation of an international organization to facilitate peaceful exchange, disarmament arbitration and (where necessary) enforcement (Baylis & Smith, 1999, p.154). And most other theories on international relations look at world politics with the fundamental idea that the international community consists of institutions such as states and international organisation

Because the World does not only consist of states, the international community has to deal with states but also with international non-governmental organizations, multinationals, unrecognized states, aggressive minorities and criminal networks.

1.2. Aim

The aim of this research project is to give a description of the current situation of the Actors that play on the International Field, in order to expose more than just formal and internationally accepted relations between Actors throughout the World.

The focus of the study has been on the Network theory as it is used in Public Administration. This theory is part of the existing body of knowledge of Public Administration. Especially the network theory of Anne Marie Slaughter has contributed to another focus on the International Community, this in contrast to the more traditional theory of neorealism.

The aim is to make this research Project useful for people who deal with international problems or international policy. It can show them a different approach to the International community and in particular the way unrecognized states are dealt with. Organizations such as the International Crisis Group, the UN but also national government officials can benefit from this research project

1.3 Research context and relevance

Most issues around unrecognized states have existed for several decades and are still present nowadays. Apparently it has not been possible to solve the problems that appear around these states. Newspapers on a random day feature a lot of articles related to unrecognized states. Such as an article about North and South Waziristan, formally parts of Pakistan. The Dutch quality paper NRC Handelsblad reports on the conclusion of a report by the International Crises Group, an international NGO, about the Pakistan government having signed agreements with tribal leaders in the area, who turned the region into a mini Taliban state.

Problems in unrecognized countries are also illustrated by an article about Palestinian skirmishes between Fatah and Hamas continuing and leading to an incident in which three little children were killed on 11 December 2006 while they were being driven to school. The two government parties within the Palestinian domain cannot come to an agreement about a new government due to their having different opinions about the "peace process". The conflict in the Middle East is expanding due to the current war between Israel and Hezbollah

on the one hand and the interference of Iran and other Arabic states with the Israel versus Palestine conflict on the other hand.

1.4 Objective

The world does not only consist of recognized states. Many more Actors play a role in the international field nowadays. This report is about the non recognized states. The objective of this research is to explore the current position of these "states" in the global arena. Therefore the official position of these unrecognized states has been elaborated on but this research focuses particularly on the way these 'states' function in the international community although they have no formal status.

Because the network theory focuses on formal as well as informal relations and Actors this theory has been used in this research project. The theoretical framework describes several types of network approaches and compares them and eventually this knowledge is applied to the case of unrecognized states.

1.5 Research questions

Main question;

Does the network approach contribute to a better understanding of the functioning of unrecognized states in the international community?

Sub questions;

1. What Actors can be defined at an international level?

2. What is the definition of a unrecognized state?

3. Which network theories are available and which theory is the most useful in the case of unrecognized states?

4. How can the functioning of a non-recognized state be measured?

5. How do the unrecognized states function?

1.6 Research Design

In order to answer the research questions a combination of two designs has been chosen. The first part of the study consists of a qualitative descriptive research of existing sources and literature. In order to get a clear picture of international law a review of the existing literature on this subject is given. Literature on states and the international community is used to get an overview of their historical and institutional development. And the final part of the literature study is an overview of international organisations in particular the UN.

The theoretical framework gives an overview on three different kinds of Actor network theories; the general actor network theory, the actor network theory applied in public administration and the network theory as described by Anne Marie Slaughter on the world order. In order to form the theoretical framework a qualitative descriptive research of existing sources and literature has been done.

The second part of this study contains an explorative case study. In this case study three unrecognized states have been investigated and compared. The focus of the case study is on the relations between the unrecognized states and the rest of the World. The theory of Anne Marie Slaughter has been applied to define these relations and whether these relations can be seen as government networks.

Design of the Case Study

A case study is defined by Robert Yin as following;

'A case study is a strategy for doing research which involves an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real life context using multiple sources of evidence' (Yin, 1981)

In this research a set of individual case studies has been used. In order to come to a good case study, a case study plan has been used. In Chapter 7 an overview is given on the three cases, this covers the background information. Following the reports are presented on whether the three cases have relations with the UN, NGOs and UNPO and what kind of relations this are. Next the cases are analyzed on the different indicators which are established according to the theory of Anne Marie Slaughter. The data collection for this case study is done by make use of existing sources and by visiting a conference on one of the cases.

The cases have been selected based on the criteria that are used to define the unrecognized states. Because unrecognized state is a very subjective definition it is useful to explain here what is meant with this term in this research project. The definition of unrecognized state used in this research has been the following;

Unrecogized state; *an area that possesses the actual conditions of statehood as they are defined by the international body of law but is not recognized as a state by most other states.*

The conditions of statehood defined by the international body of law are the following.

An independent government, the first condition of statehood is that there must exist a government independent of that of any other state, including the parent state.

Effective Authority the second requirement of statehood is a sufficient degree of internal stability as expressed in the functioning of a government enjoying the habitual obedience of the bulk of population.

Defined Territory The possession of territory is, notwithstanding some theoretical controversy which has accumulated round the subject, a regular requirement of statehood. An exception to this rule is when a country is occupied then the government can function in exile, for example in Second World War.

<div align="right">(Lauterpacht, 1947, p.30)</div>

International law and its approach on recognition are described further in section 4.2.

 A survey of all the 'unrecognized states' that meet with these conditions will be presented in the Appendixes.

Unrecognized states can have different statuses;

- partially recognized states largely under military occupation
- partially recognized states with de facto control over their territory
- unrecognized states with de facto control over their territory

These different statuses is further described in Chapter 6, out of each group one state is chosen for the Case study in this Research project. A total of three 'states' are analyzed and compared. In order to conclude whether the official status has influence on the way these 'states' participate in different networks. The unrecognized states which are commonly

characterized as such are: Abkhazia, Nagorno-Karabakh, Palestine, Republic of China, Somaliland, South-Ossetia, Tamil Elam, Transnistria, Waziristan and Western Sahara.

The 'states' that are chosen in this research are Abkhazia, Republic of China and Western Sahara. These states were chosen for as a case in this study because they are three different types of unrecognized states. All three have a very different background and are different on a social and economic level. These three different types a chosen in order to get a better view on the unrecognized states in general. In chapter 7 is investigated whether these 'states' participate in networks and what kind of networks that are.

 The different government networks that are described by Anne Marie Slaughter have been used to define whether these contacts are functional and on what level the relations are established. For each type of network an indicator is established and for each indicator is investigated whether the cases meet this indicator.

1.7 Limitations and pitfalls

Documentary analysis gives information on the fact whether relations exist and on what level the relations are established. A pitfall can be the fact that a relation can exist on paper but in real life is not as functional as it should be. Therefore it has been useful to search not only for documents that confirm a relation but also documents or studies that describe the kind of relation and the functionality of the relation.

The research of existing source has limitations such as the availability of those sources. While analyzing in some cases the information found has not been sufficient to conclude that a case meets a particular indicator; in that case the label "unknown" is used. The information available was not always sufficient to draw a reliable conclusion.

A possible researcher bias is the personal relation of the researcher. Because the researcher cannot be as objective as he or she wants to be on some subjects it is important that his or her opinion is formulated before starting the research. To limit this particular bias I have chosen not to analyze the case of Palestine, the fact that I have been there can be an advantage while

doing the research but my personal experiences there can influence the way I analyze the documents at hand.

The project consisted of a qualitative exploratory research of existing sources and literature. For content analysis sources have been used such as books, earlier studies and documents; the used sources can be found in the Literature list in Appendix 1. In order to get a clear view on International law, the evolution of countries and the way International Organizations influence World politics, mostly books and previous studies have been used. To get an idea of the position of recognized and unrecognized states, documents and information from the UN and the UNPO have been used.

Colin Robson (2002, p.358) formulated some advantages and some disadvantages of content analysis. The advantages are;

- When based on existing documents, it is unobtrusive. You can 'observe' without being observed.
- The data are in permanent form and hence can be subject to re-analysis, allowing reliability checks and replication studies.
- It may provide a low cost form of longitudinal analysis when a run or series of documents of a particular type is available.

Disadvantages he mentions are;

- The documents available may be limited or partial
- The documents have been written for some purpose other than for research, and it is difficult or impossible to allow for the biases or distortions that this introduces.
- It is very difficult to assess causal relationships. Are the documents causes of the social phenomena you are interested in, or reflections of them?

Because this project started with well defined research questions, the biases and distortions that can appear have been reduced to a minimum. The researcher has paid attention to the original aim of the documents and taken it into consideration while doing the analysis. Several books, studies and documents will be used in order to get all the information that is needed for the research.

1.8 Research Outline

In the next chapter the methodology is described. In this chapter the author will justify the choice for the research design and data collecting method. Besides that the possible pitfalls and limitations of the research are described.

In the part following the methodology, background information is given on the subject. In chapter four a short history on the international community is given. In chapter 5 the position of a state is analyzed in order to get a better view on the positions of the so-called unrecognized states.

In the theoretical framework the network theory is described and different forms of this network approach are compared. The cases in Chapter 7 are analyzed using the theory of Anne Marie Slaughter. In the last chapter the research question is answered and a final conclusion is drawn.

1.9 Research Scheme

<u>Starting point</u>; unrecognized state

How does an area become a state?

- Historical background on states, **section 3.2**

- Theoretical background on international law, the process of recognition and the right to self determination, **section 3.3**

- What is the role of the International Community in the process of recognition? **Section 4.1, 4.2**

- Besides states, which other players exist in the global arena, **section 4.3, 4.4, 4.5, 4.6**

Is there a theory available which helps to understand the functioning of unrecognized states in the international community?

- Network theory, **chapter 5**

- Especially the theory of Anne Marie Slaughter gives tools to understand the functioning of unrecognized states in the international community, **section 5.3**

Analysis of the Cases of Unrecognized states

- Introduction and background information on unrecognized states, **section 6.1**,

- Introduction of the three cases, **section 6.2**.

- The three cases ; whether they have relations with the UN,UNPO and NGOs, **section 7.1, 7.2, 7.3**

- Analysis by applying the criteria of Slaughter on the three cases, do the

unrecognized states function in a
government network as described by
Slaughter **section 7.4**
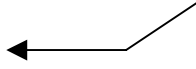
Conclusion; Answer to the research question, conclusion and recommendations

Chapter 3. Conceptual background on states

3.1 Introduction

In the following Chapter the history of the modern state has been described. In order to given a complete image about how the International Community has evolved and how the Modern state has come into being. The second section of this Chapter elaborates on the judicial principles of statehood. It describes the way recognition is noted in International Law.

3.2 History of the Modern state

The history of modern states begins with the ancient Greeks. The first types of governments formed their own nation and those city-states, called Polis, fought each other and other barbarian nations for the central command of the region. The different city-states together formed the first International society in Western history. They referred to themselves as Hellenes and the Hellenic international society consisted of city-states that were more or less independent of each other but shared a common culture that was essential to their cohesion as an international society. (Baylis & Smith, 2001, p.49) Other nations such as the Persians were not members of the Hellas society. They were called Barbarians with whom political relations were maintained but no cultural affinities or political associations.

City-states

The city-states all had their own identity but they shared common beliefs and they had the same religion as the other states. The Greeks did not possess an institution of diplomacy based on resident ambassadors, which was an invention of the Italian Renaissance. But nevertheless they developed a comparable institution, known as proxeny, which served the same basic function and involved local residents from other Greek cities (Wight, 1977, p.53) The ancient Greeks did not articulate a body of international law because they could not conceive of the polis as having rights and obligations in relation to other city-states on some basis of rough equality (Wight, 1977, p.51) The fact that there was no body of international law as we know it did not mean that there were no principles about the way the international relations between the Hellenic states were maintained. These principles were ordained by the Gods, who liked to interfere with normal life.

Roman political principles

But the Greek city-states were conquered by the Macedonians, who were displaced by the Romans afterwards. The Romans did not stop with their expansion until they had conquered almost all of Europe, a large part of the Middle East and North Africa. Because such a large area of land is hard to govern, a system of public administration was developed. The Roman Empire was a state with different inhabitants, religions and cultures. Rome was the only sovereign state and its relations with all other political communities in its domain were imperial rather than international. Instead of dialogue and conciliation between independent states, under the Roman Empire there was only the alternative of obedience or revolt.

Ottoman Empire

After the fall of the Roman Empire, states emerged in the Western part of the former Empire which were governed by a King with the help of a feudal system. The eastern part of the former Roman Empire became part of the Ottoman Empire, a Muslim imperial state that was ruled by the Ottomans Turks.

Feudal system

The feudal form of government is called the *Republica Christiana*: a universal society based on a joint structure of religious authority and political authority which gave at least minimal unity and cohesion to Europeans whatever their language and wherever their homeland happened to be (Wight, 1977, p.47) In the feudal system loyalty to their King was less important than loyalty towards the Church. This made the two interdependent and State and Church became indissolubly connected with each other.

Birth of modern independent state

In the course of time, however, the European kings gained more power and became the defenders of their nation. Because of this new role their authority rose and the Kings became less dependent on the Church. The medieval ecclesiastical-political order began to unravel during the sixteenth century under the impact of the Protestant Reformation and the new political theology of Martin Luther, which enhanced the authority of kings and the legitimacy of their Kingdoms. (Baylis& Smith, 2001, p.51)

During the Italian Renaissance people saw enlightenment in the arts and science launched by the recovery of ancient learning. During the Renaissance the Italians also invented the modern independent state. Another thing that we inherited from that period is diplomacy which was innovated by the papal state of Rome. The papal state was infamous for its nepotism and corruption but it made a diplomatic system with Roman ambassadors and rules for the diplomatic corps in Rome.

The modern territorial state was a derivative of the Italian Renaissance and the Protestant Revolution. These modern territorial states were the foundations of the classical European international society which was formed in the 16th & 17th centuries and completed in the 18 & 19th centuries. In this modern era, secular politics, and particularly the politics of the state and the art of statecraft, were liberated from the moral inhibitions and the religious constraints of the medieval Christian world (Baylis& Smith, 2001, p53.)

Conquest and states

All sovereign states have a history of conquering and being conquered. Countries expanded and became smaller again. In those wars a nation needed allies to survive an assault of another state. So it was important to build relationships with other countries in order to protect yourself for your enemies. In practice this meant that in particular the royal families of the western countries kept close contact with each other. Another way a country could become ruled by another is by royal marriages and inheritance.

Peace of Westphalia

The procedural starting point of modern European international society is usually identified with the peace of Westphalia. The peace of Westphalia was a treaty signed between the Habsburgs and other countries in order to end a war. The treaties of Westphalia formally recognized the existence of separate sovereignties in one international society. Religion was no longer a legal ground for intervention or war among European states.

The European society of states had several prominent characteristics that can be summarized as follows;

- It consisted of member states whose political independence and juridical equality was acknowledged by international law.

- Every member state was legitimate in the eyes of all other members

- The relations between sovereign states were managed, increasingly, by a professional corps of diplomats and conducted by means of an organized multilateral system of diplomatic communication.

- The religion of the international society was still Christian but that was increasingly indistinguishable from the culture, which was European.

- A balance of power between memberstates was conceived, which was intended to prevent any one state from making a bid for hegemony.

- And as result, wars between European states would from now on tend to be fought in the global south in the competition for colonial influence.

(Baylis& Smith, 2001, p.54)

Globalisation of European situation

A period of colonization emerged because of trade benefits but also to compete with other European nations and fight each other beyond European territory. This caused the transfers of colonial areas between the European countries. European definitions of International Law, diplomacy, and the balance of power thus came to be applied around the world and not only in Europe or the West. By the late nineteenth century continents previously inaccessible to European penetration, like the interior of Africa, were under the jurisdiction and manipulation of European powers. (Baylis & Smith. 2001, p.56)

A second stage of globalisation within the international society came about through reactive nationalism and anti-colonial struggles. The new political leaders of the former colonies used the Western idea of independence and self-determination. That involved a further claim for subsequent equal membership of a universal international society open to all cultures and civilizations without discrimination (Jackson, 1990). After the Second World War the number of sovereign states grew enormously and most of those new countries became members of the UN.

3.3 Recognition of states in International law

International Law is the body of Law that is established by international treaties. These treaties are signed and confirmed by states. Not all international treaties are signed and confirmed by all states of the world. That makes International Law not as binding as it could

be. The UN is a great player with regard to International Law; it is an Inter Governmental Organisation (IGO) that created institutions such as the International Court of Justice. The UN is the organisation that has the most power regarding international problems and international law. But the problem is that even if states are member of the UN they are not obliged to conform to all the treaties of the UN. So therefore a lot of International Law is determined by individual states. There is no global legal power that handles International issues.

As described above a lot of different entities exist which operate on an International level. But the main institution that operates globally is the state. The state is sovereign and has the authority to take decisions; it represents the people of that state. The birth of a lot of modern states has been described above. Some though became sovereign states long before others did and nowadays there are still a lot of regions in the world that are not recognized as a state or part of a state. So this raises the question; how can a state be recognized as such?

The International body of Law establishes the way states become recognized states. The following are the official conditions of statehood;

An independent government, the first condition of statehood is that there must exist a government independent of that of any other state, including the parent state.

Effective Authority the second requirement of statehood is a sufficient degree of internal stability as expressed in the functioning of a government enjoying the habitual obedience of the bulk of population.

Defined Territory The possession of territory is, notwithstanding some theoretical controversy which has accumulated round the subject, a regular requirement of statehood. An exception to this rule is when a country is occupied. Then the government can function in exile, as for example in the Second World War.

<div align="right">(Lauterpacht, 1947, p.30)</div>

The problem with recognition in international law is that there is no official institution that passes judgement on whether a territory should become a state. It is all up to the other states whether they recognize another state. The UN is an organisation that also passes judgement on these issues but the members of the UN are, again, states. In documents written on this subject it is argued that recognition is not only a case of International law but also a matter of

policy. Two theories on recognition are distinguished, the constitutive and the declaratory view on recognition.

According to Lauterpacht the constitutive theory culminates in two assertions; first, prior to recognition is that the community in question possesses neither the rights nor the obligations which international law associates with full statehood. Second, is that, recognition is a matter of absolute political discretion as distinguished from a legal duty owed to the community concerned.

The declaratory view on recognition can be described as a state existing as a subject of International law (i.e. as a subject of International rights and duties) as soon as it fulfils the conditions of statehood as laid down in international law. If recognition is purely declaratory of an existing fact, then what is the juridical significance of that fact? The answer to this question is subjective. Some argue that therefore it is a case of a political more than a legal act and others maintain that its sole legal effect is to establish ordinary diplomatic relations between the recognizing and the recognized state. (Lauterpacht, 1949, p.41)

Both these theories on recognition expose the dual position of the recognizing state as an organ administering international law and as a guardian of its own interest, must reveal itself in a disturbing fashion whenever there is an occasion for successfully using the weapon of recognition for the purpose of achieving political advantages. (Lauterpacht, 1949, p.67)

When a state is recognized as such, it is possible that the International Community does not favour a new regime or government. When crimes are committed or international agreements are broken the international community can impose sanctions on that government, such as arms embargoes or other measures. In the worst case a state can punish another state by withdrawing its diplomatic representatives and break off official diplomatic relations with that regime.

3.4 The right of self-determination

Another concept, which goes hand in hand with recognition of a state, is the right of self-determination. The right of self determination is a fundamental principle in the human rights law. It is a right according to which people can freely choice their own political status,

government and freely pursue economic, social and cultural development. The principle of self-determination is generally linked to the de-colonization process that took place after the promulgation of the United Nations Charter of 1945. The processes of de-colonization caused the birth of a lot of new states, because people of different colonies made use of the rights of self-determination and were recognized by the other states throughout the world.

Unfortunately, when we review situations invoking the principle of self-determination, we encounter what we must call the politics of avoidance: the principle of self-determination has been reduced to a weapon of political rhetoric. The international community, therefore, has abandoned people who have the claim to the principle of self-determination. We must insist that the international community address those situations invoking the right to self-determination in the proper, legal way. (Parker, 2000, p.1) Parker argues that the right of self-determination has lost its power and the world is neglecting some people that want to make use of this right. In the case of most unrecognized states this is part of the problem, sometimes a referendum on self determination has been held but the results of such a referendum are not accepted or recognized by all parties involved or by the international community. The fact that the right of self determination has lost its impact in some areas can have to do with historical or economic interest that the mother state or the neighboring states claim in that area.

3.5 Conclusion

In the old days states just occurred around a territory of a certain nation or they came into being by the conquering of other nation or states. The strongest nations could call themselves states and initiate international relations with each other. These relations were initiated to bring peace between the different states. And in order to optimize the stability and safety throughout the world they came up with a system of International Law.

Human rights law describes the principle of self-determination; an individual and collective right to choice freely for their own political status, government and freely pursue economic, social and cultural development. This gives people the right to establish their own nation state. But the next step is to become recognized as a state by other states throughout the world.

A Part of international Law is the regulations around recognition. The most striking aspect of these rules is that they leave it up to individual states whether they recognize another state as such. In theory it can happen that a region does have meet all the criteria of a state but internationally is not recognized as such. The fact that other states refuse to recognize such a region has apparently to do with other factors or interests.

Chapter 4. Background on the International Community

4.1 Introduction

The following Chapter is about the international community. How this community came into being is described in the previous chapter but in this Chapter the main institutions are described. Institutions such as the United Nations, UNPO and NGOs all play an important role in the international field. Also described in this Chapter are some other things that have an influence on the international community such as 'globalisation' and 'international law'.

4.2 The International Community

Over the centuries, international institutions and rules have grown stronger, more complex, and more important. The most important international organizations that we know today were created in the period after the Second World War, a period of hegemony. Hegemony is the holding by one state of a preponderance of power in the international system, so that it can single-handedly dominate the rules and arrangements by which international political and economic relations are conducted. (Goldstein, 2005, p.83)

International Organisations have proliferated rapidly the past decades, and they keep playing an important role in international affairs. There are intergovernmental organizations (IGO's) such as the UN; organizations where the members are a government or a state. Another form can be a non-governmental organization (NGO), such as the International Committee of the Red Cross. International Organisations vary in size and in functionality. The work field of NGO is usually more specified than that of an IGO. Most IGO's have functional purposes involving coordinating actions of some sets of states around the world. (Goldstein, 2005, p.259)

State sovereignty creates a real need for IOs on a practical level, because no central world government performs the functions of coordinating the actions of states for their mutual benefit. However, state sovereignty also severely limits the power of the UN and other IO's, because governments reserve power to themselves and are stingy in delegating to the UN or anyone else. (Goldstein, 2005, p.259)

In the following chapter the International Community and its most important organisations and influences are described. Starting with the UN and its main institutions followed by a piece on international law, diplomacy and this chapter ends with a description of the UNPO.

4.3 Globalisation

There are many definitions of Globalisation but in this research project the following is used; Globalisation refers to the reshaping of political, economic and cultural boundaries in relation to the expansion of the world capitalist market and its production & consumption patterns, the growth of forms and networks of communications and the widening of political associations and movements. (Youngs, 1999, p.19) This definition covers the major features of globalisation and is therefore chosen as the best definition in this research project. The effect of these features on world politics is described by Mary Kaldor; growing political interconnectedness, as expressed in the growth of international organizations, treaties, congresses and so on that is changing the character and the role of states. They are losing their autonomy in making and enforcing rules; their power to shape regulatory frameworks and policies that affect their societies lays not so much in acting unilaterally as in their membership of various regional or global arrangements. (Kaldor, 2003 p.112)

Due to globalisation the international community changed and the actors of that community such as states and IGOs became more dependent on each other. Globalisation has its effects on many aspects such as expanded international trade, telecommunications, monetary coordination, multinational corporations, technical and scientific cooperation, cultural exchanges of new types and scales, relations between the world's rich and poor countries. Because of these great changes throughout the world classic theories such as Realism and Liberalism are no longer sufficient for dealing with matters in the International Community. Globalisation changed the World in a way that institutions and rules on which those classic theories were built within the International Community became outdated.

4.4 The United Nations.

Because the United Nations in one of the biggest players in the international field and because it plays a part in this research the main institutions are described below. The role of the UN regarding unrecognized states is diverse. On one hand memberships of the United Nations is the confirmation of international recognition. The United Nations is not an international judge that passes judgment on whether or not a state should be recognized by other states. This is because the members of the UN are recognized states and these states can make their own decision on the recognition of another state. On the other hand is the UN one of the most important peace keepers in the world. Most of the unrecognized states appear in conflict areas so the UN is present to keep the peace or maintain stability in the region.

The forerunner of the UN was established with the treaty of Versailles at the end of the First World War. Its main goal was to promote international cooperation and to achieve peace and security.

The United Nations came into being in 1945 when the representatives of 50 countries met at the United Nations Conference on International Organization. During this conference the representatives drew up the UN Charter. The basis for this Charter was made by China, The Soviet Union, United Kingdom and the United States. On 24 October 1945 the United Nations officially came into existence after ratification of the Charter by the majority of the 51 members states.
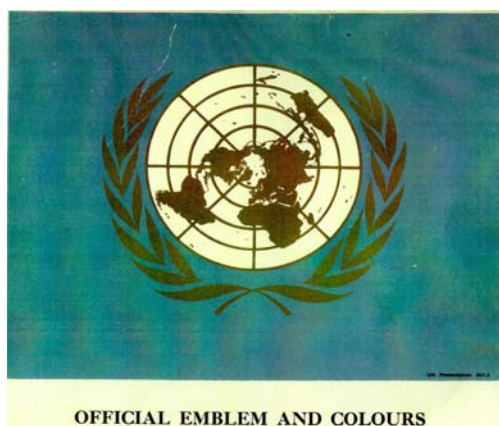
OFFICIAL EMBLEM AND COLOURS   Image 1.1. The Official Emblem of the United Nations. (www .un.org)

In the 1950's and 1960's, UN membership more than doubled as colonies in Asia and Africa gained independence. The interest of the new members differed from those of the Western industrialized countries and in many cases the new members resented having been colonized by Western nations (Goldstein, 2005, p.263).

The purpose of the United Nations is as set forth in the Charter, are to maintain international peace and security; to develop friendly relations among nations; to cooperate in solving international economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems and in promoting respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; and to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in attaining these ends. (http://www.un.org/aboutun/basicfacts/unorg.htm)

The UN Charter is based on the principles that states are equal under international law; that states have full sovereignty over their own affairs; that states should have full independence and territorial integrity; and that states should carry out their international obligations- such as respecting diplomatic privileges, refraining from committing aggression, and observing the terms of treaties they sign. (Goldstein. 2005, p.260)

The main organs of the United Nations are; the General Assembly, the UN Security Council, the UN Secretariat and the World Court. Apart from that, UN programs and a group of Autonomous Agencies operate on topics like social and economic development, human rights and humanitarian action.

The General Assembly

The representatives of all states take part in the General Assembly. The General Assembly coordinates a variety of third world development programs and other autonomous agencies through the Economic and Social Council. All 190 member states have one vote each. Through its credentials committee the general assembly has the power to accredit national delegations as members of the UN.

The UN Security Council

In the UN Security Council the five great powers and ten rotating member states take decisions about international peace and security. The Security Council is responsible for the dispatch of peacekeeping forces to trouble spots. (Goldstein, 2005, p.262) The decisions of the Security Council are binding for the UN member states. The five permanent members of the council are the United States, Britain, France, Russia and China. The other seats in the Security Council rotate between the other member states of the UN.

The UN Secretariat

The UN Secretariat is led by the Secretary General of the UN, who is nominated by the Security Council and must be approved of by the General Assembly. The Secretariat is the bureaucratic and administrative office for the UN policy and programs. The Secretariat is divided into different departments led by undersecretaries-general and the assistants-general. For Security matters, the Secretary General works with the Security Council personally.

Peacekeeping Force

Peacekeeping forces are not explicitly mentioned in the UN Charter. But these peacekeeping forces play an important role in the main goals of the UN. The forces, which are supplied by the member states, are supposed to modify conflicts; they play a neutral role in war zones. The forces are called the blue helmets; they are assembled by the Secretary-General, the forces are selected from states that are totally uninvolved in the conflict in which the soldiers must keep the peace.

4.5 International Law

International law and International norms limit state sovereignty. They create principles for governing international relations that compete with the core realist principles of sovereignty. International law, unlike national laws, derives not from actions of a legislative branch or other central authority, but from tradition and agreements signed by states. (Goldstein, 2005, p.277)

The sources of International law differ from sources of national law. Treaties are the most common source. There is a principle in international law once treaties have been signed and ratified they must be observed, to make sure that states will not violate the terms of the treaty. A treaty and other international obligations, are binding for successive governments. So whenever a new government takes over the power it has to stick to the international treaties signed by the previous government. The UN charter is one of the main treaties. It is a very broad and far-reaching treaty in comparison with most other treaties such as a treaty about fishery or trade.

Another form of International Law is called custom. This consists of a number of customs of the International Community which have become law over the past years. General principles of Law can also be seen as International Law, some things are forbidden in almost all national

legal systems so that makes them general and therefore part of International Law. The fourth source of International Law is Legal Scholarship. Legal Scholarships means the written arguments of judges and lawyers around the world on specific issues. Only the written documents of the most highly qualified and respected legal figures can be taken into account, and then only to resolve points not resolved by the first three sources of International Law. (Goldstein, 2005, p.279)

International Law is difficult to enforce. There is no world police force who can do that so it depends on the power of the states themselves, individually or collectively, to punish transgressors.(Goldstein, 2005, p.280) But states follow International Law most of the time because they want other states to do so as well. States also follow the international rules because of the general or long-term costs that could come from disregarding international law (rather than immediate retaliation). For example; if a state fails to pay its debts, it will not be able to borrow on world markets. If it cheats on the terms of the treaties it has signed, other states will not sign future treaties with it. The resulting isolation could be very costly (Goldstein, 2005, p.280).

This isolated position can also be caused by the different sanctions that can be imposed on the state that violates the law. These sanctions can be imposed by one but also by a group of states, and mostly consist of weapon or trade embargoes.

The International Court of Justice

The International Court of Justice is a branch of the UN and only states can sue or be sued in this Court. When a state has a grievance against another state, it can take the case to the World Court for an impartial hearing. The Security Council or general assembly can also ask advice of the court on matters of International Law. The weakness of the International Court of Justice is the fact that although most countries have signed the treaty of the Court, most of them have not agreed to subject themselves to its jurisdiction or obey its decisions in a comprehensive way. Only a third of those who signed the treaty have also signed the optional clause, which gives the Court the right of jurisdiction in certain cases. By doing this most countries kept their sovereignty and limited the power of the International Court. Because of the difficulty of attaining enforceable agreements on major conflicts through the World Court,

states have used the Court infrequently over the years; a dozen or fewer cases per year. (Goldstein, 2005, p282)

<u>Diplomacy.</u>

Membership in the International System rests on general recognition of a government's sovereignty within its territory. This recognition is extended formally through diplomatic relations and by membership of the United Nations. Diplomatic relations between states do not imply that a government has the support of the population but only that it controls the state's territory and agrees to accept its obligations in the international system, to accept internationally recognized borders, to accept the international debts of previous government, and to retain from interfering in other states' internal affairs. (Goldstein, 2005, p.76)

Diplomacy came into being in the Roman Empire and evolved during the centuries after that. Diplomatic relations nowadays are characterized by diplomatic norms, which can be seen as a part of International Law. These norms add standard rules of behaviour and certain diplomatic rights to International relations.

The status of embassies and of an ambassador as an official state representative is explicitly defined in the process of diplomatic recognition. Diplomats are accredited to each other's governments (they present "credentials"), and thereafter the individuals so defined enjoy certain rights and protections as foreign diplomats in the host country. (Goldstein, 2005, p.284)

Diplomats cannot be harmed in any way because they have diplomatic immunity. This means that they travel freely and also that they cannot be prosecuted for crimes. All the host country can do when a diplomat commits a crime is to expel the person from the host country. The immunity of the diplomats can come in handy for espionage and illegal trade but those things can never be proved because of the same immunity. Because states are very strict regarding the sanctity of diplomats, they make a tempting target for terrorists, and because terrorist groups do not enjoy the benefits of diplomatic law, they are willing to break diplomatic norms and laws. (Goldstein, 2005, p.286)

4.6 Non Governmental Organizations

Non Governmental Organizations (NGO) are transnational actors that interact with states, Multinational Corporations and other NGOs (Goldstein, 2005, p.13) These NGOs are increasing enormously and can vary from little organisations that handle a single issues but they can become large and powerful players in the International field. The International Red Cross and Greenpeace are examples of NGOs with a global reach and acquaintance. The goal of an NGO can vary; it can engage in political, religious, humanitarian, economic or technical matters.

Most NGOs can apply for subsidies from various sources, for example a tax exempt within a state, direct subsidies from a government or donations from private actors and corporations.

NGOs can often make use of their own transnational advocacy networks in order to combine their efforts. NGOs with broad purposes and geographical scope often maintain observer status in the UN so that they can participate in UN meetings about issues of concern.(Goldstein, 2005,p.259)

4.7 Unrepresented Nations and People Organization

The UNPO is an organisation that represents the unrepresented people. Its members are indigenous peoples, occupied nations, minorities and independent states or territories who have joined together to protect their human and cultural rights, preserve their environments, and to find non-violent solutions to conflicts which affect them. UNPO provides a legitimate and established international forum for member aspirations and assists its members in effective participation at an international level.(www.unpo.org) The differences between the members of UNPO are numerous but they have one similarity that is that they are not represented by a government in the International Community. The UNPO tries to fill in a gap in the current International system. UNPO was founded in order to combine the efforts of a few minority groups to be heard by the UN. Since the founding of UNPO six members has became a member of the UN.

The UNPO works close together with the UN on several topics. The UNPO support program at the UN grew out of the knowledge that unrepresented nations experience difficulties in bringing their concerns before the international bodies mandated to monitor and condemn such violations. Based on a rights-approach to international relations, UNPO established a strategy for enabling Members to solicit the diplomatic power of the UN system and international human rights instruments. (www.unpo.org)

Next to that the UNPO helps their members to address their cases with national government and the EU; it offers technical support and advisory services, preparation of seminars and training programs in order to prepare their members for participation in sessions of Human rights bodies. Then they have a few conflict preventing activities and a program to promote non-violence and democracy. And last but not least they facilitate fact finding and election monitoring missions.

4.8 Conclusion

The UN is one of the most powerful organisations on the international level. To become a member state of the UN a country has to be a recognized state. In the process of recognition the United Nations can play a big role, if a country is recognized as a state by the UN it is (generally spoken) recognized by the rest of the international community as well.

Another important aspect of the international community is diplomacy. The relations between states are shaped by diplomacy. The corps diplomatique are the national officials who represent their country across their borders. These diplomats for fill a ceremonial role but can also solve problems or share information and thus can be of great use to their home country. NGOs are increasing and become more influential. Therefore their position in the International system is becoming increasingly important.

The unrepresented nations and people organisation tries to fill in the gap that's exists between certain people in the world and institutions such as the United Nations. The members of UNPO are people who are otherwise not represented in the global arena. As a conclusion to the previous chapter a quote of Goldstein is used; *'A web of International organizations of various sizes and types now connects people in all countries. The rapid growth of this network, and the increasingly intense communications and interactions that occur with it, are indicative of rising international interdependence. These organisations in turn provide*

institutional mesh to hold together some kind of Word order even when leaders and contexts come and go, and even when norms are undermined by sudden changes in power relations . At the center of that web of connection stands the most important international organization of today, the UN.' (Goldstein,2005, p.259)

Chapter 5 Theoretical Framework

5.1 Introduction

The network theory is a theory that is used in social science. Because it can be applied to so many issues the network theory as used in this research project is specified in this theoretical framework. First the general principles of the actor-network theory are described as founded by John Law, Bruno Latour and Michel Callon. After that the focus is on the network approach of the Dutch Scholars in public administration. And thirdly the current trends and the network theory are combined in a description of Anne-Marie Slaughter's theory on a world order in which government networks play important roles. At the end of this theoretical framework the different approaches are compared in the concluding section.

5.2 The actor network theory

The network theory can be applied to different phenomena, such as technical networks, scientific networks, businesses and societies. The different actors form the network they "act" in. The way the actors interact with each other characterizes the Actor and its network.
Actors are "entities that do things" (Latour, 1992, p. 241)."The distinction between humans and non-humans, embodied or disembodied skills, impersonation or 'machination', are less interesting than the complete chain along which competences and actions are distributed." (p.243)It is not so important whether the actor is an official player in the international field such as states or multinationals but the way the actor interacts with other actors is the main focus of the actor network theory.

Apart from actors, network is the second central concept-hence the name actor-network theory. The term network is defined as a "group of unspecified relationships among entities of which the nature itself is undetermined." (Callon, 1993, p.263) The Actor is a part of the network but it can influence that network at the same time; the two cannot be studied separately. Michel Callon (1987, p.93) defines the interrelation between the two: "the actor network is reducible neither to an Actor alone nor to a network. Like a network it is composed of a series of heterogeneous elements, animate and inanimate, that have been linked to one another for certain period of time. An actor network is simultaneously an actor whose activity is networking heterogeneous elements and a network that is able to redefine and transform what it is made of. If something changes in a relationship between two actors, or if one actor gets involved with another part of the network, then it has its immediate effect on the rest of

the network and on the other actors participating in that network. Due to the globalisation, the world can be seen as such a network. In the past only things that occurred in their immediate surroundings influenced a state or a company. But nowadays a collapse in the stock market of Asia can influence the economic growth in the rest of the world.

The size of the actor is not as important as the role it fulfils within its network. The influence of an actor depends on the place it has within the network and the place that that particular network has in the bigger network. It can also depend on the size of the network which an Actor can put into place for particular goal; the number of actors that can be arranged according to their objectives. These objectives can be a strategic choice of options, adaptive necessities or built-in properties of a certain piece of equipment. Properties of a setting, the fact that it makes certain things possible and others impossible, are called prescriptions. (Stalder, 1997, p.11)

When a network is formed it will not stay the same for ever; networks are always moving due to the interactions between the Actors, sometimes the actors themselves can be seen as little networks on their own. The history of an actor and of a network can influence the way it will participate in networks or its relations with other actors.

"A black box contains that which no longer needs to be considered, those things whose contents have become a matter of indifference." (Callon & Latour, 1981 p.285) A black box, therefore, is any setting that, no matter how complex it is or how contested its history has been, is now so stable and certain that it can be treated as a fact of which only the input and output counts. (Stalder, 1997, p.7) The term itself has been derived from cybernetics; it signifies a piece of machinery or a set of commands that might be very complex but can be substituted by a box because it is regular and stable (Wiener, 1948)

The law, for example, is a collection of black boxes. In its formation stage a law is a contested set of competing sentences around which occasionally large alliances are built to influence their specific shape. During the legislative process they are fluid and open. Once the legislation has been passed, contested sentences turn into a black box, sealing all the elements, however arbitrary they might be, in a fixed and stable relationship that cannot be questioned easily. (Stalder, 1997, p.8) Such a Black Box can be opened by changing the content of it. But

the costs of opening such a black box are high and therefore it is unlikely that a black box that is stable will be opened by its actors.

Another concept that is used in the actor-network theory is the Intermediary. Intermediaries provide the still missing link which connects actors into a network and defines the network itself. Actors form networks by circulating intermediaries among themselves, thus defining the respective position of the actors within the networks and in doing so constituting the actors and the networks themselves. (Stalder, 1997, p.12)

Different Stages of a Network

The different phases that a network goes through in its lifetime are the emergence, the development and the stabilization. The three phases are illustrated below.

Emergence
The way a network emerges is established by the actors. Most of the time a network emerges from another network or from an old network. Defining a beginning is a necessary but 'artificial' analytical operation based on the interests of the analyst within his/her particular empirical situation.(Stalder, 1997,p.13) A distinct beginning is not so easy to see because most of the time it is an ongoing process of emergence. Through intermediaries the actors are linked to each other and new networks come into being.

For example John Law and Michel Callon (1992) traced the beginning of a failed project for a British military aircraft back to a policy decision for rationalization of the aircraft industry. This decision, however, in itself contested, functioned only as an intermediary, (re)connecting existing networks of industry, labour and government to start the development and production of a new aircraft.

Development
According to the network theory a network can develop in two different directions. It can develop in a way in which the actors will become more converged, more alike. Or it can develop in a way which leads to more divergence between the actors.

Both the network and the actor have to adjust to each other, so both will have to change in order to develop in the same direction. This change can be very subtle but it is necessary for

the translation within the network. When a new actor is admitted in a network, the actor has to adjust to the new network but on the other hand the network also has to adjust to the new actor because it can have other interests in other networks which can imply another type of approach.

Stalder argues that it is a mistake to take differences in the size of a network for differences in level. Just as with actors, it is not the size of a network but the influence of the network that counts. Since size is nothing more than the end-product of translation, the need for two analytical vocabularies is thus avoided." (Callon, Law, Rip, 1986, p.228)

In order to study the development of a network it is necessary to consider the way a network is expanding, how many intermediaries are used and how and when these intermediaries are translated into the rest of the network.

Stabilization
The stabilization of a network makes sure that a network will not disappear. The networks which are able to achieve a level of convergence proliferate and can become a starting point for a new network. The promotion of a network is a way to ensure the actor's existence and development. It is, therefore, in the interest of all actors within a particular network to stabilize the network which guarantees their own survival to a higher or lower extent. The stability of a network depends on the "impossibility it creates of returning to a situation in which its (current form) was only one (of many) possible option among others" (Callon, 1992, p.89). In other words, stabilization, or closure means that the interpretive flexibility is diminishing.

5.3 Network Theory in Public Administration

In modern society organisations are less and less independent. Therefore decision-making processes can be influenced not just by one organisation but by the behaviour of more organisations and the interactions between these organisations. Due to these developments the main focus within public administration has shifted. Nowadays not only the internal policy making processes within an organisation are studied but also the relations with other organisations are studied. The Network theory is used within public administration to analyze this network situation which manifested itself in the public sector.

Due to economic development, processes of specialisation and globalisation a government agency is not only dependent on itself but on a range of other agencies. Government agencies form a network of mutual dependence. Therefore the factors that can influence policy can come from outside the organisation so insight in the policy making processes cannot be gained by only studying the processes within an organisation. A policy decision can be explained by analyzing the interaction between the different persons or organisations involved. The term actor is used to define the group, person or organisation that plays a role in the network situation.

A network situation is described by J.H.de Baas. The following elements form a network situation according de Baas;
- a situation in which multiple actors play a role and have their own diverging goals.
- a situation in which the actors a mutually dependent.
- a situation in which the actors are relative autonomous in their behaviour

(de Baas, 1995, p.226)

The key principle of the network situation is that an organisation cannot choose whether or not it joins the network. Within a network situation the behaviour of other actors can influence one's success. This creates a large amount of uncertainties within the complex network situation. An actor knows that he is dependent on the others actors in the network but does not fully know what the goals and possibilities of the other actors are, and that creates uncertainties. To cope with these uncertainties within the network the actors show defensive or strategic behaviour. With this behaviour the actors try to realize their own objectives. Because of the uncertainties within the network and because of the strategic behaviour of the actors a traditional top-down analysis of the decision-making process is useless. In order to analyze or evaluate the decision-making processes within a network situation public administration uses the Network approach. This approach studies the way a network works, how actors deal with uncertainties within the network and how the actors deal with(or should deal with) strategic behaviour of the other actors.

The network theory on public policy is a successor of other approaches in organisational and policy sciences. And it is influenced by those approaches. One of the first approaches within public administration the rational actor approach; Tinbergen is one of the scientists who described this approach. The rational actor approach presumes that a policy process consists

of one rational actor that has clearly formulated goals and access to the information. After that approaches such as bounded rationality and incrementalism changed the way public policy was analyzed. Uncertainties and the environment became more important in the policy making process and therefore more important to public administration. This all gradually developed the network approach. Analyzing policy processes from a network perspective means that the analyst focuses on the relation patterns between actors, their interdependencies and the way these patterns and interdependencies influence the policy process. The definition of policy networks which E.H. Klijn uses is the following; *policy networks are more or less stable patterns of social relations between interdependent actors, which take shape around policy problems and/or policy programmes.* (Klijn, 1997, p.30)

Actors within a network are interdependent and therefore most theories on networks focus on these interdependencies and the fact that actors need each other's resources to achieve their goals. Interdependencies cause interactions between actors, which create and sustain relation patterns. The term 'interdependencies' also implies that there is something to be gained by the actors involved. (Klijn, 1997, p.31)

Policy networks consist of a wide variety of actors who all have their own goals and strategies. Policy is the result of interaction between numbers of actors. There is no single actor who has enough power to determine the strategic actions of the other actors.

As an approach to governance, the policy network approach underlines the highly interactive nature of policy processes while at the same time highlighting the institutional context in which these processes take place. (Klijn, 1997, p.33) Government organizations are no longer the central steering actor in policy processes and management activities assume a different role. Most network theories assume that the power of an actor is linked to the resources he or she possesses. In contrast to traditional approaches, in the network approach the management role of governmental actors is no longer self-evident. (Klijn, 1997, op.33)

The management role within a network is different than a traditional management approach. Therefore it needs different way of analyzing the management processes. Therefore Scholars have created the network approach. Authors such as Klijn, Kickert and Koppejan have published books about this new approach. They analyze several policy processes that have occurred or are occurring within a policy network. These analyses give insights in how a

network works, how the network can be managed and how an actor can and should deal with uncertainties within the network.

5.4 A Global Network

All kinds of networks can distinguish but because we the issue under discussion here is a global issue, the possibilities within a global network should be examined. Anne Marie Slaughter describes such a network in her book 'A new world order'. Not only big companies, drug dealers, terrorist, private initiatives but also governments are increasingly operating through global networks. Networks of government officials, such as police investigators, financial regulators, judges and legislators, exchange information and coordinate activities to combat crime and address common problems on a global scale (Slaughter, 2004, p.1) The networks already exist but are underestimated and under-supported so that they do not operate perfectly and do not yet have the global impact which they could have. As commercial and civic organizations have already discovered, their networked form is perfect at providing the speed and flexibility necessary to function effectively in an information age.

The New world order

In Slaughter's theory about the 'new world order' the building blocks should not be states but parts of states: courts, regulatory agencies, ministries, legislatures. The government officials within these different institutions would participate in many different types of networks, creating links across national borders and between national and supranational institutions. (Slaughter, 2004, p.6) Networks of some sort between government agencies, such as postal and telecommunications services have existed for a long time. The new aspect of Slaughters theory is the scale, scope, and type of transgovernmental ties within the networks.

One of the key concepts of her theory is the disaggregated state, instead of the more general accepted unitary state. Within a disaggregated state the need for and capacity of different domestic government institutions exist to engage in activities beyond their borders. Regulators pursue the subjects of their foreign brethren to resolve complex transnational cases; and legislators consult on the best ways to frame and pass legislation affecting human rights or the environment. (Slaughter, 2004, p.12) The new world order consists of networks between parts of governments. The separate parts form a network and can have a global impact on policy issues such as environment or human right protection. These networks are more effective than those built up from unitary states. The range of subjects can be much

larger and the contact between colleagues around the world can be more useful than just general contact between the leaders of a government. The networks should evolve on several professional levels: street bureaucrats, legislators, regulators, politicians and ministers.

International lawyers and international relations theorists have always known that the entities they describe and analyze as "states" interacting with one another are in fact much more complex entities, but the fiction of a unitary will and capacity for action has worked well enough for purposes of description and prediction of outcomes in the international system. (Slaughter, 2004, p.12)

According to Slaughter we need global rules without centralized power but with government actors which can be held to account through a variety of political mechanisms. These government's actors can and should interact with a wide range of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), but their role in governance bears distinct and different responsibilities.(Slaughter, 2004, p.10) Government networks offer a flexible and fast way of conducting the business of global governance, coordinating and even harmonizing national government action while initiating and monitoring different solutions to global problems. Yet they are decentralized and dispersed, incapable of exercising centralized coercive authority. They can interact with a wide range of NGOs, civic and corporate, but their responsibilities and constituencies are far broader. (Slaughter, 2004, p.11) In her theory Slaughter distinguishes two different types of networks between government agencies, horizontal and vertical networks.

In form government networks can include both horizontal and vertical networks. In function, they would include networks for collecting and sharing information of all kinds, enforcement cooperation, technical assistance and training, as well as policy coordination and rule harmonization. Their effects can reach bilateral, multilateral, regional and global level.

Horizontal networks

A horizontal network is a network of national government officials and institutions. Members of a horizontal network interact informally with each other. It brings together regulators, judges or legislators, who can exchange information and learn about each other's approaches. The structural core of a disaggregated world order is a set of horizontal networks among national government officials in their respective issue areas such as: central banking, antitrust

regulation, environmental protection and law enforcement. These networks operate both between high-level officials directly responsive to the national political process (the ministerial level) as well as between lower level national regulators. (Slaughter, 2004, p.10)

Vertical networks

A vertical network is a network that is built up from national and supranational officials and institutions. The coercive power of vertical networks is much greater than that of horizontal networks; it is therefore not surprising that they are much harder to find. Ultimately, however, they have a critical role to play in making selected international agreements as effective as possible. (Slaughter, 2004, p.133)

Vertical government networks pierce the shell of state sovereignty by making individual government institutions (courts, regulatory agencies, or even legislators) responsible for the implementation of rules created by a supranational institution. Under international law, these rules bind the state as a whole; traditionally, it has been up to the state to pass the necessary domestic legislation that would allow for implementation. Vertical government networks make it possible for a supranational court, regulatory entity, or parliament to create a relationship with its national counterparts to make those rules directly enforceable. (Slaughter, 2004, p.133)

The different characteristics of government networks

The government networks of executive officials can be identified in three different contexts. They can develop within established international organizations, under the umbrella of an agreement negotiated by heads of state, or they can develop outside any formal framework.

The networks developed within international organization have always existed, because the heads of state do not actually handle the whole organization but leave that to national government officials, from the governments involved. These officials are bound to their colleagues and set up a network in order to work together and share information. In the second type of government networks, which evolve within the framework of an executive agreement, the work is actually done by government officials. This work is often approved of by the heads of state through an informal agreement or a joint communiqué.

Spontaneous government networks, national regulators coming together of their own volition and regularizing their interactions either as a network or a networked organization, raises the

specter of agencies on the loose, unrestrained by democratic accountability (Slaughter, 2004, p.48). The founding and designated members of these networks are domestic agencies, or even subnational agencies such as provincial or state regulators. The organizations themselves tend to operate with a minimum of physical and legal infrastructure; most lack a foundational treaty and operate under a few agreed-upon objectives or bylaws. (Slaughter, 2004, p.48)

Apart from environmental differences in which a network evolves differences in the function of the network can also be perceived.

Information networks
The main function of this type of government network is sharing, gathering and comparing information. The actors within this network interact so they can exchange data of different types, organizations charts, policies and lessons learned from specific experiences. Not surprisingly, information exchange through transgovernmental networks is particularly important among agencies that engage in the business of gathering information. (Slaughter, 2004, p.53) These networks often collect and distill information actively about how their members do business, so that they can form a 'best practice' code. This information they gather about each other is successively shared within the network. Another function is that the members of the network actively cooperate in uncovering new information of value to all members. (Slaughter, 2004, p.54)

Within these networks reputation is a very important aspect. Having and caring about a reputation among one's peers is a very powerful tool of professional socialization. (Slaughter, 2004, p.55) Reputation is particularly important to the extent that specific government networks themselves embody a system of regulation by information, in which power flows not from coercive capacity but from an ability to exercise influence through knowledge and persuasion (Wallers, 1997, p.364).

Enforcement networks
The second type of network is the enforcement network. Within this type of network the main focus is on enhancing cooperation among national regulators to enforce existing national laws and rules. As the subjects they regulate, such as criminals or corporations, move across borders, they must expand their regulatory reach by initiating contact with their foreign counterparts. (Slaughter, 2004, p.55)

These networks mostly occur among government officials whose job actually is law enforcement: police officers, customs officials, drug agents, and prosecutors. The best example of such a network is Interpol, the international police organization. (Slaughter, 2004, p.55) In order to enforce laws and rules with the help of a transgovernmental network they share information and collaborate on specific cases. The next step is cooperating in strategic priority setting and targeting, as well as in taking measures to promote citizen compliance with the relevant laws and to monitor that compliance. (Slaughter, 2004, p.57)

All of these activities will fail if some members of the network do not have sufficient capacity (buildings, computers, personnel, and training) to engage in enforcement activity. Therefore one of the key functions of an enforcement network is capacity building. The actors of the network help each other with technical assistance and training in order to optimize the use of their network.

Harmonization networks

Many of the most powerful transgovernmental networks are a product of harmonization agreements. Generally acting within the framework of a trade agreement, often with a specific legislative mandate, regulators may work together to harmonize regulatory standards, such as product-safety standards, with the overall aim of achieving efficiency. (Slaughter, 2004, p.59) Critics of harmonization argue that harmonization processes are used to make quiet changes to domestic regulations in ways that cannot be justified solely by efficiency gains. Harmonization involves 'the adoption of an international standard that adjusts the regulatory standards or procedures of two or more countries until they are the same'. (Shapiro, 2002, p.436) Harmonization networks may be networks explicitly charged with harmonizing a specific area of law or regulation, or, more broadly, information and enforcement networks that simply begin to generate convergence around a set of common ideas, approaches, and principles. (Slaughter, 2004, p.61)

Impact of government networks

These networks can have a great impact throughout the world and on the world order. Slaughters definition of a world order is the following: a system of global governance that institutionalizes cooperation and contains conflict sufficiently to allow all nations and their peoples to achieve greater peace, prosperity, stewardship of the earth, and minimum standards of human dignity. (Slaughter, 2004, p.166)

Divergence and convergence

The impact government networks have nowadays can be discussed in terms of convergence, but also in informed divergence of national rules and judicial decisions around the world. Besides that there is the improvement of compliance with international agreements caused not only by capacity building but also through vertical networks.

All types of networks can cause convergence but they differ in how they do it. Enforcement networks encourage convergence to the extent that they facilitate cooperative enforcement. Information networks promote convergence through technical assistance and training, depending on how they are created and who their most powerful members are. Convergence can be achieved by regulatory export or by distilling and disseminating credible information within the network.

Another thing which can be the effect of government networks is the divergence of the member states. States can diverge in regulatory standards, legislative prohibitions, or legal doctrines. Most divergence is a function of cultural, historical, or political differences, or of simple path-dependence time (for example: one nation has chosen one kind of typewriter keyboard and another has chosen another and those choices have dictated different typewriters, computers, personal desk assistants, and so forth) but divergence can also be deliberate and informed. (Slaughter, 2004, p.182) According to Slaughter a state makes a statement about the uniqueness of its national tradition or the intensity of its political preferences, if it chooses not to converge when the state does have the option of harmonizing its rule or standard with other nations.

It is striking that the same forces than can cause convergence (such as regulatory export, technical assistance, distilled information, and soft law) can also cause the opposite and result in informed divergence.

Compliance and Capacity Building

In addition to divergence and convergence within a government network, such a network can also cause compliance with international law. This can happen in two ways. First by the use of vertical networks, which are most of the time designed just for this purpose, so that personal relationships can harness the power of national government institutions in the service of their counterpart's supranational institutions. This approach strengthens compliance by

backing enforcement efforts with genuine coercive authority, at least as much as is typically exercised by a domestic court or regulatory agency. (Slaughter, 2004, p.183)

A second way of improving compliance is by capacity building. The training and technical assistance that is provided through horizontal government networks has a double function. They not only make foreign regulators better partners for the enforcement of national laws but also better able to comply with their own international obligations. (Raustalia, 2002, p.78) In many cases the lack of compliance with international law is not a matter of rejection of those laws but a lack of capacity in order to implement and preserve international laws and regulations. Compliance can therefore be improved by capacity building through government networks.

Individuals can organize themselves in multiple networks or even communities to solve their own problems and problems on a larger scale. These networks or problem-solving groups are not directly connected to the "government" or the "state", but they can nevertheless compile and accumulate knowledge, develop their problem-solving capacity, and work out norms to regulate their behaviour. (Slaughter, 2004, p.194) When they are fully recognized and appreciated, these government networks could have even more influence throughout the world.

Possible influence of networks
Networks could also regulate themselves in ways that would deliberately improve the governing performance of both actual and potential members; create forums for multilateral discussion and argument by all their members and create opportunities to harness the positive rather than the negative power of conflict. (Slaughter, 2004, p.195)

One of the ways to improve networks is by increasing their self-regulation; thereby developing "network norms" designed to strengthen domestic governance capacity and competence. They can constitute themselves not only as networks devoted to specific substantive activities, but also, and simultaneously, as professional associations of regulators, judges, legislator, and even heads of state and ministers dedicated to upholding the norms and ideal of their profession, exercised through legislation, regulation, enforcement, provision of services and dispute resolution. (Slaughter, 2004, p.197)

Another principle that can improve the working of government networks is generating reasoned solutions to complex problems. According to Slaughter networks that enforce network norms through the mechanisms just discussed will create favorable conditions for the emergence of consensus on many problems. This process will produce better-quality decisions than are likely to result from interest-based bargaining, adherence to prevailing political, economic, or social norms, or acquiescence to the will of the most powerful state or states. (Slaughter, 2004, p.204) Slaughter argues that government networks that encourage and even require multilateral discussion prior to all decisions taken are likely to produce more creative, more reasoned, and more legitimate solutions to many of the problems that members face.

Problems with government networks
Besides all the advantages that the government's networks bring along, they also have some disadvantages. One of the major criticisms on government networks is that these are networks of technocrats. Besides that there is a concern about a lack of transparency; the fact that the methods and decision-making processes are not open enough. For actors outside the network it is not clear what is discussed and how policies or specific decisions are arrived at. Improving transparency is often seen as a solution to the technocrat criticism. But when transparency is improved the network can become even more accessible to sectoral interest pressures. Another solution to the problem of technocracies is to link the government networks with broader policy networks of NGOs and corporations. This can change the context of the decision making within the networks. Even if the outcome of their deliberations with one another is a set of best practice codes and compilations the technical consensus represented may be worrisome. By re-politicizing the decision making process regulators have learned to question their own professional consensus and deliberate over the best collective solution, taking a much wider range of interest into account. (Slaughter, 2004, p.221)

The second concern that arises is about harmonization. The harmonization of regulations causes fear about leveling down the protections for public health, the environment, consumer safety, and other areas, but the concerns are also about the process. The fact that regulators meet not only to exchange information but actively engage in harmonizing national regulations can be worrying to some.

A final problem is the way in which government networks either replicate or even magnify asymmetries of power in the existing international system. Some government networks represent exclusive preserves of officials from the most economically developed, and hence powerful, nations.(Slaughter, 2004, p.227) Global government networks are in fact only partial government networks. And can not address the world's problems, if they don not include governments of poorer, less powerful countries. When these weaker countries are included they are often subject to the soft power of the strongest members and therefore they do not really contribute to the decision-making process.

Possible solutions
To solve the different problems relating to the government networks Slaughter makes a few suggestions;

- Reconceiving the responsibilities of all national officials as including both a national and a transgovernmental component, such that they must all perform a dual function.
- To make transgovernmental activity as visible as possible to legislator, interest groups, and ordinary citizens.
- To ensure that government networks link legislators across borders as much as they do regulators and judges, to ensure that all three branches of government, with their relative strengths and weaknesses, are represented.
- To use government networks as the spines of larger policy networks, helping to mobilize transnational society but at the same time remaining identifiably distinct from nongovernmental actors
- A grab-bag of different domestic policy decisions and arrangements that express the views of particular polities on questions ranging from the legitimacy of consulting and citing foreign judicial decisions to the acceptability of autonomous rule-making capacity in regulatory networks. (Slaughter, 2004, p.231)

National governments are losing power. They can only recreate this power at the global level by creating a global government, but that is "unrealistic", so the alternative is a hodgepodge of private sector and public international organizations, for profit and not for profit. (Slaughter, 2004, p.262) In a self-conscious world order of government networks national government officials would retain primary power over public policy, but work together to formulate and implement it globally. They would delegate some power to supranational

officials, and still work closely with those officials through vertical networks. They would interact intensively with existing international organizations, corporations, NGOs, and other actors in transnational society, but in a way that makes it clear that government networks are the accountable core of these larger policy networks. (Slaughter, 2004, p.263)

Slaughter's concept of a networked world order rests on fundamentally different assumptions about both the international system and international law. The old model of the international system assumes unitary states that negotiate formal legal agreements with one another and implement them from the top down, with a great emphasis on verification and enforcement. Slaughters new model assumes disaggregated states in which national government officials interact intensively with one another and adopt codes of best practices and agree on coordinated solutions to common problems. At the same time, in this new model, states still acting as unitary actors will realize that some problems cannot be effectively addressed without delegating actual sovereign power to a limited number of supranational government officials, such as judges and arbitrators in the WTO, the North American Free Trade Organization (NAFTA), and the International Criminal Court . In such cases, the international agreements negotiated will be more immediately and automatically effective than the majority of agreements negotiated in the old system because they will be directly enforced through vertical government networks. (Slaughter, 2004, p.263)

5.5 Comparison

In the above several different types of network theories are described. The first is the actor network theory which was founded by Callon, Law and Latour. This is the general actor network theory which can be applied to several phenomena in social science. The main principles are described such as 'actor', 'network' and 'black box' as well as the different stages of the development of a network. This actor network theory is the basis of many forms of network theories in different fields of social science.

The second type of Network theory which is described in this Theoretical framework is the network approach as it is used in public administration. The scholars of this approach use the basic principles of the actor network theory and add perceptions and principles from organizational theories as used in public administration. They create an approach with which

they can manage uncertainties within a policy network. And they analyze the different strategies an actor can use in order to obtain its objectives.

The third network approach is that of Anne-Marie Slaughter, which is also based on the general network theory but her focus is the world order. So she distinguishes networks between different governments. She combines the general network theory with perceptions from theories about international relations and the world order. By doing so she creates a new way of looking at the world order. Slaughter distinguishes different types of networks; horizontal networks versus vertical networks, and networks with different functions. A network can function as an information network, an enforcement network or as a harmonization network according to Anne Marie Slaughter.

All three types of network theories described above make use of the same general aspects. In all three a network consists of actors which interact with each other and thereby create the network itself. The difference between the theories is not only the way they analyze the networks but also the types of networks they study. The network approach as used in public administration focuses on the different strategies an actor can choose in order to use the network to its best interest. The networks which are studied in this approach are policy networks, with the help of organizational studies it is analyzed how the organizations that function within such a network can optimize their position.

5.6 Theory Slaughter and unrecognized states.

In her theory about the new world order Slaughter describes different forms and functions of government network. She argues that in this new world order disaggregated states interact with each other through government networks. Although Slaughter does not discuss the issue of unrecognized states but her theory can be applied on unrecognized states. Unrecognized states don not have to function as a unitary state and can be seen as a disaggregated state as well as recognized states.

If we then analyze the world order or the global arena it may be that, in contrary to what realistic or liberal theories tell us, unrecognized states do function in the same way that unrecognized states do. And thus participate in these global government networks as well.

Some key concepts of Slaughters theory will function as indicators in the analysis of the unrecognized state. Whether the unrecognized states do or do not participate in global government networks can be concluded after this analyzes.

Vertical networks
A vertical network is a network between (parts of) national governments and intergovernmental organisations (IGOs) such as the UN and the WTO. That a government of an unrecognized state is a part of such a network can be concluded when the government of the unrecognized state is a member-state of an IGO. The indicator for a participation in a vertical network is membership of an IGO.

Horizontal networks
A horizontal network is a network between (parts of) governments in this thesis participation in such a network is measured by agreements that are made between governments of different states on issues like the environment, human rights and trade. These agreements form an indicator if governments participate in a horizontal network.

Beside two different forms of networks Slaughter distinguishes also different functions of international government networks. In order to analyze whether the unrecognized states participate in all types of these networks it is useful to identify indictors for each type of government network.

Information networks

An information network is an international government network in which the members share, compare an gather information. They exchange information in order to learn from each others experiences and so that they can form a best practice code.

An indicator for such a network is hard to identify but in this thesis we use the indicator of participating in international conference or seminars by government officials.

Enforcement networks

An enforcement network is an international government network, the main focus of this type of network is on enhancing cooperation among national regulators to enforce existing national laws and rules. Members of such a network often help each other with technical assistance and capacity building in order to optimize the use of their network.

An indicator whether an unrecognized state participates in such a network can be giving an receiving technical assistance on law enforcement issues. Membership of Interpol can be an even clearer indicator.

Harmonization

A harmonization network is a product of harmonization agreements. Mostly these agreements are made within the framework of a trade agreement, the governments involved work together in order to establish common product-standards in order to achieve efficiency. An indicator for a harmonization network can be international agreements on harmonization standards.

NGOs

Besides the different types and functions of government networks Slaughter acknowledges the important function of NGOs within the world order; they can form a bridge between different governments. The last indicator that is used in the research thesis is whether there is NGO activity in the unrecognized states.

Indicators and the tree unrecognized states.

In Chapter 7 it is investigated whether the unrecognized states participate in the different types of networks, with the help of the established indicators. When an unrecognized state meets one of the indicators it can be concluded that the unrecognized state functions in the corresponding type of network.

For example when an unrecognized state is a member of an IGO, it can be concluded that it participates in a vertical network.

In the table below the different types of networks and the corresponding indicators are listed, this table will be used in Chapter 7, as a report of the analysis of each case.

Network	Indicator
Vertical network	membership of an IGO
Horizontal network	agreements with other governments on certain issues
Information network	participating in international conferences and seminars
Enforcement network	giving or receiving technical assistance on law enforcement
Harmonization network	International agreements on harmonization standards
Network with NGOs	NGO activity

Figure 5.1 Types of networks and corresponding indicators

Sometimes the information found has not been sufficient to conclude that a case meets a particular indicator, in that case the label "unknown" is used. The answers "yes" or "no" indicate reliable information on the indicator and the corresponding type of network is available.

Chapter 6 The Cases

6.1 Introduction

Nowadays the International Community recognizes 190 states. There are many ethnic groups who would like to have their own country but accept the country they live as their home. The Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO) is a democratic, international membership organization. Its members are indigenous peoples, occupied nations, minorities and independent states or territories that have joined together to protect their human and cultural rights, preserve their environments, and to find non-violent solutions to conflicts that affect them. UNPO provides a legitimate and established international forum for member aspirations and assists its members in effective participation at an international level. (www.unpo.org)The list that UNPO utilizes represents far more people than the unrecognized states that will be discussed here, the list of UNPO participants can be found in Appendix 3.

As discussing all of these would be beyond the scope of this thesis, focus is on three kinds of unrecognized states, with de facto control over their territory, unrecognized with partial control over their territory and partially recognized sates largely under military occupation.

Unrecognized states are defined as states that are not officially acknowledged as such by the International Community. Therefore they do not have official diplomatic relations with other countries throughout the world. De facto is a Latin phrase that means 'in fact' or 'in practice' and means that something is not officially recognized by law but that it is practically is recognized by law. It means that these states do have control over their territory but that that control is not officially recognized as such by other states

Some of the unrecognized states mentioned here have only partial control over their claimed territory because a conquering state or group occupies the rest of the territory. The last group of unrecognized states is formed by the states that are partially recognized but are largely under military occupation. These states are recognized by a few other states but due to conflicts with their neighbor state they are occupied by those neighbors.

This Chapter explores the three cases with the use of the theory on government networks. For every case; Abkhazia, the Republic of China and Western Sahara it is investigated whether they have relations with the UN, UNPO and other NGOs. Besides that other relations with recognized states are mentioned. At the end of this Chapter the relations each case has are linked to the theory of Anne Marie Slaughter to analyze whether these relations are parts of the enforcement, information or harmonization networks. The various cases are compared in the concluding section.

6.2 Abkhazia

Abkhazia is an unrecognized state with de facto control over their territory. This means that although its authority is not formally and internationally recognized, it is accepted by the people who live in the area

The Republic of Abkhazia has a territory of 8.7 thousand km2. The Capital City is Sukhum and it has a population of 340 000 people. The main ethnic groups are: Abkhaz, Armenians, Georgians, Greeks, Megrelians, Russians, and Ukrainians. Nowadays Abkhazia is officially a part of Georgia but it was a sovereign state until the Russian occupation in 1864. In the period of occupation 250 000 Abkhazians were deported to Turkey. After the collapse of the Russian Empire in 1917, Georgia and Abkhazia decided to form two independent states, but in May 1918 the new Georgian Democratic Republic occupied and annexed Abkhazia.

The independent Soviet Socialist Republic of Abkhazia was proclaimed on 31st March 1921. On 21st May 1921, the Revolutionary Committee of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic recognized the independence of Abkhazia (www.unpo.org/member.php?arg=03).The basis of the constitutional relations between Abkhazia and Georgia was established by the forced Union treaty with the Georgian SSR. The fact that Abkhazia was reduced to an autonomous republic had a great impact on the demographic balance. The Georgians pursued a policy that was focused on creating a mononational state.

Abkhazia and Multilateral relations
Abkhazia is not a member state nor an official observer of the United Nations as can be concluded from the Appendixes. Still, the United Nations play a role in the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict. The United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG) has its headquarters in Abkhazia. 'UNOMIG was established in August 1993 to verify compliance with the ceasefire agreement between the Government of Georgia and the Abkhaz authorities in Georgia. UNOMIG's mandate was expanded following the signing by the parties of the 1994 Agreement on a Ceasefire and Separation of Forces.'
(http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/missions/unomig/index.html)

In resolution 1494 of 30 July 2003, the Security Council endorsed the recommendation by the Secretary-General that a civilian police component (UNOMIG Police) of twenty officers be

added to UNOMIG to strengthen its capacity to carry out its mandate and in particular contribute to the creation of conditions conducive to the safe and dignified return of internally displaced persons and refugees. The mandate was last extended by resolution 1716 (13 October 2006) and expired on 15 April 2007. (http://www.unomig.org/glance/facts_figures/)

In 1996, following a special agreement reached by the Office of High Commissioner for Human Rights with the Abkhaz authorities, and a relevant Security Council resolution, the UN Human Rights Office in Abkhazia, Georgia (HROAG) was opened in Sukhumi. This Human Rights Fields Presence in Geogria- Abkhazia (also known as DPKO) was established to monitor the human rights situation in Abkhazia and to protect the human rights of the population of Abkhazia, Georgia, in the spirit of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to promote the respect for human rights and to contribute to a safe and dignified return of refugees and internally displaced persons, to establish direct contacts in Abkhazia so as to improve the human rights situation and to report on human rights developments. (http://www.ohchr.org/english/countries/field/georgia.htm)

Abkhazia and UNPO

Abkhazia is a member of the unrepresented nations and people organization. (UNPO) As described above UNPO is an organization whose members are indigenous peoples, occupied nations, minorities and independent states or territories who have joined together to protect their human and cultural rights, preserve their environments, and to find non-violent solutions to conflicts that affect them. UNPO provides a legitimate and established international forum for member aspirations and assists its members in effective participation at an international level. (www.unpo.org)

 Abkhazia and NGOs

Several NGOs are active in Abkhazia; most off them advocate for the freedom in the Abkhazia-Georgian region but activities and roles have changed over time, reflecting the dynamics of the political and security situation, the growing sophistication of local NGOs and the learning curve of their international partners.

Civic interventions since the 1993 war have addressed humanitarian and environmental concerns, education, psychological trauma (especially of children), human rights monitoring, conflict analysis, the media, civil society development and democratization, some of which are directly related to the peace process.(http://www.unpo.org/member_profile.php?id=3)

The interference of most international NGO started after the introduction of UNOMIG and CIS peacekeeping forces stabilized the region after the 1994 ceasefire. To date there is a number of local Abkhaz NGO developing their strategy through cooperation with various International NGOs like International Alert (IA), Links, the Berghof Centre for Constructive Conflict Management and Conciliation Resources, as well as academics from the University of California, Irvine (UCI) and the Vrije Universiteit Brussel (VUB) which have convened many meetings in neutral venues, which have provided opportunities for activists from the conflicting sides to build relationships and foster dialogue on substantive issues. (http://www.unpo.org/member_profile.php?id=3)

UNPO concludes in its country report that there are several leading Abkhaz NGOs, mostly concentrating their activity on addressing social issues such as support for disabled people, integrating them into social life. The most significant trend in the activities of Abkhaz NGOs is civil society development. Today the Abkhaz Civil Society is recognized as one of the most developed networks in the Caucasus. The rest of the local NGOs are addressing youth issues as well as social rehabilitation. Besides initiatives focused on confidence building measures and developing civil society there is a number of other International Humanitarian NGOs in Abkhazia which address more practical issues such as hunger, landmines, tuberculosis and rehabilitation. There are six International NGOs acting in Abkhazia on a regular basis: ICRC (International Committee of Red Cross), MSF (Medicines Sans Frontiers), PU (Premier Urgence), Halo Trust (Humanitarian De-mining Organization), ACH (Accion Contra El Hambre), World Vision. (http://www.unpo.org/member_profile.php?id=3)

Conclusion

The function of the United Nations is to stabilize the situation and to monitor the safety in the area. Due to UN operations in the area other organizations feel freer to operate in Abkhazia. It can be concluded that for NGOs and other organizations to settle in an unrecognized state one of the conditions is that the UN supervises the stability in the region.

The NGOs operating in Abkhazia most of all focus on the improvement of the Humanitarian situation there. But other organizations also operate in the region and try to give help on technical, educational or legal levels.

6.3 Republic of China

The Republic of China is a partially recognized state with de facto control over its territory. This means that the republic is recognized as such by some countries but not by the largest part of the International Community. The regime has de facto control so is informal accepted. The Republic of China has a territory of 36 thousand km2. The capital city is Taipei city and it has 23 036 087 inhabitants.

The Republic of China was founded in Nanjing in 1912, replacing the last Chinese dynasty, *Qing*, ending over 2000 years of imperial rule in China. The rule of the Republic of China in Mainland China was violated by warlordism, Japanese invasion, and civil war. The civil war temporarily ceased in 1949 with the Communist Party of China (CPC) in control of most of Mainland China, with the national government of the Republic of China in control of Taiwan and several offshore islands. The CPC proclaimed a new state, the People's Republic of China (PRC) in Beijing in 1949. However, this was not internationally recognized. The Republic of China continued to state that it was the sole and legitimate government of all of China. This was a claim recognized by most nations, up until the late 1970s. (www.gio.gov.tw/taiwan-website/5-gp/yearbook/03History.htm)

After that the rest of the world realized that the PRC was a stable republic so they changed their point of view and recognized the People's Republic of China as a state. Because of the fact that the PRC claims the sovereignty over Taiwan, which is accepted by the rest of the world, the Republic of China cannot be recognized throughout the world. It is now recognized by only 25 states and it maintains unofficial relations and de-facto diplomatic ties with most countries.

The Republic of China and multilateral relations

Taiwan is a member of 22 intergovernmental organizations including the World Trade Organization (WTO), the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) and it has observer status or associate membership in 14 other intergovernmental organizations including the Competition Committee of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.(OECD)But despite this all the ROC is still not a member or observer at the UN.

After the internal separation of China, which create the People republic of China on one hand and the Republic of China on the other, the United Nations had to decide which Republic would get the UN seat for China. In 1971 the General Assembly decided that the seat would be for the People's Republic. With that decision Taiwan or ROC was excluded from the United Nations.

Taiwan claims that recognition of the international and legal status of Taiwan is entirely in accord with the principles, obligations, and values professed in the United Nations Charter. Since 1993 the ROC government is actively seeking to become a member of the UN, they feel that is not fair that the 23 million people who live in Taiwan are excluded from representation and participation in the international decision-making process in many fields. They often find themselves barred from participating in international humanitarian assistance and NGO activities. On the official website of the government information centre Taiwan claims that the People's Republic of China capitalizes on its position in the UN to restrict Taiwan's diplomatic space. (http://www.gio.gov.tw/)

The Republic of China and UNPO

Taiwan is a founding member of the UNPO. Taiwan is very aware of its status, and in many ways it tries to change this. Not only by official institutions like the UN and with diplomatic relations with nations states but also by less official means Taiwan advertises itself as a state. With the activities of UNPO but also by their own initiatives Taiwan is raising its voice in the Global Arena.

With a People's diplomacy program the Taiwan president motivates the people of Taiwan to represent their country throughout the world. This concept includes the engagement of the whole of the Taiwanese people with the peoples of other countries in transnational or inter societal networks, as opposed to merely interstate ones. It also implies the democratization of foreign policy making, including the principles of accountability and transparency, bringing the public more fully into the process.

(http://www.gio.gov.tw/ct.asp?xItem=18850&ctNode=2588)

The Republic of China and NGOs

The main focus in Taiwan is on participating in the Intergovernmental Organizations because NGOs are already settled within the ROC society. So the arrival of NGOs is a battle that Taiwan has already won.

The Republic of China and bilateral relations

Taiwan has full diplomatic relations with 26 (small) countries. In de rest of the world they established branch offices or representative offices, which represent Taiwan throughout the world and improve trade relations and the International interconnectedness.

The ROC has free trade agreements with several countries. In response to globalization trends, increasing regional economic integration, and the formation of free trade areas, Taiwan has been actively joining various trade negotiations through international trade organizations like WTO, APEC Forum, and OECD, and negotiating with other countries on the signing of free trade agreements (FTAs) in order to create new trade opportunities and achieve a higher level of economic development. Taiwan signed its first FTA with the Republic of Panama in August 2003 and is promoting FTA negotiations with the US, Japan, Singapore, and New Zealand.(http://www.gio.gov.tw/ct.asp?xItem=18860&ctNode=2589)

Conclusion

Taiwan is very aware of its formal status and tries to influence its position in the world in many different ways. The ROC government puts effort in attaining membership of several Intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) and due to this effort they joined the WTO in 2002. Other organizations where Taiwan is actively seeking for membership are the World Health Organization and the United Nations.

Besides IGOs Taiwan also focuses on single countries, the have bilateral relations with 85 countries in the world. With 26 they have official diplomatic relations and with the others the have relations by trade agreements or representative offices.

The most striking way in which the ROC tries to change its position in the world is by a people's diplomacy program they started. By sending people on missions throughout the world they participate in different international networks.

6.4 Western Sahara

Western Sahara is a territory in the northwestern part of Africa, bordered by Morocco, Algeria, Mauritania and the Atlantic Ocean. Due to the desert it has very low population density. Most of the 341000 people live in El Aaiúnwhich the biggest city in Western Sahara. The Western Sahara is on the United Nations list of non-self governing territories, which means that according to the UN the territory has not yet been decolonized.

But the Kingdom of Morocco and the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) dispute each other about the control of the region. The SADR control a small part of the territory, the largest part is in the hands of the Kingdom of Morocco.The SADR is recognized by 46 states and is a full member of the African Union.

After a period of Spanish colonization a referendum on independence was demanded by the Polisario Front, a Sahrawi nationalist organization fighting the Spanish since 1973. But both Morocco and Mauritania claimed sovereignty over the territory based on arguments that claimed the territory as artificially separated from them by the European colonial powers.

The dispute about the independence was guided by the UN and in 1975 a visiting mission as well as a verdict from the International Court of Justice declared that the Sahrawi people possessed the right of self determination. After the death of Franco, the new Spanish government abandoned the Western Sahara. Morocco then annexed the northern two-thirds of the Western Sahara as its Southern Provinces, while Mauritania took the southern third as Tiris al-Gharbiyya. In 1979 Mauritania was forced back by the Polisario front but Morocco contained the guerillas by setting up the Moroccan Wall. In 1991 the war ended with a cease-fire which was guarded by the UN. The UN created a settlement plan and tries to keep the peace in the area but since the cease-fire periods of trouble and stability have succeeded each other but they have never resulted in a referendum about independence or full occupation by Morocco.

Western Sahara and Multilateral Relations
The multilateral relations that Western Sahara maintains are used to stabilize or solve the conflict in the area. The United Nations has a special representative in the area that watches the situation and reports on any new developments in the situation. The special peace mission

of the UN is named MINURSO. The goal is to prepare the Western Sahara on a referendum on whether they should be a part of Morocco or should become an independent state.

Another program of the UN, the United Nations Higher Commission For Refugees (NUHCR), gives assistance to the Saharawi refugees in the area.

The Saharawi Arab democratic republic (SADR) is a member of the African Union and recognized by all other members of the African Union. All African states except for Morocco are a member of the African Union. The African Union favors the referendum in Western Sahara.

Western Sahara and UNPO
The Western Sahara nor its people are a part of the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples organization, probably because the SADR sees themselves as a state and is recognized as such by 80 states (most of them African or Latin American) .

Western Sahara and NGOs
The role of NGOs in Western Sahara is very limited, this because there are very strict rules about NGOs in Morocco. And when an NGO wants to advocate for the Western Sahara they cannot count on much support from the Moroccan government.

Only humanitarian aid is allowed and therefore only human rights or humanitarian NGOs are operating in the Western Sahara. Organization such as the Red Cross, OMDH (Organization marocaine des droits de l'homme) and AFAPREDESA (Association of Sahrawi Families of Prisoners and Disappeared)

Other mostly foreign NGOs are advocating for the referendum and for the right of self-determination of the Saharwi people. One of these organizations is the ARSO (Association pour un referendum libre et regulier au Sahara occidental)
ARSO is an NGO in Switzerland concerned with the decolonization of Western Sahara (former Spanish Sahara), the UN referendum, human rights violations, Saharawi refugees in Algeria.

Conclusion

Because the Western Sahara is largely under Moroccan military occupation it is hard for its Government to focus on anything else but the conflict in the area. The same thing counts for International Organization and NGOs, the activity in the area is focuses on humanitarian aid or on mediation between the different parties.

6.6 Theory applied on the cases.

In the tables below the three cases are listed in relation to the different types of networks and the corresponding indicators. For the answers given in the tables the information out of the case study is used which is described in the above.

Sometimes the information found has not been sufficient to conclude that a case meets a particular indicator, in that case the label "unknown" is used. The answers "yes" or "no" indicate reliable information on the indicator and the corresponding type of network is available.

Network	Indicator	Abkhazia
Vertical network	membership of an IGO	no
Horizontal network	agreements with other governments on certain issues	yes, for example agreements on human rights
Information network	participating in international conferences and seminars	unknown
Enforcement network	giving or receiving technical assistance on law enforcement	Yes, help during elections
Harmonization network	International agreements on harmonization standards	unknown
Network with NGOs	NGO activity	yes, for example on civil society development

Figure 7.1 networks and indicators for Abkhazia

Network	Indicator	Republic of China
Vertical network	membership of an IGO	yes, for example WTO
Horizontal network	agreements with other governments on certain issues	yes, trade agreements
Information network	participating in international conferences and seminars	yes, for example conferences on terrorism and environmental issues
Enforcement network	giving or receiving technical assistance on law enforcement	unknown
Harmonization network	International agreements on harmonization standards	unknown
Network with NGOs	NGO activity	yes

Figure 7.1 networks and indicators for the Republic of China

Network	Indicator	Western Sahara
Vertical network	membership of an IGO	yes, African Union
Horizontal network	agreements with other governments on certain issues	unknown
Information network	participating in international conferences and seminars	unknown
Enforcement network	giving or receiving technical assistance on law enforcement	unknown
Harmonization network	International agreements on harmonization standards	unknown
Network with NGOs	NGO activity	yes, but limited on humanitarian aid.

Figure 7.1 networks and indicators for the Western Sahara

6.7 Conclusion

After the theory of Anne Marie Slaughter has been applied to the cases studied in this research project, it can be concluded that unrecognized states function in government networks as described by Slaughter.

Abkhazia is not a member of an IGO and therefore it cannot be concluded that Abkhazia is a part of a vertical network. However Abkhazia participates in horizontal networks, especially in horizontal networks regarding humanitarian issues. No information has been found on Abkhazia taking part in international conferences or seminars and sharing information in a government network. Abkhazia being part of an enforcement network can be concluded from Abkhazia having received international help during the elections for the referendum. No information has been found on harmonization agreements between Abkhazia and other governments so no conclusion can be drawn on the participation in harmonization networks. NGOs however, function in Abkhazia, for example NGOs on civil society development and human rights.

The Republic of China (ROC) is a member of several IGOs for example the World Trade Organisation and therefore it can be concluded that the ROC participates in vertical government networks. The ROC has trade agreements with different governments around the world; therefore it can be concluded that the ROC participates in Horizontal networks. On the website of the Government Information Office information has been found on ROC participation in international conferences on several global issues such as terrorism and environment. Therefore it can be concluded that ROC participates in international government information networks. Within the different trade agreements that the ROC has made with other states it is likely that agreements have been made on harmonization standards as well, but specific information has not been found, therefore it cannot be concluded that ROC participates in Harmonization networks. NGOs, however, are active in the Republic of China.

The Western Sahara is part of the African Union, an IGO, so they participate in a vertical network. Whether the Western Sahara has made binding agreements with other states is unknown. Therefore it cannot be concluded that they participate in horizontal networks. Whether the Western Sahara participates in information, harmonization and enforcement

networks remains unclear because of a lack of information. NGO activity is limited in Western Sahara but there is NGO activity, especially on human rights protection.

Chapter 7 Conclusions and recommendations

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter the research questions are answered, conclusions drawn and recommendations made. The main research question is: ***Does the network approach contribute to a better understanding of the functioning of unrecognized states in the international community?*** First the sub-questions are answered and after that the main research question is answered and the general conclusion is drawn.

7.2 Sub question 1. What Actors can be defined at an international level?

In Chapter 3 the theoretical and historical background on states was described. It can be concluded that a state is one of the actors which is active in the international field. A state can become a state by being recognised by other states. In chapter 4 backgrounds was given information on the international community. The range of International Organisations has grown rapidly over the past decades as an effect of the globalisation process. Intergovernmental organisations (IGOs), internationally operating non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and private corporations are active internationally. In this research project the private entities are not considered because this research focuses on the public sector. The United Nations is described as one of the most important IGOs because of its great influence throughout the world and its role in international law.

7.3 Sub question 2. What is the definition of an unrecognized state?

Human rights law describes the principle of self-determination; an individual and collective right to choice freely for their own political status, government and freely pursue economic, social and cultural development. This gives people the right to establish their own nation state. But the next step is to become recognized as a state by other states throughout the world.A Part of international Law is the regulations around recognition. The most striking aspect of these rules is that they leave it up to individual states whether they recognize another state as such. In theory it can happen that a region does have meet all the criteria of a state but internationally is not recognized as such.

The definition of an unrecognized state that is used in this research project is; *an area that possesses the actual conditions of statehood as they are defined by the international body of law but is not recognized as a state by most states.*

The conditions of statehood defined by the international body of law are the following.

An independent government, the first condition of statehood is that there must exist a government independent of that of any other state, including the parent state.

Effective authority the second requirement of statehood is a sufficient degree of internal stability as expressed in the functioning of a government enjoying the habitual obedience of the bulk of population.

Defined territory The possession of territory is, notwithstanding some theoretical controversy which has accumulated round the subject, a regular requirement of statehood. An exception to this rule is when a country is occupied then the government can function in exile, for example in Second World War.

(Lauterpacht, 1947, p.30)

7.4 Sub question 3. Which network theories are available and which theory is the most useful in the case of unrecognized states?

Several networks theories were described in the Theoretical Framework. The three types of network theories described make use of the same general aspects. In all three a network consists of actors that interact with each other and thereby create the network itself.

The first is the actor network theory which is the general theory and the basis of many forms of network theories in different fields of social science.

The second type of Network theory which is described in the theoretical framework is the network approach as it is used in public administration. It applies the basic principles of the actor network theory and adds perceptions and principles from organizational theories as used in public administration.

The third network approach is that of Anne-Marie Slaughter, which is also based on the general network theory but her focus is the world order. She distinguishes networks between

different governments. She combines the general network theory with perceptions from theories about international relations and the world order. By doing so she creates a new way of looking at the world order. Slaughter distinguishes different types of networks; horizontal networks versus vertical networks, and networks with different functions. A network can function as an information network, an enforcement network or as a harmonization network according to Anne Marie Slaughter.

Because the network theory used by Anne Marie Slaughter focuses on the world order it is the most useful theory in this research project as that is about the way unrecognized states function in the international community.

7.5 Sub question 4. How can the functioning of an unrecognized state be measured?

The functioning of an unrecognized state can be measured in different ways. In this research project the functioning of unrecognized sates was measured by using indicators for the different types of networks as described by Anne Marie Slaughter. For each type of international government network an indicator was established, so that it could be determined whether the unrecognized states participate in such a network. These indicators are to be found in the table below.

Figure 8.1 Types of networks and the corresponding indicators

Network	Indicator
Vertical network	membership of an IGO
Horizontal network	agreements with other governments on certain issues
Information network	participating in international conferences and seminars
Enforcement network	giving or receiving technical assistance on law enforcement
Harmonization network	International agreements on harmonization standards
Network with NGOs	NGO activity

7.6 Sub question 5. How do the unrecognized states function in the international community?

The differences between the different unrecognized states also reflect in the way they function in the international community. Some of the unrecognized states participate more on the international level than others.

The Republic of China shows that even an unrecognized state can function in different types of government networks. The ROC is a member of several IGOs and has made trade agreements with governments all over the world. The ROC is actively seeking more recognition throughout the world and has set up a network of people's diplomacy, thereby replacing the 'traditional' form of diplomatic relations between states. It is striking that even though the ROC functions well in the international community they are still looking for international recognition and for membership of the United Nations. Apparently there is, even for the Republic of China, a surplus value to the official status of statehood.

The other two cases show less international network activity although the Western Sahara is a member of the African Union, an IGO, and Abkhazia participates in government networks on human rights protection. Both cases show NGO activity in the area, but in the case of the Western Sahara this activity is limited to humanitarian aid. In Abkhazia NGO activity was limited as well until the situation in the area stabilized due to UN interference. Stability in a region and especially a United Nations program that guards that stability is a condition that stimulates the activity of NGOs in unrecognized states.

The case studies of Abkhazia and Western Sahara show that when the conflict in the area of the recognized state is not yet stabilized or solved the focus is not on international relations or networks that focus on other subjects than the problem itself. Governments of partly occupied unrecognized states such as the Western Sahara care less about internationally relevant subjects such as the environment or terrorism and therefore do not participate in international networks concerning these issues. This contrary to the Republic of China, where there is no immediate military threat or crisis, so the focus can be not only on its own situation but the government can focus again on global issues and on economic development. So it can be concluded that crisis or military occupation in the region has a negative effect on the

participation in government networks and therefore on the functioning in the international community.

7.7 Main research question; Does the network approach contribute to a better understanding of the functioning of unrecognized states in the international community?

In more traditional approaches to the world order there is only space for traditional entities such as states, NGOs and IGOs but with the network theory the focus is on actors. Actors can be all kinds of entities. With the help of the theory of Anne Marie Slaughter it has been possible to investigate the functioning within networks of the cases described in this research project. The indicators of the different types of networks show that there is a difference in the level of participation of the three cases as is described in the previous section.

Overall, the network theory did contribute to a better understanding of the functioning of unrecognized states in the international community. The case studies show that there is a great difference in the functioning of the different unrecognized states. However, with the help of the network theory and especially with the theory on government networks by Anne Marie Slaughter it has been able to establish that unrecognized state can participate in international government networks and therefore can function in the international community in the same way normal states do.

7.8 Recommendations

Further research on the issue can be useful to get a better understanding of the functioning of unrecognized states. Some problems regarding unrecognized states were not attended to in this research project because that was not within the scope of the research questions.

A more juridical approach to this Research subject can give new insights. For example a research on the position of unrecognized states in the international body of law, what is the legitimacy of these states and how are the right of self determination and recognition connected in international law?

The last recommendation on further research is on the process of decolonization. All of the unrecognized states are former colonies. But why do some former colonies have gained statehood and international recognition and others did not? Research on that subject could

clarify what the influence of a decolonization process within one region is and how that process can influence the functioning of an unrecognized state or decolonized state.

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Appendix 2 Members of UNPO

1. Tibet
2. Abkhazia
3. Aboriginals of Australia
4. Acheh
5. Ahwazi
6. Albanians in Macedonia
7. Assyria
8. Bashkortostan
9. Batwa
10. Bougainville
11. Buffalo River Dene Nation
12. Buryatia
13. Cabinda
14. Chechen Republic of Ichkeria
15. Chin
16. Chittagong Hill Tracts
17. Chuvash
18. Circassia
19. Cordillera
20. Crimean Tatars
21. East Turkestan
22. Gagauzia
23. Greek Minority in Albania
24. Hmong ChaoFa
25. Hungarian Minority in Romania
26. Ingushetia
27. Inkeri
28. Inner Mongolia
29. Iranian Kurdistan
30. Iraqi Kurdistan
31. Iraqi Turkmen
32. Kalahui Hawaii
33. Karenni State
34. Khmer Krom
35. Komi
36. Kosova
37. Kumyk
38. Lakota Nation
39. Maasai
40. Maohi
41. Mapuche
42. Mari
43. Mon
44. Montagnards
45. Nagalim
46. Nahua Del Alto Balsas
47. Nuxalk
48. Ogoni
49. Oromo
50. Rehoboth Basters
51. Rusyn
52. Sanjak
53. Scania
54. Shan
55. Sindh
56. Somaliland
57. South Moluccas
58. Southern Azerbaijan
59. Southern Cameroons
60. Taiwan
61. Talysh
62. Tatarstan
63. Tsimshian
64. Tuva
65. Udmurt
66. Vhavenda
67. West Balochistan
68. West Papua
69. Zanzibar

Source:http://www.unpo.org/nations_people.php

Appendix 3 . Members of the United Nations

Afghanistan (19 November 1946)

Albania (14 December 1955)

Algeria (8 October 1962)

Andorra (28 July 1993)

Angola (1 December 1976)

Antigua and Barbuda (11 November 1981)

Argentina (24 October 1945)

Armenia (2 March 1992)

Australia (1 November 1945)

Austria (14 December 1955)

Azerbaijan (2 March 1992)

Bahamas (18 September 1973)

Bahrain (21 September 1971)

Bangladesh (17 September 1974)

Barbados (9 December 1966)

Belarus (24 October 1945)

Belgium (27 December 1945)

Belize (25 September 1981)

Benin (20 September 1960)

Bhutan (21 September 1971)

Bolivia (14 November 1945)

Bosnia and Herzegovina (22 May 1992)

Botswana (17 October 1966)

Brazil (24 October 1945)

Brunei Darussalam (21 September 1984)

Bulgaria (14 December 1955)

Burkina Faso (20 September 1960)

Burundi (18 September 1962)

Cambodia (14 December 1955)

Cameroon (20 September 1960)

Canada (9 November 1945)

Cape Verde (16 September 1975)

Central African Republic (20 September 1960)

Chad (20 September 1960)

Chile (24 October 1945)

China (24 October 1945)

Colombia (5 November 1945)

Comoros (12 November 1975)

Congo, Republic of the... (20 September 1960)

Costa Rica (2 November 1945)

Côte d'Ivoire (20 September 1960)

Croatia (22 May 1992)

Cuba (24 October 1945)

Cyprus (20 September 1960)

Czech Republic (19 January 1993)

Democratic People's Republic of Korea (17 September 1991)

Democratic Republic of the Congo (20 September 1960)

Denmark (24 October 1945)

Djibouti (20 September 1977)

Dominica (18 December 1978)

Dominican Republic (24 October 1945)

Ecuador (21 December 1945)

Egypt (24 October 1945)

El Salvador (24 October 1945)

Equatorial Guinea (12 November 1968)

Eritrea (28 May 1993)

Estonia (17 September 1991)

Ethiopia (13 November 1945)

Fiji (13 October 1970)

Finland (14 December 1955)

France (24 October 1945)

Gabon (20 September 1960)

Gambia (21 September 1965)

Georgia (31 July 1992)

Germany (18 September 1973)

Ghana (8 March 1957)

Greece (25 October 1945)

Grenada (17 September 1974)

Guatemala (21 November 1945)

Guinea (12 December 1958)

Guinea-Bissau (17 September 1974)

Guyana (20 September 1966)

Haiti (24 October 1945)

Honduras (17 December 1945)

Hungary (14 December 1955)

Iceland (19 November 1946)

India (30 October 1945)

Indonesia (28 September 1950)

Iran, Islamic Republic of... (24 October 1945)

Iraq (21 December 1945)

Ireland (14 December 1955)

Israel (11 May 1949)

Italy (14 December 1955)

Jamaica (18 September 1962)

Japan (18 December 1956)

Jordan (14 December 1955)

Kazakhstan (2 March 1992)

Kenya (16 December 1963)

Kiribati (14 September 1999)

Kuwait (14 May 1963)

Kyrgyzstan (2 March 1992)

Lao People's Democratic Republic (14 December 1955)

Latvia (17 September 1991)

Lebanon (24 October 1945)

Lesotho (17 October 1966)

Liberia (2 November 1945)

Libyan Arab Jamahiriya (14 December 1955)

Liechtenstein (18 September 1990)

Lithuania (17 September 1991)

Luxembourg (24 October 1945)

Madagascar (20 September 1960)

Malawi (1 December 1964)

Malaysia (17 September 1957)

Maldives (21 September 1965)

Mali (28 September 1960)

Malta (1 December 1964)

Marshall Islands (17 September 1991)

Mauritania (27 October 1961)

Mauritius (24 April 1968)

Mexico (7 November 1945)

Micronesia, Federated States of... (17 September 1991)

Moldova (2 March 1992)

Monaco (28 May 1993)

Mongolia (27 October 1961)

Montenegro (28 June 2006)

Morocco (12 November 1956)

Mozambique (16 September 1975)

Myanmar (19 April 1948)

Namibia (23 April 1990)

Nauru (14 September 1999)

Nepal (14 December 1955)

Netherlands (10 December 1945)

New Zealand (24 October 1945)

Nicaragua (24 October 1945)

Niger (20 September 1960)

Nigeria (7 October 1960)

Norway (27 November 1945)

Oman (7 October 1971)

Pakistan (30 September 1947)

Palau (15 December 1994)

Panama (13 November 1945)

Papua New Guinea (10 October 1975)

Paraguay (24 October 1945)

Peru (31 October 1945)

Philippines (24 October 1945)

Poland (24 October 1945)

Portugal (14 December 1955)

Qatar (21 September 1971)

Republic of Korea (17 September 1991)

Romania (14 December 1955)

Russian Federation (24 October 1945)

Rwanda (18 September 1962)

Saint Kitts and Nevis (23 September 1983)

Saint Lucia (18 September 1979)

Saint Vincent and the Grenadines (16 September 1980)

Samoa (15 December 1976)

San Marino (2 March 1992)

Sao Tome and Principe (16 September 1975)

Saudi Arabia (24 October 1945)

Senegal (28 September 1960)

Serbia (1 November 2000)

Seychelles (21 September 1976)

Sierra Leone (27 September 1961)

Singapore (21 September 1965)

Slovakia (19 January 1993)

Slovenia (22 May 1992)

Solomon Islands (19 September 1978)

Somalia (20 September 1960)

South Africa (7 November 1945)

Spain (14 December 1955)

Sri Lanka (14 December 1955)

Sudan (12 November 1956)

Suriname (4 December 1975)

Swaziland (24 September 1968)

Sweden (19 November 1946)

United Arab Emirates (9 December 1971)

United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (24 October 1945)

United Republic of Tanzania (14 December 1961)

United States of America (24 October 1945)

Uruguay (18 December 1945)

Uzbekistan (2 March 1992)

Vanuatu (15 September 1981)

Switzerland (10 September 2002)

Syrian Arab Republic (24 October 1945)

Tajikistan (2 March 1992)

Thailand (16 December 1946)

The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (8 April 1993)

Timor-Leste (27 September 2002)

Togo (20 September 1960)

Tonga (14 September 1999)

Trinidad and Tobago (18 September 1962)

Tunisia (12 November 1956)

Turkey (24 October 1945)

Turkmenistan (2 March 1992)

Tuvalu (5 September 2000)

Uganda (25 October 1962)

Ukraine (24 October 1945)

Venezuela, Bolivarian Republic of... (15 November 1945)

Viet Nam (20 September 1977)

Yemen (30 September 1947)

Zambia (1 December 1964)

Zimbabwe (25 August 1980)

Source: http://www.un.org/members/list.shtml

Appendix 4 Observers at UN headquarters

Non-member State having received a standing invitation to participate as observer in the sessions and the work of the General Assembly and maintaining

permanent observer mission at Headquarters

- **Holy See**

  - Permanent Observer of Mission of the Holy See to the United Nations
    25 East 39th Street, New York, NY 10016-0903
    Telephone: (212) 370-7885
    Telefax: (212) 370-9622
    E-mail: office@holyseemission.org
    Website: www.holyseemission.org
    Permanent Observer: His Excellency Archbishop Celestino Migliore, J.C.D., D.D., Apostolic Nuncio
    National holiday: 19 April (Anniversary of the Pontificate of His Holiness Pope Benedict XVI)

    Based on the United Nations Protocol's Blue Book
    "Permanent Missions to the United Nations No. 295", April 2006
    Last updated with ST/SG/SER.A/295/Add.5 (3 October 2006)

Entity having received a standing invitation to participate as observer in the sessions and the work of the General Assembly and maintaining permanent observer mission at Headquarters

- **Palestine**

  - Permanent Observer Mission of Palestine to the United Nations
    115 East 65th Street, New York, NY 10021
    Telephone: (212) 288-8500
    Telefax: (212) 517-2377
    E-mail: mission@palestine-un.org
    Permanent Observer: H.E. Mr. Riyad H. Mansour, Ambassador

    Based on the United Nations Protocol's Blue Book
    "Permanent Missions to the United Nations No. 295", April 2006
    Last updated with ST/SG/SER.A/295/Add.5 (3 October 2006)

Intergovernmental organizations having received a standing invitation to participate as observers in the sessions and the work of the General Assembly and maintaining permanent offices at Headquarters

Note: The title "Ambassador", if used with respect to the representative of an entity other than a State, should not be understood as indicating in itself an entitlement to diplomatic privileges and immunities.

- **African Union**

- ○   Office of the Permanent Observer for the African Union to the United Nations
  3 Dag Hammarskjöld Plaza, 305 East 47th Street, 5th Floor, New York, NY 10017
  Telephone: (212) 319-5490
  Telefax: (212) 319-7135/6509
  E-mail: africanunion@un.int, au-newyork@africa-union-nyo.org
  Permanent Observer: ???

- **Asian-African Legal Consultative Organization**

  - ○   Office of the Permanent Observer of the Asian-African Legal Consultative Organization to the United Nations
    404 East 66th Street, Apt. 12C, New York, NY 10021
    Telephone: (212) 734-7608
    Telefax: (212) 734-7608
    E-mail: bhagwat@un.int
    Permanent Observer: H.E. Mr. K. Bhagwat-Singh, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary

- **Caribbean Community**

  - ○   Office of the Permanent Observer for the Caribbean Community to the United Nations
    801 Second Avenue, Suite 501, New York, NY 10017
    Telephone: (212) 685-4313
    Telefax: (212) 779-1134
    E-mail: pomcaricom@gmail.com
    Permanent Observer: H.E. Mr. Miles Stoby, Ambassador

- **Caribbean Community**

  - ○   Office of the Permanent Observer for the Central American Integration System to the United Nations
    131 West 70th Street, Suite 2A, New York, NY 10023
    Telephone: (212) 874-3042
    Telefax: (212) 877-9021
    E-mail: ccampos@sgsica-ny.org
    Permanent Observer: Mr. Carlos Campos

- **Commonwealth Secretariat**

  - ○   Office of the Commonwealth Secretariat at the United Nations
    800 Second Avenue, 4th floor, New York, NY 10017
    Telephone: (212) 599-6190, 682-3658, 338-9410
    Telefax: (212) 808-4975, 972-3970
    E-mail: comsec@onecommonwealth.org
    Permanent Observer: ??

- **European Community**

  - ○   Delegation of the European Commission to the United Nations
    222 East 41st Street, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10017
    Telephone: (212) 371-3804
    Telefax: (212) 758-2718

E-mail: delegation-new-york@cec.eu.int
Website: www.europa-eu-un.org
Permanent Observer: H.E. Mr. Fernando M. Valenzuela, Ambassador, Head of the
Delegation of the European Commission

- **International Criminal Police Organization (INTERPOL)**

  ○   Office of the Special Representative for the International Criminal Police
  Organization (INTERPOL) to the United Nations
  One United Nations Plaza, Room 2610, New York, NY 10017
  Telephone: (917) 367-3463
  Telefax: (917) 367-3476
  E-mail: m.ragg@interpol.int
  Special Representative: Mr. Klaus Ulrich Kersten

- **International Organization for Migration**

  ○   Office of the Permanent Observer for the International Organization for
  Migration to the United Nations
  122 East 42nd Street, Suite 1610, New York, NY 10168
  Telephone: (212) 681-7000, Ext. 200,
  Telefax: (212) 867-5887
  E-mail: unobserver@iom.int
  Website: www.iom.int, www.un.int/iom Permanent Observer: Mr. Luca Dall'Oglio

- **International Organization of la Francophonie**

  ○   Office of the Permanent Observer for the International Organization of la
  Francophonie to the United Nations
  801 Second Avenue, Suite 605, New York, NY 10017
  Telephone: (212) 867-6771
  Telefax: (212) 867-3840
  Permanent Observer: H.E. Mr. Hervé Cassan, Ambassador

- **International Seabed Authority**

  ○   Office of the Permanent Observer for the International Seabed Authority to
  the United Nations
  One United Nations Plaza, Room 1140, New York, NY 10017
  Telephone: (212) 963-6470/6411
  Telefax: (212) 963-0908
  Permanent Observer: H.E. Mr. Satya N. Nandan, Secretary-General

- **International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea**

  ○   Office of the Permanent Observer for the International Tribunal for the Law
  of the Sea to the United Nations
  Two United Nations Plaza, Room 434, New York, NY 10017
  Telephone: (212) 963-3972
  Telefax: (212) 963-5847
  Permanent Observer: H.E. Mr. Rüdiger Wolfrum, President of the Tribunal

- **International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources**

- ○ Office of the Permanent Observer for the International International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources to the United Nations
404 West 66th Street, Apt. 12C, New York, NY 10021
Telephone: (212) 734-7608
Telefax: (212) 734-7608
E-mail: bhagwat@un.int
Permanent Observer: H.E. Mr. K. Bhagwat-Singh, Ambassador

- **League of Arab States**

  - ○ Office of the Permanent Observer for the League of Arab States to the United Nations
866 United Nations Plaza, Suite 494, New York, NY 10017
Telephone: (212) 838-8700
Telefax: (212) 355-3909
E-mail: arableague@un.int
Permanent Observer: H.E. Mr. Yahya A. Mahmassani, Ambassador

- **Organization of the Islamic Conference**

  - ○ Office of the Permanent Observer for the Organization of the Islamic Conference to the United Nations
130 East 40th Street, 5th Floor, New York, NY 10016
Telephone: (212) 883-0140
Telefax: (212) 883-0143
E-mail: oic@un.int
Website: www.oicun.org
Permanent Observer: H.E. Mr. Abdul Wahab, Ambassador

- **Partners in Population and Development**

  - ○ Office of the Permanent Observer for Partners in Population and Development to the United Nations
122 East 42nd Street, Suite 4005, New York, NY 10168
Telephone: (212) 268-1082
Telefax: (212) 268-1079
E-mail: jsingh@ppdsec.org, rgarvey@ppdsec.org
Website: www.south-south-ppd.org
Permanent Observer: Mr. Jyoti Shankar Singh

Based on the United Nations Protocol's Blue Book
"Permanent Missions to the United Nations No. 295", April 2006
Last updated with ST/SG/SER.A/295/Add.5 (3 October 2006)

Intergovernmental organizations having received a standing invitation to participate as observers in the sessions and the work of the General Assembly, but not maintaining permanent offices at Headquarters

- African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States
- African Development Bank

- Agency for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America and the Caribbean Andean Community

- Asian Development Bank

- Association of Caribbean States

- Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organization

- Collective Security Treaty Organization

- Commonwealth of Independent States

- Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries

- Community of Sahelo-Saharan States

- Council of Europe

- Customs Cooperation Council

- East African Community

- Economic Community of Central African States

- Economic Community of West African States

- Economic Cooperation Organization

- Eurasian Economic Community

- GUUAM

- Inter-American Development Bank

- International Centre for Migration Policy Development

- International Criminal Court

- International Development Law Organization

- International Hydrographic Organization

- International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance

- Latin American Economic System

- Latin American Parliament

- Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

- Organization for Eastern Caribbean States

- Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe

- Organization of American States

- Pacific Islands Forum

- Permanent Court of Arbitration

- Shanghai Cooperation Organization

- South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation

- Southern African Development Community

Other entities having received a standing invitation to participate as observers in the sessions and the work of the General Assembly and maintaining permanent offices at Headquarters

Note: The title "Ambassador", if used with respect to the representative of an entity other than a State, should not be understood as indicating in itself an entitlement to diplomatic privileges and immunities.

- **International Committee of the Red Cross**

  - Delegation of the International Committee of the Red Cross to the United Nations
    801 Second Avenue, 18th Floor, New York, NY 10017-4706
    Telephone: (212) 599-6021
    Telefax: (212) 599-6009
    E-mail: email.nyc@icrc.org
    Head of delegation: Mr. Dominique Buff

- **International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies**

  - Delegation of the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies to the United Nations
    800 Second Avenue, Suite 355, New York, NY 10017
    Telephone: (212) 338-0161
    Telefax: (212) 338-9832
    E-mail: ifrcny@un.int
    Permanent Observer: Mr. Encho Gospodinov, Head of delegation

- **Inter-Parliamentary Union**

  - Office of the Permanent Observer to the United Nations
    220 East 42nd Street, Suite 3002, New York, NY 10017
    Telephone: (212) 557-5880
    Telefax: (212) 557-3954
    E-mail: ny-office@mail.ipu.org
    Permanent Observer: H.E. Mrs. Anda Filip, Ambassador

- **Sovereign Military Order of Malta**

  - Office of the Permanent Observer for the Sovereign Military Order of Malta to the United Nations
    216 East 47th Street, 8th Floor, New York, NY 10017
    Telephone: (212) 355-6213/4601
    Telefax: (212) 355-4014
    E-mail: orderofmalta@un.int
    Permanent Observer: H.E. Mr. Robert L. Shafer, Ambassador

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Last updated with ST/SG/SER.A/295/Add.5 (3 October 2006)*

Specialized agencies and related organizations maintaining liaison offices at Headquarters

- **International Labour Organization**

  ○ ILO Office for the United Nations
  220 East 42nd Street, Suite 3101, New York, NY 10017-5806
  Telephone: (212) 697-0150
  Telefax: (212) 697-5218
  E-mail: newyork@ilo.org
  Representative to the United Nations and Director: Mr. Djankou Ndjonkou

- **Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations**

  ○ FAO Liaison Office with the United Nations
  One United Nations Plaza, Room 1125, New York, NY 10017
  Telephone: (212) 963-6036
  Telefax: (212) 963-5425
  E-mail: fao-lony@fao.org
  Representative to the United Nations and Director: Ms. Florence A. Chenoweth

- **United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization**

  ○ UNESCO Office at the United Nations
  Two United Nations Plaza, Room 900, New York, NY 10017
  Telephone: (212) 963-5995
  Telefax: (212) 963-8014
  E-mail: newyork@unesco.org
  Representative to the United Nations and Director: Mrs. Hélène-Marie Gosselin

- **World Health Organization**

  ○ WHO Office at the United Nations
  Two United Nations Plaza, Room 970, New York, NY 10017
  Telephone: (212) 963-4388
  Telefax: (212) 963-8565
  Representative of the Director General to the United Nations system and other intergovernmental organizations and Executive Director: Mr. Andrey V. Pirogov

- **World Bank**

  ○ Office of the Special Representative of the World Bank to the United Nations
  One Dag Hammarskjöld Plaza, 885 Second Avenue, 26th Floor, New York, NY 10017
  Telephone: (212) 355-5112
  Telefax: (212) 355-4523
  Special Representative to the United Nations: Mr. Oscar A. Avalle

- **International Monetary Fund**

    ○ International Monetary Fund Office at the United Nations
    885 Second Avenue, 26th Floor, New York, NY 10017
    Telephone: (212) 893-1700
    Telefax: (212) 893-1715
    E-mail: rmunzberg@imf.org, rbrauning@imf.org, lnielsen@imf.org, lhernandez1@imf.org
    Representative to the United Nations: Mr. Reinhard H. Munzberg

- **World Meteorological Organization**

    ○ WMO Office at the United Nations
    866 United Nations Plaza, Room A-302, New York, NY 10017
    Telephone: (212) 963-9444, (917) 367-9867
    Telefax: (917) 367-9868
    E-mail: zbatjargal@wmo.int, batjargal@un.org
    Representative and Coordinator to the United Nations and other intergovernmental organizations: Mr. Zamba Batjargal

- **World Intellectual Property Organization**

    ○ WIPO Coordination Office at the United Nations
    Two United Nations Plaza, Room 2525, New York, NY 10017
    Telephone: (212) 963-6813
    Telefax: (212) 963-4801
    E-mail: wipo@un.org
    Representative to the United Nations and Director: Mr. Orobola Fasehun

- **International Fund for Agricultural Development**

    ○ IFAD Liaison Office with the United Nations
    Two United Nations Plaza, Room 1128/1129, New York, NY 10017
    Telephone: (212) 963-0546
    Telefax: (212) 963-2787
    E-mail: ifad@un.org
    Representative to the United Nations and Director: ??

- **United Nations Industrial Development Organization**

    ○ UNIDO Office at New York
    One United Nations Plaza, Room 1110, New York, NY 10017
    Telephone: (212) 963-6890/6891
    Telefax: (212) 963-7904
    E-mail: sabriy@un.org
    Representative to the United Nations, Assistant Director-General and Director: Mr. Alberto Di Liscia

- **World Tourism Organization**

    ○ Office of the Special Representative of the World Tourism Organization to the United Nations
    304 East 45th Street, Room 1513, New York, NY 10017
    Telephone: (212) 906-5375

Telefax: (212) 906-6705
Representative to the United Nations: Mr. Rafeeuddin Ahmed

- **International Atomic Energy Agency**

    ○ IAEA Office at the United Nations
One United Nations Plaza, Room 1155, New York, NY 10017
Telephone: (212) 963-6012/6011/6010
Telefax: (917) 367-4046
E-mail: iaeany@un.org
Representative of the Director General to the United Nations and Director: Mr.
Gustavo R. Zlauvinen

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Source: http://www.un.org/members/entities.shtml