"A Woman is Stronger than our State": Performing Sovereignty on the Margins of the State

VIVIAN SOLANA

ABSTRACT

Human Rights activist Aminetu Haidar sat in the Spanish airport of Lanzarote (Canary Islands) from the 15th of November to the 17th of December (2009) exercising a 34 day hunger strike. For 34 years 200 000 of her Saharawi compatriots have lived in the exiled state/refugee camp of the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) found in Algerian sovereign territory. Exploring how legal discourse, mediated through passports and citizenship status, has been flexibly applied to both govern Haidar’s movement and its reverse, how Haidar has used her body to denounce and make legible arbitrary power upon her, this paper reads Haidar’s action through Das & Poole (2004) to discuss how illegality and the state of exception are at the heart of modern state power. The paper also explores the efficacy of Haidar’s actions and some of its implications for the longstanding plight for political recognition in the Western Sahara.

“In 1975 Spain made a mistake because it did not anticipate the determination of the Saharawi People. In 2009 they have made a mistake again because they don’t know Aminetu Haidar”

-Declarations by Aminetu Haidar to Spanish Newspaper El País

S ahariawi activist Aminetu Haidar, victim to the use of state exception, sat exercising a 34 day long hunger strike in the Spanish airport of Lanzarote from the 15th of November to the 17th of December in 2009. Exploring how legal discourse, mediated through passports and citizenship status, has been flexibly applied to both govern Haidar’s movement and its reverse, how Haidar has used her body to denounce and make legible arbitrary power upon her, this paper applies the hermeneutic proposed by Das & Poole’s volume Anthropology in the Margins of the State (2004) to show how “border making practices run
within the political and social territory rather than outside of it” and the way in which “the indeterminacy of the margins… enables strategies of engaging the state as some kind of margin to the body of citizens” (30). This is a story of sovereignty exercised “both inside and outside of the law” (12).

Introducing Aminetu Haidar

The demands of the Saharawi national liberation movement El Frente Popular de Liberación de Sagüa el Hamra y Río de Oro (Frente POLISARIO) fell on deaf ears when, in 1975, Spain handed over the Western Sahara to Morocco and Mauritania through a secret pact named after “The Madrid Accords”.

The 1970s were turbulent years for the Kingdom of Morocco. Two consecutive attempts at a coup d’état were staged against the Moroccan royal family in 1971 and 1972 and civil unrest grew due to the persistent inequalities within the country since its independence from Spain and France in 1955. With his regime at risk, King Hassan II and his entourage looked to the South and developed a campaign known as “The Greater Morocco” which, premised on a shared polis which went back to the times of the 12th century Almohad Caliphate, laid claims of sovereignty over a territory encompassing Mauritania, part of Mali, part of Algeria and all of Western Sahara. This ambitious irredentism was designed to keep the army busy from destabilizing the regime, whilst reinvigorating Moroccan nationalism around a mission to “save their Southern brothers and sisters” from Spanish colonialists (see Hodges 1986, Mundy & Zunes 2010).

Never, however, had their “Southern brothers and sisters” officially asked Moroccans to save them. Since the 1960s a large movement amongst the Hassaniya-speaking peoples of trab el bidan had developed a national project with aspirations to govern an independent state of their own. By the 1970s, Saharawi nationalism had become a full-fledged social reality as well as the recognized grounds for their right to self-determination under international law.

However, Morocco’s privileged status in North Africa as the main regional ally of France and of the United States during the Cold War saw their claims to sovereignty over the territory secretly supported by Western powers (and by extension, by Spain) which preferred to support the stability of the Moroccan regime and of their political and economic investments in the country, over ensuring the application of ethical principles behind international agreements. On November 6, 1975, Morocco initiated its operation of invasion known as the “Green March” which consisted of 350,000 Moroccan civilians marching down to the Western Sahara, “protected” by the Moroccan army. Spanish settlers (and the Spanish army) began to evacuate the Western Sahara on
that same day as El Frente Polisario was left to its own devices, fighting a 16 year long guerrilla war against their new occupiers.

1975 was also the year in which Aminetu Haidar’s father disappeared. He officially died in a car crash, although for her, as for so many other opponents of the Hassan II regime, it was official that he had been assassinated by the Moroccan security forces. With the bloody armed conflict between Morocco and El Frente Polisario as backdrop, Haidar was caught distributing Polisario flags, banners and fliers in preparation for a civil protest on the occasion of a UN visit to the area in 1987. She was jailed for a period of four years, sharing a cell with 59 other prisoners. Blindfolded, they were battered and tortured with urine, feces, detergents and electricity on a regular basis.

Haidar was released in 1992, alongside another 600 prisoners of war as a result of the ceasefire that was signed between El Polisario and Morocco in 1991. A United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO) was created in the region to protect the political process towards decolonization that Spain had never taken responsibility for. And yet, as has been argued by Mundy & Zunes (2010: xxix), the spirit of these agreements was not one of peace but of war by other means. Twenty years after a diplomatic war of attrition between El Frente Polisario and Morocco (see Jensen 2005, Thenopolis 2006, 2007, Mundy & Zunes, 2010: 169 – 253 for more details), Saharawis like Aminetu Haidar living in the occupied territory continue to suffer systematized persecution from the Moroccan State.

Pictures of Aminetu Haidar’s tortured body from the time of her release from jail have circulated widely amongst international solidarity movements, turning her into an icon for Saharawi nationalist militancy. She is one of the main promoters of the Saharawi intifada, a civil resistance movement which has been emerging in the occupied territories since the year 2000. Many Saharawi poems and songs have been dedicated to her; Haidar’s name is chanted from many corners of the world. She first obtained a Moroccan passport in 2004 and has traveled every year since, collecting Human Rights Awards from a number of Western countries.

On her way back from the USA in November 2009, where she had been awarded the Civil Courage Award by the John Trian Foundation, Haidar wrote “Saharawi” on the nationality box of the passport control entry-form of the airport in the occupied city of El Aiún. Haidar anticipated this action would be received by the Moroccan state with arbitrary violence. After all, one week earlier, seven Saharawi activists had been jailed passing through the same checkpoint on their way back from a visit to the SADR. What Haidar had not foreseen was what actually happened: her expulsion to Spain. As Haidar described it, the expulsion to Spain, in particular, “a democratic country respectful of human rights … would have never occurred to me.”
After 13 hours of interrogation at the airport of El Aiuún, Moroccan police removed Haidar’s documentation and forced her into a Spanish flight to Lanzarote (the capital of the Spanish Canary Islands). Arguing she could not possibly fly without a ticket or enter Spain without passport, Haidar resisted her eviction. Police men mocked her: “Where will you live more comfortably than in Spain? You can defend your separatist ideas all you want from there.” She argued with the Spanish pilot: “How can you fly me to Spain in these illegal circumstances?” Afraid of the legal consequences, the pilot refused to take her, but after the exchange of a few phone calls, a Moroccan Commander turned to the pilot and said: “You must take her. The Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs is informed and has approved the decision.” Once the plane had landed, Spanish Guardia Civil (civil armed forces) entered the airplane and assured Haidar that everything would be solved by the Spanish authorities. Once inside the airport, Haidar insisted she be put on the first flight back to El Aiuún. However, the Spanish authorities explained she could not be allowed to fly out the country without a passport.

It was then that Haidar learnt her exception to enter Spain did not apply to her exit. Feeling kidnapped, on November 15, roughly 24 hours after landing in Lanzarote, she announced a hunger strike which came to last 34 days. Haidar told the Spanish Press: “I have been detained and separated from my children by Morocco, but that does not hurt me half as much as what Spain is doing to me, a democratic country, a legal country... I only have one request: returning to Western Sahara, where my children are.”

Occupying the Margins of State Power:
“She decided to sit on a limbo”

Saharawi poet Ali Salem Iselmu visited Haidar 14 days into her hunger strike. A few days later he distributed a poem titled “She decided to sit on a limbo”. The following is one of his verses: “What are Human Rights Worth? Morality, intelligence, and progress are run over when we fail to notice the arbitrariness and haughtiness that surrounds us.”

Capturing much about the indeterminate, almost mystified presence of our experience of the modern state in everyday life (Aretxaga 2000, Taussig 1993, Navarro-Yashin 2002, Mitchell, 1991), Iselmu’s words echo Agamben’s (2005): only when an excess is produced through states of exception does state power become tangible, impossible to ignore by those who, like Haidar, are forced to land on its “margins” – spaces and moments where, as in Haidar’s kidnap, legality is bent and distorted.
Das and Poole (2004) have argued that the forms of governance located at these margins are not peripheral to states but are the very conditions of states. Building on Agamben and Foucault they contend sovereignty is “best defined in terms of power over life and death” and this relation, which is at the heart of the modern state, is much more visible on the “margins than at the centre” (25).

Arguing against a Kantian tradition which presupposes the state of nature to threaten the civic order, the hermeneutic they propose resorts to margins as theoretical frames unburdened by this statist-discursive regime. Reshuffling a state order vs. a natural order binary, there appears to be nothing less wild about Modern States than the wilderness its discourse ascribes to nature.

Margins offer a privileged perspective to observe the indeterminate, inconsistent nature of states while being spaces from where the governmental and sovereign power of states may be contested, played with and appropriated. Using Das & Poole’s insights (2004), this article interprets Aminetu Haidar’s political performance as an instance of the transformative potential in margins.

Fingers Pointing in All Directions

Haidar’s interpellation of the Spanish state awakens uncomfortable ghosts of a shared past between Spain and Western Sahara. The shameful decolonization process which the ex-colonizing power stirred away from is one of the many stories that failed to appear in the Spanish History textbooks of its born-again democratic State. Franco died three days before the Green March. Exactly when Spain initiated its transition into the family of democratic, human right-loving states, Western Sahara became subsumed into the destructs of war and the whims of a new military occupation.

A process of collective amnesia over the wounds of the Spanish Civil War and of the violence of Franco’s regime has been described as a pre-requisite to the construction of a democratic, Post-Francoist Spain. In the 1980s Spanish society agreed to shake hands and “move on” (Juliá 2003). Similarly, Spain’s presence in Africa was swept under the carpet during its white-washed EU-candidacy of the 1980s. It would be little exaggeration to claim that most who belong to generations born since have, until recently, been ignorant of Spain’s very recent presence in Western Sahara.

In fact, the temporal separation between “colonial Spain” and “democratic Spain” was one of the first “social realities” that an envoy of the Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs held on to and re-inscribe in his first visit to Aminetu Haidar. He tried persuading Haidar that Spain did not currently subscribe to the Madrid Accords (the treaties whereby Spain illegally handed sovereignty of Western Sahara over to Morocco and Mauritania). After all, he argued, these pacts had
been signed in the final days of Franco’s regime. This was an empty comment nonetheless in light of the fact that Spain does not yet recognize the SADR (up to eighty three different countries have recognized the SADR throughout its history: Mundy & Zunes 2010: 24). Moreover, Spain systematically continues to violate international conventions prohibiting the exploitation of Western Saharan resources under Moroccan occupation and it has recently sided with France to oppose the motion of giving legal authority to the UN peace mission based in the region (MINURSO) to police human rights crimes in the occupied territory. Thanks to Spain and France’s veto, today, MINURSO is the only UN peace mission in the world without such a mandate.

Spain’s complicity with the government of Morocco is best explained through complex historic-diplomatic relations and broader geopolitical considerations with no room to be discussed in detail here (see Hodges, 1983, Shelley, 2004, Zunes & Mundy, 2010). For the purposes of this paper it suffices to say that Haidar’s hunger strike threatened their quiet proceeding.

Haidar’s dangerous “powers” were sensed by Spanish authorities immediately. Five days into her hunger strike the Minister of Foreign Affairs Miguel Ángel Moratinos offered her what millions of illegal refugees and migrants are refused daily in Spain (their irregularity is so regular it has become banal): Haidar was offered Spanish citizenship in a telephone conversation. Likewise, she was promised a residence (also a privilege for the average Spaniard these days) where Haidar, she was told, would be able to receive visits from her family and her children.

To Moratinos’ dismay, the activist refused what his political party later declared to be a “very generous offer”. They declared: “we cannot do much more”xxii. Yet, in a display of impeccable political coherence Haidar reminded the Spanish press: “I have never solicited a Spanish nationality. Morocco is obliged to give me a passport as the occupying power of my land. I have a passport. It is currently confiscated by the Moroccan Kingdom”. Thanks, but no thanks: “I don’t want to be made into a foreigner in my own home.”xxiii

Indeed an article by a Professor of Constitutional Lawxiv argues the solution proposed by Moratinos did not respect a legal right, it conceded a legal exception. For Prof. Ruiz Miguel, the only legal solution was returning Haidar to El Aiuún, which is exactly what the Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs clumsily tried later when, two weeks into Haidar’s Strike, an envoy of his accompanied her on a plane back to occupied Western Sahara. On this occasion, Morocco embarrassed Spain by canceling the permission for the plane to land; the team had to return to Lanzarote where Aminetu continued her hunger strike.

Meanwhile, these events sparked a visceral political battle within the Spanish State. President Zapatero and his ruling party argued Haidar’s entrance into Spain had been legal. In an unusual twist of rules and rhetoric, he explained...
Haidar was a “special Spanish guest”. Notwithstanding, the President assured civilians (even though this was later disproved by his own team xv) that no political authority had been behind the order permitting Haidar’s entry into Spain.

In a skillful use of rhetoric Zapatero eluded his responsibility, mobilizing the anonymous, mystical image of state bureaucracy to explain that it had not been the government, but “administrative authorities” who had allowed Haidar to enter the country. In a similar gesture towards diluting the government’s responsibility, the President also made a prudent allusion to the possibility of getting the Spanish King involved in the diplomatic conflict and he repeatedly assured that “many countries were being implicated in the process, the United States amongst them, which has an extremely solid diplomatic body” and whose collaboration he “wished to thank profusely.”xvi

Opposition parties from all sides of the political spectrum seized the opportunity to press the government on the matter. Besides the ruling party, no other party considers Haidar’s entry into Spain legal. In Parliament, the conservative and main opposition Party asked: Who gave the police and the Spanish pilot green light for Haidar’s transfer? The Communist Party, the sole party of congress to recognize the SADR, also condemned the government for illegal behavior but curiously urged Haidar to stop her strike: “This country has a judicial system which must judge and punish those who collaborated with Haidar’s kidnap”: “Haidar’s death leads to impunity”xvii. Even novelists were not willing to let loose of legalist Modern State discourses. Spanish Nobel Prize nominee Goytisolo wrote: “Granting permission for Haidar to join her family is not Morocco’s defeat, nor does it grant victory to separatist movements. It will only mean the triumph of legality, reason and common sense.”xviii This state of exception brought together competing political projects around a single scheme: safeguarding Spain’s legal image. Fingers started to point in all directions, looking for a guilty few which would allow the State and its democratic order to save face.

Moroccans too reacted against their State’s arbitrary use of power. In an article written by a member of the Moroccan Royal Council on Saharawi Issues he asks: Considering Haidar has always written “Saharawi” on the nationalist box of airport checkpoints, what changed this time? The author laments diplomatic conflict over a simple “gesture” and urges Moroccan non-governmental organizations to step in and denounce the human right violation. He explains: “Haidar is a formidable woman but we cannot allow her alone to create a crisis between the much larger, historical relationship of Spain and Morocco.”xix

Haidar’s achievement was that of turning the “margin” she landed on into a visible crack in the Spanish state’s power. Her success was that of exposing the state’s arbitrary management; the flexibility of its theoretically strict laws and use
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of exception may be seen as confirmed by the passionate insistence she elicited over the recuperation of legality and geopolitical status quo.

The Body as a Site for Sovereignty and Contestation

“I never thought I would have to recur to a hunger strike in a democratic country like Spain. I am shocked, but it was the only efficacious protest I found at hand”

Exercising sovereignty over her own physical body, Haidar simultaneously denounced illicit sovereignty imposed upon her. Her embodied protest involved a reversal of state order, so it is hardly surprising her health became the focus of much political and media attention; the “principal source of preoccupation” for some. The risk of her death put more than her own body at stake. Her death would blemish the Spanish body-politic.

On December 6 the Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs sent Judge Jerónimo Alonso alongside a doctor and his judiciary secretary to medically examine Haidar’s physical condition. Amongst the supporters accompanying Haidar at the airport was a medical doctor who had made various alarming declarations to the press about her health. His medical verdict was nonetheless contradicted by the Ministry’s team which reported there was no need (at the time) to send Haidar to a hospital. Confounded by differing medical judgment Judge Alonso advised a new medical examination, a third opinion, which Haidar vehemently refused on the basis that she had felt terrorized by the authoritative way in which the judge and his team had entered her room at the airport. Drawing comparisons between the team’s comportment and that of Moroccan policemen, Haidar explained they had entered abruptly, turning on the light and forcing her friends to leave. Haidar had allowed the examination to proceed but reminded the judge of the irrelevance of its results to her; she would not eat until her request to return to her family in El Aiuún had been granted. In response, Judge Alonso told Haidar he could deliver an order to force-feed her should she lose consciousness. Appalled by the judge’s threat Haidar and her supporters complained arguing: “Instead of Pressuring Morocco, Spain is Pressuring Haidar.”

During the days that followed, pictures of a debilitated Haidar flooded the Spanish press, tensions were high, and a question loomed in the air like a phantom: ¿Can Democratic Spain afford to let a Human Rights activist, forced into its territory, die in its territory? Haidar turned her body into a border—the space which demarcated Spain’s relationship with Western Sahara and was threatening to shift the temporal and spatial boundaries between Spain’s colonial past and its democratic present.

On December 17, quite unexpectedly for many, the Spanish Press announced a new plane would fly Haidar to El Aiuún. Hundreds gathered at the
airport to see her goodbye. On the 18th she crossed the Moroccan checkpoint holding her two middle fingers up like a “V”, a symbol for “Victory”, of Che Guevara’s Motto: “¡Hasta la Victoria, Siempre!” and of Saharawi national liberation. Haidar ended her hunger strike in the company of her family that evening. Meanwhile dozens of Saharawis took to the streets of El Aiuún in celebration of her return and became subject to the violence and incarcerations of the Moroccan police.\textsuperscript{xxv}

In Spain too, hundreds marched the streets of Lanzarote and Madrid calling out “A Victory for Human Rights”. Nevertheless, many of those “accompanying” Haidar during her visit to the margins of State Power had learnt a lesson about the “potentiality, anticipation and shadows […] actualized in spaces of exception” (Das & Poole 2004: 12). Blogs and comments on on-line press articles became infested with questions, projections and predictions. Many asked: “What happened during the secret talks between Hilary Clinton, Minister Moratinos and representatives of the Moroccan State?” “How will Morocco treat Haidar now?” “What has Morocco been conceded in return for Haidar’s return?” “When will WE (the citizens) find out?” \textsuperscript{xxvi}

On the Openings of Margins

Pro-Saharawi commentators expressed uneasiness over describing events as unequivocally triumphal. Of course, on one level, Haidar’s life and dignity had been saved, yet Western Sahara continues to be occupied. However, if the transformative potential which such power reversals at the margins offer may well be temporary, they do not leave things unaffected. Aminetu’s hunger strike, a metonym for the violence imposed over a much larger Saharawi’s population since 1975, achieved what 35 years of Frente Polisario resistance had not until that point: it broke the European media silence on their nationalist claims and attracted widespread Spanish attention.

Only one week before Haidar’s strike, a well-reputed Spanish historian Fernández Armesto who had been involved in the UN negotiations of the 1970s over Saharawi rights to self-determination published an article in the Spanish national paper \textit{El Mundo}. His article denounced Morocco’s tyranny and lamented the fact that history had not seen the Spanish will to accommodate Saharawi nationalism and enforce international law on the matter.\textsuperscript{xxvii} The article did not even mention the well-documented process behind the Madrid accords which provide ample historical evidence against such a will on the part of Spain (see Diego Aguirre 1988). Nevertheless, Spain’s erasure of its presence in Africa could afford Armesto such a misleading account of history in its most widely read newspaper. Few people were informed enough on the historical events to question what otherwise seems a “common sense” account of Spanish democratic will and
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behavior. And yet, only one week later, Haidar started to appear in the Spanish national news daily. For the first time in history and in the middle of her hunger strike thousands of Spanish citizens took the streets of Madrid in support for a proper “decolonization process” in Western Sahara. Crowds shouted things like: “We are all Aminetu,” “Where are Human Rights?” “Our King is friends with a Dictator,” “Morocco = Criminal, Spain = Accomplice,” or “Aminetu will not die Alone”xxxvii. I doubt that an article like Armesto’s can ever be published again in a Spanish mainstream paper, at least not without causing a strong reaction.

Moreover, in the midst of the scandal, Spanish Congress approved a law denouncing Morocco’s behavior for the first time in history. The Congress also went back on its previous position on granting the MINURSO’s mandate to monitor Human rights abuses in the occupied Western Sahara. Haidar had taught Spain a lesson. In her words during the strike: “Spain is paying the price of opposing the motion to grant MINURSO a mandate over Human Rights monitoring. If MINURSO had enjoyed such authority, it might have intervened in time to stop my eviction to Spain.”xxxix

Moroccans too were stirred. A very popular website created and used by Moroccan migrants living in Canada expressed disappointment with the Moroccan State with comments such as: “Haidar won, Morrocco lost,” “Frankly, I am not proud,” “The Moroccan Government has, once more, exposed its weakness” and “A Women is Stronger than our State.”xxx

Haidar’s protest invites a reading of modern states as malleable through the everyday, fragile and full of cracks. A victim of the use of state exception, much like her compatriots in the exiled Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic who are taking international law into their own hands by performing in the exiled SADR the nation-state which an “international community” once promised them, Haidar chose to occupy a margin of State, put her life on hold, and wait. Yet there was nothing passive about her wait. Occupying a “margin” of the State meant appropriating some of its discursive powers to expose its incongruities: those moments when modern state discourses and practices contradict and parody their own spatial and temporal narratives of coloniality, post-coloniality, democracy and human rights.

Notes

i Declaration by Aminetu Haidar (20/11/2009). El País. All citations from Spanish, Moroccan or Saharawi Press are translated into English by the author.

ii 2009, El País, November 16

iii 2009, Europa Press, November 11

Courage (John Trian Foundation USA, 2009).

7Ex-capital of colonial Western Sahara and also the name of the capital city of the SADR. The SADR is organised into 5 different administrative and residential regions, symbolically, each bears the name of a city in the occupied territories of Western Sahara.

8 The similarities between Haidar’s experience of the Moroccan State from the “marginal position” of an ordinary check point and those described by Jeganathan in Das & Poole 2004 is noteworthy. Like the Sri Lankans carrying their identity cards at all times, even though there is no law obliging them only in case they run into checkpoints, Haidar was engaged very similar “maps of anticipation” to those described by Jeganathan. Here too borders and checkpoints become “spaces in which sovereignty, as the right over life and death, is experienced in the mode of potentiality” (Das & Poole 2004: 18).

9 Only one month earlier, in an interview with the press, she had predicted two scenarios upon her return home: 1. Being detained again by the Moroccan police 2. Getting her identification documents confiscated (Europa Press 2009, October 16)

8 Testimony collected from online Platform in Support of Aminetu Haidar, http://todosconaminetu.blogspot.com, 03/12/2009


10 Testimony recorded in full by online Platform in Support of Aminetu Haidar, 03/12/09: http://todosconaminetu.blogspot.com/


12 Europa Press, 2009, November 29

13 Sahara Press Service, 2009, November 29

14 Ruiz Miguel, Carlos “Moratinos ”perplejo” ante la integridad moral y política de Haidar”” in EuropaPress, 2009, November, 29

15 On the 12th of December, the Spanish Foreign affairs minister Miguel Angel Moratinos acknowledged he had received a personal phone call from his Moroccan homologue Taieb Fassi Fihri. Moratinos assures he had been informed of her expulsion, El Pais, 2009, December 13 http://www.elpais.com/articulo/espana/Gobierno/prepara/inminente/regreso/Haidar/Aaiun/elpepuesp/20091217elpepinac_24/Tes

16 Caño, A, El País, 2009, December 11

17 Declarations found on Izquierda Unida’s webpage (Spanish communist party) : http://www1.izquierda-unida.es/noticia.php?id=5569

18 Goytisolo, J ‘¿Condenados a no entenderse?’ El Pais, 2009, December 9

19 Haria, A “Resistencia: en el nombre de Aminatu” ABC, December 12


21 See declarations of the US Departament of State by Ian Kelly in Caño, A, El País, 2009, December 11

22 Naranjo, J “El juez rechaza que se hospitalice a Haidar en contra de su voluntad: La activista renuncia toda atención médica y denuncia ”presiones” desde Madrid.- La delegación del Gobierno en Canarias pide el ingreso de la saharaui” El Pais, 2009, December 07

23ii Europa Press, 2009, December 07
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xxiv Call used by Civil Marchers cited in: www.todosconaminetu.com
xxv Deiros, T ( “Marruecos responde con represión al retorno de Haidar” El Público, 2009, December 18
xxvi From: http://todosconaminetu.blogspot.com/
xxvii Fernández Armesto, F. “El Sáhara, un viejo asunto, difícil de resolver” El Mundo, 2009, November 06
xxviii El País, 2009, December 11
xxix Cembrero, Ignacio ”Regresaré: Entrevista con Aminetu Haidar” El País 2009, Diciembre 13
xxx From comments on Moroccan website: www.hesspress.com
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Author contact information:  
Vivian Solana  
Department of Anthropology  
University of Toronto  
19 Russell Street  
Toronto, Ontario, Canada  
M5S 2S2  
vivian.solana@utoronto.ca

vis-à-vis is online at vav.library.utoronto.ca