

# International Recognition

A Historical and Political Perspective

Edited by  
Warren Pez  and Daniel E. Rojas



*Bedrohte Ordnungen 16*



**Mohr Siebeck**

# Bedrohte Ordnungen

Edited by

Renate Dürr, Ewald Frie und Mischa Meier

Advisory Board

Regina Bendix, Astrid Franke, Klaus Gestwa,  
Andreas Holzem, Irmgard Männlein-Robert, Rebekka Nöcker,  
Steffen Patzold, Christoph Riedweg, Martina Stercken,  
Hendrik Vollmer, Uwe Walter, Benjamin Ziemann

16





# International Recognition

A Historical and Political Perspective

Edited by

Warren Pez  and Daniel E. Rojas

Mohr Siebeck

*Warren Pezé* is Associate Professor (MCF) of Medieval History at the University Paris-Est Créteil, Research Associate at CRHEC.  
orcid.org/0000-0002-1782-0238

*Daniel E. Rojas* is Associate Professor (MCF) of History and Latin American Studies at Grenoble Alpes University, Research Associate at ILCEA4.  
orcid.org/0000-0002-4714-6803

Funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG – German Research Foundation) – [SFB 923].

ISBN 978-3-16-161014-1 / eISBN 978-3-16-161065-3  
DOI 10.1628/978-3-16-161065-3

ISSN 2197-5477 / eISSN 2568-4035 (Bedrohte Ordnungen)

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie; detailed bibliographic data are available at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2022 Mohr Siebeck Tübingen. [www.mohrsiebeck.com](http://www.mohrsiebeck.com)

This book may not be reproduced, in whole or in part, in any form (beyond that permitted by copyright law) without the publisher's written permission. This applies particularly to reproductions, translations and storage and processing in electronic systems.

The book was typeset by Martin Fischer in Tübingen using Minion typeface. It was printed on non-aging paper and bound by Hubert & Co. in Göttingen. The cover was designed by Uli Gleis in Tübingen. Image: Henry Kissinger shakes hands with Mao Tse-Tung (2 December 1975). Photographer: Unknown. Courtesy Gerald R. Ford Library.

Printed in Germany.

## Introduction to the series *Threatened Order*

What happens to societies when the options for taking action become uncertain, behavioural expectations and routines are called into question, when actors have the feeling that they will probably not be able to rely on one another either now or in the near future, when threats are spoken of, and reasons for them are sought and mostly found? Time is a scarce commodity. Emotions come increasingly to the fore and change. The boundaries of social groups become questionable. Threatened orders have a high potential for rapid social change, though this does not always have to come into force.

Threatened orders can emerge from catastrophes, they can arise from sudden conflicts within society, can erupt from latent tensions, or be the result of competition between orders. Various research traditions therefore flow into studies that do not begin with classificatory terms such as turmoil, revolution, or natural catastrophe, but instead focus on dynamic social processes that are linked to the perception and assertion of threat and the recourse to order.

Threatened orders exist in all historical periods and all cultures of the world. Do similar mechanisms operate across time and space? Can different typologies be identified? The series *Threatened Order* invites historians, social scientists and cultural researchers to contribute to these questions. While it is linked to the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft-funded Collaborative Research Centre 923 “Threatened Order. Societies under Stress”, the series wishes to go beyond this in initiating and documenting research.

The Editors



## Foreword

This book has its origin in the colloquium *The International Recognition of States. From Antiquity to Modern Times*, held on July 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> 2017 in Tübingen. Thanks to the support of the *SFB 923 Bedrohte Ordnungen*, the colloquium brought together a broad panel of historians and political scientists in order to discuss the issue of international recognition of sovereign entities in different periods of history. International recognition is, and will continue to be, a topic of undeniable importance, both in the academic field and in the public sphere. It has traditionally been studied from legal perspectives and in contemporary times, but the debates that took place in the colloquium, and the contributions of this book, demonstrate the relevance of studying international recognition in a political perspective, and in other periods as well. As editors, we would like to thank warmly all the participants of the Tübingen conference, its coorganizer Dr. Federico Montinaro (University of Tübingen), and the SFB 923 for its financial and academic support.

Paris, January 20<sup>th</sup>, 2021

W.P. and D.R.



## Table of Contents

Introduction to the series <i>Threatened Order</i> .....	V
Foreword .....	VII
 <i>Daniel E. Rojas, with Warren Pezé</i> The International Order under Threat. A Historical and Political Perspective on Recognition .....	1
 <i>Ernst Baltrusch</i> Anerkennung als Mittel der Expansion. Das jüdisch-römische Bündnis von 161 v. Chr. ....	27
 <i>Christoph Galle</i> Die innere und äußere Anerkennung fränkischer Herrschaft zur Zeit Karls des Großen .....	49
 <i>Warren Pezé</i> Diplomatie et reconnaissance mutuelle sous la Confraternité carolingienne (855–877) .....	71
 <i>Anuschka Tischer</i> A New Order? The Recognition and Non-Recognition of New States in the Peace of Westphalia (1648) .....	123
 <i>Daniel E. Rojas</i> The Recognition of Latin-American Independences. A Major Transformation in the History of the Law of Nations .....	137
 <i>Georg Schild</i> The Wilson Administration and Soviet Russia. The Debate over Granting Diplomatic Recognition to a Revolutionary Regime, 1917–1921 .....	157
 <i>Amit Das Gupta</i> An Uneasy Choice. India and the Two Germanies 1949 .....	177

*Pierre Bouillon*

La diplomatie française face à la revendication roumaine  
d'indépendance par rapport à l'URSS. Une remise en cause ambiguë  
de l'ordre de la Guerre froide ..... 197

*Daniel Högger*

“Recognitional Fitness”. Revealing Patterns of Acceptance ..... 211

List of Contributors ..... 223

Index of Names and Places ..... 225

Index of Subjects ..... 232

# The International Order under Threat

## A Historical and Political Perspective on Recognition

*Daniel E. Rojas, with Warren Pez *

### Introduction

Over the past few years, several international cases and conflicts, such as the Nagorno-Karabagh War, the Palestinian question, the Syrian civil war, the Russian annexation of Crimea, and the Catalan referendum have drawn the attention of both the general public and the specialized literature to the question of international recognition. Beyond these, many other conflicts, such as Taiwan, Aceh, Western Sahara, Abkhazia, Ossetia and Transnistria have, for decades, illustrated the theoretical and practical problems involved in the recognition of governments that lack the sufficient legitimacy to become full-fledged members of the international community.<sup>1</sup> The case of Libya, now ruled by two competing governments both recognized as legitimate by different members of the international community, has shown that the recognition of a government changes the internal political alliances in the context of a civil war (i. e. pacts between Khalifa Haftar and groups of armed forces of Zintan, or links between FayeZ-Al-Sarraj and parliamentarians close to the Muslim Brotherhood). It highlights, too, the transformations of the international order brought about by a specific recognition process (the loss of prominence of the European Union in the Eastern Mediterranean and the grand return of Russia and Turkey as influential players and mediators in the Middle East conflicts).<sup>2</sup> Given that context,

---

<sup>1</sup> *G zim Visoka/John Doyle/Edward Newman* (Ed.), *Routledge Handbook of State Recognition*, London 2019; *Francis A. Boyle*, *Palestine, Palestinians and International Law*, Atlanta 2003; *John Quigley*, *The Statehood of Palestina. International Law in the Middle East Conflict*, Cambridge 2010; *Diego Muro/Guillem Vidal/Martijn C. Vlaskamp*, *Does International Recognition Matter? Support for Unilateral Secession in Catalonia and Scotland*, in: *Nations & Nationalism* 26, 2020, 176–196; *Phil C. W. Chan*, *The Legal Status of Taiwan and the Legality of the Use of Force in a Cross-Taiwan Strait Conflict*, in: *Chinese Journal of International Law* 8.2, 2009, 455–492.

<sup>2</sup> At the time of writing these pages (February 2020), the European Union is getting ready to host a new summit in Berlin that seeks a ceasefire in Libya. In this scenario, the problem of the recognition of the governments installed in Tripoli and Benghazi not only implies initiating a process of national reconciliation in order to end a civil war but above all to accept that Russia and Turkey become the new guarantors of the pacts in a regional arena that was previously con-

a modern reader not only can instinctively associate the question of international recognition with the notions of threat and order to which we will come back shortly; it is also more necessary than ever to reconsider this issue against the background of its long-term history.

The aim of this collective volume is to take up this challenge. Nearly all the contributors are historians: some of them deal with the modern state in recent history, and others with pre-modern societies and forms of political power that are unfamiliar to most of today's political observers. For this book, all these historians have adopted a common threefold perspective to study international recognition. First and foremost, this book adopts a long-term chronological perspective that bridges the traditional dichotomy between societies with and without the "modern state". The goal is to observe, beyond the institutional discrepancies across various periods and spaces, which common patterns of political interaction and which differences emerge; the aim is also to take some distance with a traditional approach of political science and international law, that ignores the diversity of historical contexts in order to build a general vision of what it means to recognize a sovereign entity. Second, they reconsider the question of international recognition through the lens of the conceptual framework of the SFB 923 *Threatened Order*, especially with the concepts of threat, order, and reordering, in order to break free from a perspective that reduces the general problem of recognition *among* sovereign *entities* to the international recognition *of* sovereign *states*. Third, they study international recognition not only as a legal-institutional issue but above all, as we will soon see, as a political one.

A political scientist was added to this team of historians to bring insight on the debates on international recognition in the political sciences. Therefore, we leave it to Daniel Högger's final contribution to give this overview and to share his own vision of the question. Instead, this introduction aims to explain our threefold perspective further and to play the role of both an introduction and a conclusion by presenting the various contributions and outlining the thematic coherence of their results. It is structured along the three perspectives sketched above. We will first give a historical overview of the successive international orders in which the recognition of new powers took a specific shape and present how this volume endeavors to cover most of this chronology; then, we will introduce the conceptual apparatus of the SFB 923 *Threatened Order* and what it brings to a better understanding of international recognition; finally, we will present our mainly political perspective on international recognition and how the various contributions aim to encompass it.

---

trolled by the European Union and the United States. Jean-Pierre Stroobants/Frédéric Bobin, À Berlin, l'UE veut se montrer unie pour contrer l'axe turco-russe en Libye, in: *Le Monde*, 17.01.2020, [https://www.lemonde.fr/afrique/article/2020/01/17/a-berlin-l-ue-veut-se-montrer-unie-pour-contrer-l-axe-turco-russe-en-libye\\_6026202\\_3212.html](https://www.lemonde.fr/afrique/article/2020/01/17/a-berlin-l-ue-veut-se-montrer-unie-pour-contrer-l-axe-turco-russe-en-libye_6026202_3212.html) (20.01.2020).

## 1. History, Politics and Recognition

Traditional studies on modern and contemporary history have enabled a better understanding of recognition as a legal institution and have clarified the links between the political development of the international society and the doctrinal evolution of legal thought but they have also tended to limit the problem of recognition to the development of the modern state.<sup>3</sup> This has resulted in a spatially and temporally restrictive perspective, which is only concerned with recognition among sovereign entities since the 17<sup>th</sup> century in the Mediterranean and North Atlantic societies, without considering other periods or latitudes: Ancient and Medieval times have been practically ignored, as have been Southeast Asia and Latin America. For this reason, this book integrates new chronologies and regions into the study of recognition; it shifts the approach away from modern states and seeks to understand how recognition has manifested itself elsewhere in the world.

International recognition has a vast chronological depth that accounts for its largely ignored historical diversity. The form of political groups (from the tribe to the multilateral organization), the nature of the link established between rulers and the governed, the relations between those groups in times of peace and war, and the building-up or collapse of confederations and empires have shaped the particular forms of recognition among sovereign entities throughout history.<sup>4</sup> The form of recognition always depends on a specific two-scaled *order* – that is, patterns of power, action and legitimacy; the “national” scale of the political entity, and that of the “international” order. And yet, despite this diversity, the necessity to recognize power has been a constant element of interaction between human communities, which has its own character and whose recurrence makes it an invariable factor of politics. From the Persians and the Syrians, through the Caliphates, Byzantium, Rome, the Carolingian Empire, the Europe of the Peace of Westphalia, the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Russian Revolution and the Cold War, the emergence of a new power has led to the problem of having its legitimacy recognized by a forum of sovereign powers.

Some works about recognition have studied its historical evolution in relation to other essential problems of international history and political theory, highlighting the connection between recognition, domination, sovereignty, and war; in other words, the connection between recognition and the existence of a legitimate international order.<sup>5</sup> Historians of international relations have traditionally

---

<sup>3</sup> For a recent *status quaestionis*, see Pierre Grosser, *État de littérature. L'histoire des relations internationales aujourd'hui*, in: *Critique internationale* 65, 2014, 173–200.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Julien Freund, *L'essence du politique*, Millau 2004, 246.

<sup>5</sup> The chronology of the history of international law to which we refer here was first proposed by Wilhelm Grewe, *Epochen der Völkerrechtsgeschichte*, Baden-Baden 1983 – a work published in 1983 but drafted in the last months of World War II, whose influence in the milieu of jurists

distinguished several such orders. Between 1494 and 1648, a period that Wilhem Grewe and others have characterized as the international order of the Spanish era, the recognition of new sovereign entities was closely linked to the divine foundation of power, to the right of conquest<sup>6</sup> and to the right to rebellion against kings.<sup>7</sup> Later, between 1648 and 1815, with the rise of the “Droit public de l’Europe” during the international order of the French age, the problem of recognition gradually began to be related to the recognition of the belligerence of insurgents, and between 1815 and 1919, which corresponds to English domination at the international level, to the notions of popular sovereignty and civilized nation.<sup>8</sup> With the advent of the bipolar system and the creation of the United Nations, the link between international recognition, respect for human rights and opposition to non-democratic governments gained momentum.

The reader of the contributions that make up this book will find a set of nine contributions covering more than 2,000 years of history. They cannot claim to cover this chronology extensively; they nonetheless study key transition periods in the history of international relations: the building-up of the Roman Empire and the unification of the Mediterranean (E. Baltrusch), the rise of the Carolingian Empire (Ch. Galle) and, soon after, its dissolution (W. Pez ), the Treaties of Westphalia (A. Tischer), the first wave of decolonization (D. E. Rojas), the rise of the Soviet Union (G. Schild), the division of post-war Germany (A. Das Gupta) and the Cold War (P. Bouillon). Not only do these contributions span the gap between pre-modern powers and modern states; but also, by including Latin America and India, they are not limited to the traditional European-Mediterranean sphere.

Moving along these papers, it will soon become apparent to the reader that only a few dominant scenarios lead to the recognition of new political entities.

---

and historians became evident from the 1970s, when its author acquired an unusual notoriety for his participation in the conception of the Halstein Doctrine. Several of the most influential works in this field such as those by Wolfgang Preiser, Stephan Verosta or Karl-Heinz Ziegler reproduce or adapt this chronology. On the relationship between recognition and international order, see: *James Lorimer*, *The Institutes of the Law of Nations. A Treatise of the Jural Relations of Separate Political Communities*, vol. 1, Edinburgh/London 1883; Carl Schmitt’s work must be critically analyzed but it cannot be ignored in the history of legal thought, see *Carl Schmitt*, *Der Nomos der Erde in V lkerrecht des Jus Publicum Europaeum*, Berlin 1974; *Jean-Fran ois Kerv gan*, *Que faire de Carl Schmitt*, Paris 2011.

<sup>6</sup> The right of conquest was commented by the Spanish Dominican Francisco de Vitoria in his essays *On civil power. Francisco de Vitoria, Sobre el poder civil; Sobre los indios; Sobre el derecho a la guerra* (Cl sicos del pensamiento), Madrid 2007.

<sup>7</sup> The right to rebellion was evoked, although not fully justified, by *Hugo Grotius*, *Le droit de la guerre et de la paix* (Grands textes), Paris 2012; *M lanie Dubuy*, *Le droit de r sistance   l’oppression en droit international public: le cas de la r sistance   un r gime tyrannique*, in: *Civitas Europa* 32, 2014, 139–163.

<sup>8</sup> *James Sloan*, *Civilized Nations*, in: *Max Planck Encyclopedias of International Law*, Article last updated: April 2011, <https://opil.ouplaw.com/view/10.1093/law/epil/9780199231690/law-9780199231690-e1748>.

A new superpower may emerge (see Ch. Galle with the Carolingian Empire, or G. Schild with the Soviet Union); an empire may crumble (see W. Pez  with the division of the Carolingian Empire, D. E. Rojas with the Spanish and Portuguese Empires, A. Das Gupta with the partition of post-war Germany); or autonomist movements may undermine the hegemony of the empire or larger entity to which they belong and grow into independent powers (E. Baltursch with the rebirth of a Jewish kingdom in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE, A. Tischer with the independence of the Netherlands and Portugal in 1648, and P. Bouillon with Ceaușescu’s Romania).

## 2. Recognition as a Reordering of International Relations

The views and approaches of those who have contributed to this book, beyond their diversity, are articulated around the theoretical concerns of the SFB 923 *Threatened Order* and around a core question: to what extent can the international recognition be described as a reordering process that reshapes the organization and the rules of the international community in reaction to a threat (an autonomist movement, a war, the collapse of an empire ...)?<sup>9</sup> To what extent can the concepts of threat, order, and reordering, among others, be used as hermeneutic tools for the history of international relations? Indeed, most recognition cases are perceived as a threat to the international order, not only because they are almost always correlated with outbursts of war and violence but also because they represent dangerous cracks in the idealized surface of that order. The rise of new powers creates legal and normative uncertainties and reveals that the good old rules must be rewritten. Leaders no longer know how to interact to stifle instability and violence: they must improvise and mold new patterns of action, thereby reordering the international community of which they are a part. Therefore, the threat we are dealing with is also, if not mainly, a calling into question of the old order’s routine.

This volume addresses a series of correlated issues. First, as we saw, legal historians tend to advocate a one-way conception of the history of recognition and focus on the existence of the “modern state” as a key discriminatory factor; this dichotomy between modern and pre-modern is hardly satisfactory. The categories of the SFB 923 *Threatened Order* – especially its focus on an overarching international order, whatever the institutional status of the political entities that are a part of it – may help us evade the nagging question of whether or not a political entity may be called a “state” in the modern sense. The authors of this volume eluded that trap by using many different denominations for the forms of power

---

<sup>9</sup> See Ewald Frie/Boris Nieswand, “Bedrohte Ordnungen” als Thema der Kulturwissenschaften, in: *Journal of Modern European History* 15, 2017, 5–35.

they dealt with (E. Baltrusch, “politische Einheiten” or “Gemeinwesen”; W. Pezé, “communautés politiques souveraines”; A. Tischer, “Powers” ...); their main focus is not on how “staatlich” these entities are but how they interact within a specific order.

The recognition process seems to involve what the SFB 923 has labelled the “reflection” process: how a threatened order comprehends itself as a whole, and, in return, how it perceives and gives meaning to a threat (in short, how it “frames” it) through the lens of its own categories or *epistémè*.<sup>10</sup> In that sense, recognition cases give us insight into what the partner entities thought *they* and the international community were. They are telling instances of what a given order thinks it ideally is. This word, “order”, is indeed surrounded by an aura of idealism, and rightly so, because it comprehends the self-representation of an entire human polity. But any such order also has very concrete aims, such as the preservation and reproduction of living conditions and social structures. This tension between the two ends of the political framework (idealism and pragmatism) implies a permanent back and forth between the ideally normative and nearly mathematical domain of law and the more realistic and less clear-cut domain of politics. The practice of recognition is neither a mere legal mechanism, nor is it only a mirror of what group members think they are; it is at the same time a political tool (see below).<sup>11</sup> The contributions of this volume describe the ins and outs of these politics of recognition: the need to legitimize and legally justify *de facto* governments, the consequences of the entry of newcomers on the equilibrium of an international society, the tension between internal and external politics ... Recognition must therefore be considered a political resource, among many others, in the hands of decision-makers, either for their foreign policy (see below E. Baltrusch’s contribution, where recognition of Judea is a weapon against the Seleucids) or for their internal policy (see, in A. Das Gupta’s contribution, how national interest was the main driver behind India’s recognition of post-war Germany).

Lastly, recognition is also a matter of discourse. Most recognition cases are the result of war or violence; these situations force their way into the public sphere. Recognition thus becomes a part of what the SFB 923 calls a “communication of threat”.<sup>12</sup> The political actors may appeal to recognition of a new power or refer to past treaties of recognition in the public arena in order to mobilize public opinion and put pressure on decision-makers.<sup>13</sup> Therefore, it is crucial to consider how communication takes place practically and how information

---

<sup>10</sup> *Fries/Neiswand*, *Bedrohte Ordnungen*, 9; on the notion of *epistémè*, *Michel Foucault*, *Les mots et les choses: une archéologie des sciences humaines*, Paris 1966.

<sup>11</sup> *Emmanuel Cartier*, *Histoire et droit: rivalité ou complémentarité?*, in: *Revue française de droit constitutionnel* 67.3, 2006, 509–534.

<sup>12</sup> *Fries/Neiswand*, *Bedrohte Ordnungen*, 7.

<sup>13</sup> *Fries/Neiswand*, *Bedrohte Ordnungen*, 11.

flows both within the circles of power and to a broader audience: memos, notes, telegrams, books, press articles, letters and emails, private and public meetings, exchange of envoys, telephone calls ...

### 3. A Political Perspective on International Recognition

The conceptual apparatus of the SFB 923, as the few paragraphs above have just sketched, can contribute significantly to a better understanding of international recognition and, by focusing on the big picture with the concept of order, allows us to take some distance with the question of “statehood”. It thereby leaves more free space to tackle the third aim of this book, which is to view recognition mainly as a political issue. This, in turn, raises a few questions about the relationship between law and politics. The third and last section of this introduction is an endeavor to outline what a comprehensive approach of international recognition should be. Just like the contributions in the volume, it follows the timeline. It is divided into seven parts that present every contribution, emphasize certain characteristics of recognition, and propose analytical themes: 1) international recognition: between the political and the legal; 2) the priority of the political; 3) authority, religion and recognition; 4) recognition as a reordering: the construction and destruction of orders; 5) the concepts of state, international law and diplomacy; 6) recognition and non-recognition; 7) an anthropological and sociological approach.

#### 3.1 International Recognition: Between the Political and the Legal

In his *Principles of International Law*, Ian Brownlie (1932–2010) argues that recognition is an act that has two legal functions: “First, the determination of statehood, a question of law: such individual determination may have evidential effect before a tribunal. Secondly, the act is a condition of the establishment of formal, optional, and bilateral relations, including diplomatic relations and the conclusion of treaties”.<sup>14</sup> According to this view, recognition is an act that creates legal obligations within the framework of a society of states governed by rules and courts, and a covenant that establishes the legality between two entities that recognize each other, becoming carriers of rights and mutual obligations.

The legal definition is a first step to understanding the phenomenon of recognition today but it is not enough to understand either the different aspects of the problem or its varied consequences.<sup>15</sup> Even when there is agreement on the legal functions of recognition, the diversity of cases and problems on which

---

<sup>14</sup> Ian Brownlie, *Principles of Public International Law*, New York 2008, 89.

<sup>15</sup> M.J. Peterson, *Political Use of Recognition: The Influence of the International System*, in: *World Politics* 34.3, 1982, 324–352.

the legal literature is based makes it difficult to formulate a coherent doctrine and practice of recognition. The consequence is that the legal definition is inconsistent when contrasted with the practice of states. The reasons that explain this are of various kinds: first, there is no consistent terminology that can be used in official declarations and *communiqu s* concerning the recognition of states; second, there is no such thing as a uniform state recognition type; third, the act of recognizing a sovereign entity is not decisive for establishing diplomatic relations and “the absence of diplomatic relations is not in itself non-recognition of the state”.<sup>16</sup>

As a legal category, international recognition has an extra-legal dimension that seems problematic to jurists to the extent that the legal act is based on a political decision. In other words, the initial interaction between two sovereign entities lacks a legal framework. The decision is made according to a political calculation and does not require legitimization through legal criteria. This means that we must go beyond the legal field and incorporate two elements that highlight the political dimension of recognition: first, the legal status of a new sovereign entity is almost always ambivalent since its creation is the result of exceptional circumstances that disregard a sovereign power and previously-established legality.<sup>17</sup> The examples in this respect are numerous, as illustrated by the contributions to this book: the Maccabean Revolt that founded the Hasmonean dynasty in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE disrespected the laws of the Seleucid Empire; the separation of the Protestant Provinces from the Spanish Netherlands violated the sovereign rights of the Spanish monarch in the 17<sup>th</sup> century; the independence of the United States was an attack on the titles of possession of the British Empire over part of the American continent.<sup>18</sup> Secondly, recognition is a fight between actors who seek to maintain, transform, or increase their power with respect to other actors in the same international order. For the entity that recognizes, recognition is preceded by an intense activity of reflection and calculation based on the achievement of precise external policy objectives. This is what happened, for example, with the decision of India to recognize the German Federal Republic in 1949 or with the French decision to recognize Romania’s political autonomy from the USSR with the visit of Charles de Gaulle to Bucharest in 1968.<sup>19</sup>

### 3.2 *The Priority of Politics*

This book prioritizes the political dimension of recognition among sovereign entities throughout history. Here, recognition is understood as the key element of

<sup>16</sup> Brownlie, *Principles*, 90.

<sup>17</sup> Schmitt, *Der Nomos der Erde*.

<sup>18</sup> Julius Goebel, *The Recognition Policy of the United States*, New York 1915.

<sup>19</sup> Beatrice Scutaru, *La Roumanie   Paris: exil politique et lutte anti-communiste*, in: *His-toire@Politique* 23, 2014, 154–165.

the management and distribution of power in international orders that integrate various sovereign powers in the same space and period. This vision does not in any way ignore the legal content of an act of recognition: any political decision in this field requires a legitimacy that can only be achieved using legal resources. The analytical postulate of this book is that the purpose of recognition among sovereign entities is the pursuit of political objectives. It is therefore impossible to reconstruct the negotiations, processes, and acts that lead to the recognition of a sovereign entity without simultaneously considering the alliances that reshape the international order.<sup>20</sup> Recognition represents an opportunity to push forward your position by appointing arbitrators in a conflict between two different sources of legitimacy; by assuming the role of protector of the rules in front of the other members of a community; by taking a hegemonic position and altering the operating rules of an international order; by activating a system of alliances or validating alternative sources of legitimacy.<sup>21</sup>

In his final contribution, Daniel Högger proposes an alternative and innovative solution that solves some of the debates that recognition has created in the field of legal thinking: the distinction between the requirements of contemporary international law to accept the effective existence of a state and the political additional requirements to recognize it.<sup>22</sup> In the legal international doctrine of recognition of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, statehood effectiveness plays a key role and was translated into three statehood requirements by the German jurist Georg Jellinek (1851–1911), which were subsequently included in the first article of the Montevideo Convention of 1933: “The State as a person of international Law should possess the following qualifications: a) a permanent population; b) a defined territory; c) government [...]”.<sup>23</sup> Högger establishes a break with this traditional legal theory of international recognition and argues that if the requirements related to statehood are often not sufficient to recognize a state, it is because there are also – and always have been – additional requirements to effectiveness. These additional requirements combine to form “legitimacy”, a concept that is defined solely in relation to the interests and values of the members of the international society. An entity that wants recognition “and consequently access to the privileged and exclusive club of States, must appear fit for recognition by the other States, i. e. the club members”.<sup>24</sup> To illustrate this

<sup>20</sup> *Stuart J. Kaufman/Richard Little/William C. Wohlforth*, *The Balance of Power in World History*, Hampshire 2007.

<sup>21</sup> *Christopher Daase/Caroline Fehl/Anna Geis/Georgios Kolliarakis* (Ed.), *Recognition in International Relations. Rethinking a Political Concept in a Global Context*, London, 2015.

<sup>22</sup> See Högger’s contribution, 222.

<sup>23</sup> *Convención sobre Derechos y deberes de los Estados (Montevideo, 1933)/Convention on Rights and Duties of States (Montevideo, 1933)* in: *Multilateral treaties*, Department of International Law, Organization of American States (OAS) <http://www.oas.org/juridico/english/treaties/a-40.html> (21.01.2020).

<sup>24</sup> See Högger’s contribution, 219.

problem, H gger mentions different examples of legitimacy in various types of international society, among which are, for example, the legitimacy derived from respect for human rights, a necessary criterion for the recognition of new states that emerged during the Cold War.

If the inclusion of legitimacy makes it possible to consider the problem of recognition within international law under a new light, it is important not to lose sight of the fact that recognition among modern states is just one of the historical manifestations of recognition among sovereign entities. The problem of recognizing a sovereign authority is constant and arises even when the regalian powers have not been completely centralized by the same institutional structure; Weberian interests or realistic calculations of political leaders to multiply international power or influence do not always depend either on the action of bureaucratic bodies, or on the exercise of political control of a government over a territory or a population.<sup>25</sup> This is precisely one of the key elements of this book: the recurring need to recognize another sovereign entity transcends the existence of modern states (both imperial and republican), of bureaucracies and of the codification of a customary or international law. Hence it is legitimate to speak of recognition between powers without thinking about the *inter-national* dimension that the modern state presupposes<sup>26</sup> – and this is where, as we have seen, the concept of order proves its utility.

Ernst Baltrusch, in his contribution entitled “Anerkennung als Mittel der Expansion: Das j disch-r mische B ndnis von 161 v.Chr.,” illustrates quite clearly how, in a historical scenario devoid of modern states, political interests permeated the actions of the entity that granted recognition and the entity that received it. In the process of absorption of the Hellenistic world by the Roman Empire that took place during the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE, the alliance between Rome and the Jews not only made possible the recognition of the Jewish *Ethnos* as a sovereign entity independent of the Seleucid Empire but also allowed Rome to “einen Fu  in der T r zum hellenistischen Osten erhalten” (gain a foothold in the Hellenistic East).<sup>27</sup>

Baltrusch mentions that the approaches between the Romans and the Maccabees began with the uprising of Jerusalem against the decree by Antiochos IV that prohibited the Jewish religion. The Romans offered to act as mediators to end the conflict but far from seeking appeasement in the East, their offer was framed in a policy of international influence that aimed to weaken the Seleucid dynasty and build an alliance with its Jewish opponents. From the Jewish point of view, the possibility of an alliance with the Romans meant, on

<sup>25</sup> Michael W. Doyle, Thucydidean Realism, in: *Review of International Studies* 16.3, 1990, 223–237.

<sup>26</sup> Edmond Fr zouls/Anne Jacquemin (Ed.), *Les relations internationales. Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg des 15–17 juin 1993*, Paris 1995.

<sup>27</sup> See Baltrusch’s contribution, 37.

## Index of Names and Places

- Aachen 86, 87, 93–94, 116  
Abd al-Rahman I 12, 66  
Abel 115  
Abkhazia 1  
Aceh 1  
Achaia 34  
Adams, John 144  
Adams, John Quincy 147  
Adenauer, Konrad 20  
Adriatic Sea 50  
Adventius of Metz 87–89  
Aetolians 34  
Africa 34  
– South ~ 186  
– West ~ 139  
Al-Sarraj, Fayez 1  
Alcantara 31  
Alcimus 37–38, 44  
Alcuin 61  
Alemannia 50  
Alexander Jannaios 45  
Algarve 153  
Alphonsus VI 140  
Alsace 165  
America  
– American continent 18  
– Hispanic ~, Iberian ~, Latin ~ 3, 4, 16, 137, 143, 144, 148, 150  
– Hispanic-American republics 142–143, 146, 155  
– South ~ 139, 146, 152  
Andalusia 128  
Andernach 116–118  
Andrea of Bergamo 104  
Andréani, Jacques 200  
Anduaga, Joaquín de 147  
Ansegisus of Fontenelle 60  
Ansegisus of Sens 93, 109, 112, 120  
Antigonids 34  
Antiochos IV 34, 37, 38  
Antiochos V 37, 38, 44  
Antony of Brescia 120  
Anzilotti, Dionisio 212  
Aquitaine 49–50, 53, 75  
Archangel 172  
Ardennes 108  
Argentina 214  
Arles 62  
Arnaldi, Girolamo 111  
Arnulf of Toul 87  
Aron, Raymond 22  
Attalids 34  
Attigny 77, 85, 93, 97, 99, 108, 115  
Audradus 71  
Augsburg 53  
Australia 214  
Austria 125, 153  
Ayacucho 152  
Ayala, Balthazar 138  
Bagdad 67  
Bakhmeteff, Boris 170  
Baltic Sea 50  
Baltic States 18  
Baltrusch, Ernst 4, 10, 24  
Banerji, S.K. 185  
Basel 15, 130, 134  
Bastille 162  
Bavaria 50–54  
Beijing 180, 193  
Belgrade 194  
Bello, Andrés 152  
Benevento 88  
Benghazi 1  
Berengar of Friuli 110  
Berlin 21, 179, 181, 184, 188  
– East ~ 178, 188  
Bernard of Gothia 118  
Bernard Plantapilosa 118  
Bertrannus 97  
Bertulf 88  
Besançon 97

- Betancourt, Romulo 19  
 Bismarck (ND) 173  
 Bliss, Tasker H. 170  
 Boderad 90  
 Bogotá 145, 150  
 Bohemia 72, 105, 123, 127  
 Bolívar, Simón 23, 148–150, 152  
 Bolsheviks 20, 157, 162, 163  
 Bombay 192  
 Bonifatius 56, 64  
 Bonn 21, 177–179, 185, 188  
 Boso 118–119  
 Botelho, Rodrigo 133  
 Bouillon, Pierre 4, 22  
 Brandenburg 127  
 Brandt, Willy 186, 194  
 Brazil 137, 140, 153–155  
 Bremen 56  
 Brest-Litovsk 161  
 Brezhnev, Leonid 32, 197, 209  
 Brienne 77, 84  
 Brierly, Leslie 212  
 Brownlie, Ian 7  
 Brunhilda 72  
 Bucharest 8, 22, 202, 204, 207  
 Buckler, William Hepburn 171–172  
 Budapest 201, 203  
 Buenos Aires 16, 142, 145, 147, 149  
 Bulgaria 201, 208  
 Bull, Hedley 215–216, 219  
 Bullitt, William C. 172, 174  
 Burgundy 50, 53, 72, 79, 105  
 Burkhardt, Johannes 128  
 Burke, Edmund 162  
 Byzantium 3, 12, 65, 66, 68, 71
- Cain 115  
 Cairo 194  
 Caldeira Brand, Felisberto 154  
 Calmette, Joseph 73  
 Calvin, Jean 134  
 Cambrai 97  
 Canada 214  
 Canning, George 144, 146, 152  
 Carloman (brother of Charlemagne) 49, 57  
 Carloman (brother of Pepin the Short) 51, 56  
 Carloman (son of Charlemagne), *see* Pepin of Italy  
 Carloman (son of Charles the Bald) 97  
 Carloman (son of Louis the German) 103, 105–108, 111–112, 120  
 Carthage 34  
 Catalonia 127–129, 133, 214  
 Ceaușescu, Nicolae 22, 201, 204–205, 208–209  
 Chand, Khub 182–185, 188, 190  
 Charlemagne 12, 24, 49–70  
 Charles the Younger (son of Charlemagne) 68  
 Charles II of Spain 140  
 Charles IV of Lorraine 131  
 Charles Martel 51, 54–57, 63–64  
 Charles of Provence 73, 84, 85  
 Charles the Bald 71, 73–121  
 Charles the Fat 88, 98, 104–105, 108, 120  
 Chiang Kai-shek 180  
 Chicherin, Georgi V. 172  
 Chile 149  
 China 20, 23, 179–181, 189, 201, 214, 217  
 Chunking 179  
 Cicero 27, 31, 41  
 Clark, Frank 162  
 Clark, Ian 219  
 Clay, Henry 144, 147  
 Clemenceau, George 169, 172  
 Clovis 72  
 Coeur D'Alene (ID) 173  
 Colby, Bainbridge 173  
 Cologne 61, 68, 100  
 Colombia 16, 137, 142, 145, 147–148, 154  
 Constantine VI 66  
 Cordoba 67  
 Corinth 34  
 Cossacks 164  
 Coulaines 88  
 Crimea 1  
 Czechoslovakia 22, 177, 189, 207
- Denmark 75  
 Das Gupta, Amit 4, 21  
 David 81  
 Dehli 21, 177, 179, 181, 189, 191  
 Demetrios I 37, 42, 44–46  
 Desiderius 51–52

- Dümmler, Ernst 99  
 Dutch Republic, *see* Netherlands
- Egypt 34  
 Ehlers, Joachim 62  
 Einhard 67, 69  
 Emma 105  
 Empire, Holy Roman ~ 15, 123–136  
 Engelberga 100–104, 106–107, 110  
 Engilramn 108  
 England 67, 142, 144, 151–154; *see also*  
   Great Britain, India  
 Ermengarda 103  
 Ermentrude 85  
 Eudes, *see* Odo  
 Europe 20, 181, 197  
   – Eastern ~ 197–198, 200–201, 204  
   – European kingdoms 13, 121  
   – European Union 1, 28  
   – Western ~ 198
- Ferdinand II (Aragon) 128  
 Ferdinand II (Habsburg) 125  
 Ferdinand VII (Spain) 143, 148  
 Figueiredo, João Manoel 145  
 Fike, Claude 167  
 Flanders 140  
 Flavius Josephus 42  
 Fontanella, Josip 133  
 Fontenoy 84, 96, 116  
 Formosus 102  
 France 15, 18, 72, 125, 131, 133, 141–142,  
   144, 197–198, 207  
 Francia 54, 57  
   – East ~ 50, 99, 102, 108, 112, 115–116, 119  
   – media 71–72, 82, 85, 87, 97  
   – West ~ 71, 75, 82, 99, 109–110, 114–117,  
   119  
 Francis, David 160  
 Frankfurt 66, 85, 183  
 Froment-Meurice, Henri 200  
 Fulda 77–80, 84, 116
- Galle, Christoph 4, 12  
 Gameiro de Pessoa, Manuel 154  
 Gandhi, Indira 194  
 Gauderic 102  
 Gaul 67, 109, 117  
 Gaulle, Charles de 8, 22, 120, 198, 201  
 Gauzbert 76  
 Gericke, Otto (or von Guericke) 126  
 Germany 6, 20, 56, 67, 72, 117, 127, 158,  
   160–162, 167, 181  
   – East ~ 21, 143, 177, 179, 188–190, 193  
   – German Empire 178  
   – West ~ 8, 21, 32, 184–186, 190–191, 198  
 Gerold 54  
 Gheorghe, Ion 207  
 Girard of Vienne 96–97  
 Giscard d'Estaing, Valéry 198, 200  
 Goldberg, Eric 105  
 Golgotha 69  
 Gondreville 90  
 Gorze 97  
 Grado 110  
 Grant, Thomas D. 178  
 Great Britain 15–16, 18; *see also* England,  
   India  
   – British Empire 8, 141  
 Greece 34  
 Greene, William Conyngham 168  
 Gregory II 64  
 Grenoble 97  
 Grewe, Wilhem 4, 144, 219  
 Grifo 51  
 Grotius, Hugo 4, 202, 220–221  
 Gual, Pedro 149  
 Guomindang 179
- Hadrian I 52, 54, 65, 67  
 Hadrian II 84, 88–96, 98, 100–102,  
   105–108, 113–116  
 Haftar, Khalifa 1  
 Haistulf 61  
 Halberstadt 56  
 Hallstein Doctrine 20  
 Harris, David 212  
 Harun al-Rashid 67  
 Hasmoneans 8, 18, 46  
 Hatto of Verdun 87  
 Haymo of Auxerre 61  
 Heiric of Auxerre 78–79, 81  
 Helsinki, *see* Conference of Helsinki  
   (1975) (*Index of Subjects*)  
 Herstal 87, 104  
 Hildebald 61

- Hincmar of Laon 97, 105  
 Hincmar of Rheims 74, 79–82, 87–90,  
     92–96, 99, 103, 108–109, 114–119, 121  
 Hispanic-American, *see* America  
 Hitler, Adolf 186  
 Högger, Daniel 2, 9–10  
 Holy Land 12  
 Holy Roman Empire, *see* Empire  
 House, Edward M (Colonel) 24, 165  
 Hrabanus Maurus 61  
 Huerta, Victoriano 157  
 Hugh the Abbot 118  
 Hungary 72, 124, 201  
  
 Iberian America, *see* America  
 Ibrahim ibn al-Aglab 67  
 Ichiro, Motono 168  
 India 4, 8, 177, 180–181, 186, 188  
     – British ~ 179, 181, 186  
 Ingelheim 53  
 Irene 66, 68  
 Isabella of Castile 128  
 Isidor of Sevilla 34  
 Israel 5, 143  
 Italy 50–52, 63–67, 71–72, 75, 104–105,  
     107–112, 119, 143  
  
 Japan 168, 214, 217  
 Jellinek, Georg 9, 214, 221  
 Jerusalem 11–12, 34, 67, 69  
 Jha, C. S. 185  
 John of Toscanella 112  
 John Scottus Eriugena 82  
 John VIII (pope) 98–99, 103, 107–116, 121  
 John IV of Braganza 129  
 John VI of Portugal 144, 153  
 Judas Maccabeus 23, 37, 44  
 Judea 6, 47  
 Jura 97  
  
 Kaledin, Alexey 168  
 Karlsbadd 143  
 Kennan, George F. 160, 175  
 Kerensky, Alexander 20, 161  
 Keskar, B. V. 193–194  
 Khan, Zafrullah 181  
 Korea 20, 179  
 Krishna Menon, V.K. 178, 188  
  
 Langres 107  
 Lansing, Robert 159, 164, 168  
 Lantperhtus 61  
 Latin America, *see* America  
 Lawrence, Thomas Joseph 212  
 Laybach 143  
 Le Mans 76  
 Le Normand, René 212  
 Lechfeld 53  
 Lenin 20, 23, 160, 163, 167, 172, 173  
 Leo III 68  
 Leo of Sabina 90  
 Lewis Gaddis, John 158  
 Libya 1  
 Liège 97, 104  
 Lisbon 129, 140, 145  
 Litvinov, Maxim M. 170–171  
 Liutbirga 51  
 Livy 32  
 Lloyd George, David 169, 173  
 London 144, 150, 154, 165, 186, 188  
 Lorimer, James 4  
 Lorraine 130, 165  
 Lothair I 61, 71, 73, 78, 84, 91–92, 98, 111,  
     117, 119  
 Lothair II 73, 75, 80, 84–85, 87–92, 97,  
     99–102, 119  
 Lotharingia 12, 71, 85, 88–91, 94–99,  
     101–105, 115–116, 120  
 Louis the Pious 13, 71–72, 82–83, 92, 95,  
     116, 117  
 Louis the German 71, 73–95, 97–120  
 Louis II of Italy 73, 75, 84, 87–93, 95,  
     98–107, 110–111, 119–120  
 Louis the Younger 76, 78, 98, 112, 116–117  
 Louis the Stammerer 112  
 Louis IV of France 83  
 Louis XIV 128  
 Lusaka 194  
 Lvov, Georgi 158  
 Lyon 97  
 Lysias 34, 38, 41  
  
 Maastricht 102–103  
 Maccabees 11, 36, 46  
 Macedonia 34  
 Mackintosh, James 144, 150–152  
 Mâcon 85

- Madrid 149–150  
 Magdeburg 126–127  
 Manchukuo 18, 217  
 Manchuria 217  
 Mao 180  
 Marmara, Sea of ~ 172  
 Martitz, Ferdinand von 221  
 Maximilian I 130  
 Mayence 61–62, 116  
 Mayer, Arno 160  
 Mazarin 126  
 Mediterranean Sea 11, 28  
 Meersen 81; *see also* Division of Meersen (870) (*Index of Subjects*)  
 Meier, Christian 30  
 Menon, K.P.S. 180–181, 184, 186  
 Metz 85, 87–89, 94–95, 97, 99–100, 119, 121  
 Mexico 16, 137, 142  
 Meyer, Eduard 30  
 Meyer, Ernst-Wilhelm 193  
 Michael I 68  
 Milan 110  
 Miliukov, Pavel 160  
 Minden 56  
 Monroe, James 147, 154  
 Montevideo 16, 212, 214–215  
 Moscow 22, 163, 178, 198–199, 201, 203  
 Mosquera y Arboleda, Joaquín 149  
 Münster 14, 56, 133, 141  
  
 Nagorno-Karabagh 1  
 Nanking 179–181  
 Nantua 118  
 Naples 65, 143  
 Nehru, Jawaharlal 21, 177, 180, 181, 186, 194  
 Netherlands 5, 8, 14, 18, 123–125, 132–133, 136, 138, 140–141  
 Neustria 75  
 Nicea 66  
 Nicholas I 84, 89, 91, 105, 107, 113  
 Nikanor 37, 41  
 Nithard 95  
 Numidia 34  
  
 Odilo 51  
 Odo of Beauvais 93, 108, 112, 116  
 Omsk 172  
  
 Orléans 82  
 Osnabrück 14, 56, 141  
 Ossetia 1  
 Otto I 83  
  
 Paderborn 56, 66  
 Palestina 1, 143  
 Palo Alto (CA) 75  
 Panama 148  
 Panikkar, K. M. 180–181  
 Paris 22, 123, 142, 145, 154, 169, 172;  
     *see also* Conference of Paris, Treaty of  
     Paris (*Index of Subjects*)  
 Parisot, Robert 99  
 Paul of Piacenza 90  
 Paulus Diaconus 60  
 Pavia 104, 109–111, 120  
 Pepin of Herstal 55, 57  
 Pepin the Short 51, 53–57, 62, 64  
 Pepin of Italy 65  
 Péronne 78  
 Perseus 34  
 Persians 3  
 Peru 149  
 Peter, saint ~ 93  
 Peter, Emperor of Brazil 153, 154  
 Petrograd 158, 160, 163, 166, 172  
 Pezéz, Warren 1, 4, 12–13  
 Philip II (Spain) 138, 140  
 Philip III (Spain) 140  
 Philip IV (Spain) 141  
 Pinheiro Ferreira, Silvestre 145  
 Pizar, Samuel 199  
 Po (river) 108, 111, 118  
 Poland 72  
 Polybios 33  
 Pompey 47  
 Pompidou, Georges 198–199  
 Ponthion, *see* Synod of Ponthion (*Index of Subjects*)  
 Portugal 5, 14, 133–134, 137, 139, 146  
 Prague 203; *see also* Rebellion, Prague Spring (*Index of Subjects*)  
 Preiser, Wolfgang 4  
 Prinkipo Island 172  
 Provence 71–72, 82, 96–97, 105  
 Prudentius 77–78, 109  
 Ptolemaic dynasty 34

- Pyongyang 179  
 Pyrenees 131, 133  
  
 Quierzy 79–82, 84  
 Quito, Audiencia de 148  
  
 Ransome, Arthur 171  
 Ratisbon 54, 86  
 Ravenna 110–111, 113  
 Regino 117  
 Rheims 62, 77, 88  
 Rhine river 116  
 Ricardo, David 150  
 Richelieu 126  
 Richildis 86  
 Rio de Janeiro 145, 153  
 Rio de la Plata, United province of ~ 137  
 Robert the Strong 76  
 Roberts, Frank K. 190–191  
 Robertson, Brian 184  
 Robin, Gabriel 200  
 Rojas, Daniel 1, 5, 15–16, 137  
 Röling, B. V. A. 219  
 Romania 8, 22, 198, 200, 202, 204, 207  
 Romans 10–11, 18, 32–33, 37, 42, 45–46  
 Rome, Roman republic 3–4, 10–11, 31, 28, 34, 38, 43  
 Rome, city of ~ 52, 55–56, 65–67, 91, 108–109, 113, 119  
 Roosevelt, Franklin D. 174  
 Rouen 77, 79  
 Roussillon 133  
 Russia 1, 18, 20, 157–158, 161, 178, 204  
  
 Saint-Bertin 77–78, 85, 109, 116  
 Saint-Denis 93  
 Saint-Maurice d'Agaune 103  
 Saint-Mihiel 93  
 Saint-Paul-hors-les-Murs 106  
 Salomo II of Constance 120  
 Salzburg 61  
 Samara 172  
 San Francisco 180  
 Saul 81  
 Sauvagnargues, Jean 200  
 Savonnières 82–83  
 Savoy 130–131  
 Saxony 50, 53  
  
 Scandinavia 189  
 Scarponais 97  
 Scelle, Georges 212  
 Schieffer, Rudolf 57, 67  
 Schild, Georg 4, 24  
 Schmitt, Carl 4, 30  
 Sebastian I Duke of Braganza 139–140  
 Seine river 76  
 Seleucids 8, 10, 18, 34, 43, 46  
 Seoul 179  
 Seydoux, Roger 200  
 Shankar Bajpai, Girja 179, 184  
 Shankar Bajpai, Umar 185  
 Siberia 168, 173  
 Soissons 55  
 South Asia 186  
 Southeast Asia 3, 184  
 Soviet Union 5, 8, 22, 157, 174–175; *see also* USSR  
     – Soviet Zone 185, 190  
 Spain 18, 66–67, 125, 128, 138–139, 143, 151  
 Spire 116  
 Stalin 175  
 Steiger, Heinhard 219  
 Stephen II (pope) 64  
 Stimson, Henry 19, 217–218  
 Stockholm 171  
 Strasburg, *see* Alliance (*Index of Subjects*)  
 Suarez, Francisco 138  
 Sucre, Antonio J. de 152  
 Summers, Maddin 163  
 Sweden 15, 132  
 Switzerland 123  
     – Swiss Confederation 15, 127, 129, 131, 136  
  
 Taiwan 1  
 Talleyrand 143  
 Tassilo 51–54  
 Theophanes 66, 68  
 Thessalonike 30  
 Theutberga 85, 89  
 Thionville 87  
 Thioto 84  
 Third Reich 183  
 Third World 206  
 Timarchos 44  
 Tischer, Anuschka 4, 14–15

- Tokyo 168  
 Torres, Manuel 147, 154  
 Toul 97  
 Tours 60, 62  
 Tovar, Carlos 19  
 Transnistria 1, 214  
 Trento 102  
 Trier 88  
 Tripoli 1  
 Troppau 143  
 Trotsky 161, 163, 167  
 Troyes 77  
 Tunisia 67  
 Turkey 1  
  
 Union of Soviet Socialist Republics  
   (USSR) 177, 179, 188, 194, 197, 200, 203;  
   *see also* Soviet Union  
 United States of America (USA) 8, 20, 22,  
   137, 142, 157, 188  
  
 Vattel, Emer de 221  
 Verden 56  
 Verdun 97; *see also* Treaty of Verdun  
   (*Index of Subjects*)  
 Vergennes 142  
 Verona 103, 143  
 Verosta, Stephan 4  
 Versailles, *see* Conference (*Index of Sub-*  
   *jects*)  
 Vienna 154  
 Vienne (France) 97  
 Vietnam 20, 179  
 Vitoria, Francisco de 4, 219  
 Vladivostok 168  
  
 Warsaw pact, *see* Alliance (*Index of*  
   *Subjects*)  
 Washington 144–145, 188  
 Weber, Max 83, 103  
 Weinfurter, Stefan 58, 67  
 Wenilo of Rouen 79  
 Wenilo of Sens 82  
 Western Europe 13  
 Western Sahara 1  
 Westphalia 126; *see also* Negotiations  
   *and* Treaty (*Index of Subjects*)  
 Wettstein, Johann Rudolf 134  
 Wight, Martin 215, 219  
 Willibert 100–101  
 Willibrord 56  
 Wilson, Woodrow 20, 24, 157–158, 160,  
   162  
 Winfrid 64  
 Winter Palace (Petrograd) 162  
 Winterling, Aloys 31  
 Worms 53, 116; *see also* Division of  
   Worms (*Index of Subjects*)  
  
 Xanten 80  
  
 York 61  
 Yugoslavia 214, 222  
 Yütz 81  
  
 Zachary 55  
 Zack, Andreas 34  
 Zea, Francisco Antonio 145  
 Ziegler, Karl-Heinz 4  
 Zintan 1  
 Zion 69  
 Zwingli, Huldrych 134

## Index of Subjects

The entries in the index appear in alphabetical order. However, in order to make political constellations over time more comparable, the sub-entries are mostly arranged chronologically.

- Agency, *see* Embassy  
Agreement 38, 45, 87, 88, 115, 155, 208, 216  
– Trade ~ 182  
Alliance 9–14, 22, 27, 39, 73, 78, 126, 136, 177, 199; *see also* Friendship, Treaty  
– Jewish–Roman ~ 37, 39–47  
– Frankish–Papal ~ 56–57  
– Strasbourg oaths (842) 77–78, 82  
– between Louis the German, John VIII and Louis II 101–103, 111  
– between Charles the Bald and the papacy 105–106  
– between Charles the Bald and Carloman 111  
– Habsburg ~ 126  
– Swiss ~ 134  
– Iberian Union 138–139  
– French–American ~ (1778) 141  
– of Spanish–American nations 149  
– Holy ~ (1815) 143  
– Entente (First World War) 159, 163, 165–169, 171–172  
– Warsaw Pact 32, 201, 202, 206, 207, 208, 209  
Ambassadors, *see* Embassy, Envoys  
Annexation 1, 12, 19, 50–54, 72, 101, 165  
Anointing, *see* Sacre  
Approach; *see also* Doctrine  
– Constitutive ~ of recognition 212–213  
– Declaratory ~ of recognition 212–213  
Arbitration 9, 75, 80, 82–85, 89, 93, 96, 112–113, 114–116, 121; *see also* Mediator  
Aristocracy, Nobility 17, 52–53, 80–85, 90, 104, 109–110, 118, 139–140  
Armistice 35, 138, 139, 148, 161, 163  
Assembly, Diet (medieval and early modern period) 54, 55, 66, 67, 80, 83, 93, 95, 104, 107, 109, 110, 125, 130–131, 149  
Authoritarianism, Autocracy, Dictatorship 19, 157, 158–159, 163, 165, 169  
Autocracy, *see* Authoritarianism  
Autonomy, Autonomism 8, 11–15, 22, 31, 123–127, 132–133, 135; *see also* Independence  
– of Judea 37–40, 44–45  
– of Bavaria 51–54  
– of Bohemia 125  
– of Magdeburg 127  
– of Catalonia 133  
– of Tibet 180  
– of India 184  
– of Eastern Europe 202–205  
– of Romania 208  
Borders, Boundaries 28, 35, 63, 65, 71–74, 96–97, 117, 130, 180, 211, 215  
Califate, *see* Empire  
Clergy 17, 24, 96, 121  
– Abbot 61, 84, 93, 118  
– Apostolic vicar 109, 112, 120  
– Bishop 12, 13, 59, 67, 75, 77, 79–90, 92–94, 96–97, 108–110, 112–121  
– High Priest 37–39  
– Pope, Papacy 12–13, 52–56, 64–69, 75, 84, 89–96, 98, 100–109, 111–113, 119–121, 138  
Commission  
– Allied High ~ (AHC) 177  
– Arbitration ~ of the Conference of Yugoslavia, Badinter ~ 213

- Community; *see also* Power, Society, State, System
- International ~ 1, 5, 6, 15, 213
  - Local ~ 30, 35, 36, 38, 39, 46, 146
  - Political ~ 13, 14, 16, 23, 47, 73, 141, 220
- Communication 6, 43, 73, 118–119, 205, 208
- Conference, Congress 13–15, 24, 72, 73, 78; *see also* Agreement, Alliance, Treaty, Visit
- between Stephen II and Pepin the Short (754) 64
  - between Hadrian I and Charlemagne (774) 65
  - of Yüzt and Meersen I (844, 847) 81
  - of the Carolingian kings (872–874) 102–104
  - of Vienna (1814–1815) 123, 143
  - of Karlsbad, Troppau, Laybach and Verona (1819–1822) 143
  - of Paris–Versailles (1918–1920) 123, 172–174
  - between Russian factions on Prinkipo Island (1919) 172
  - of San Francisco (1945) 180
  - of Belgrade, Cairo and Lusaka (1961, 1964, 1970) 194
  - of Helsinki (1975) 196, 199–200, 202–209, 214–215
- Congress, *see* Conference
- Consul, Consulate; *see also* Diplomats, Embassy, Envoys
- Consul general of the United States in Moscow (1917) 163
  - West German consulate in India 192–193
  - East German trade mission and consulate in India 194
- Convention, *see* Treaty
- Council, *see* Synod
- Coup 127, 161, 173; *see also* Rebellion
- Criteria; *see also* Recognition, State
- of recognition 17, 19, 213–215, 217
  - of statehood 9, 215, 217
- Datation as a mode of recognition 65, 97, 99–100, 102
- De facto, De iure, *see* Government, Recognition, Independence
- Democracy 4, 19–21, 29, 158–166, 169, 173–174, 177–179, 182, 190, 191, 214; *see also* Elections
- People's ~, Popular ~ 179, 197–201, 203, 210
- Détente (Cold War) 22, 197–201, 204–208, 210
- Dictatorship, *see* Authoritarianism
- Diplomats 18, 140, 141, 145, 150, 160, 161, 178, 180, 182, 184, 188, 200, 207; *see also* Consulate, Embassy, Envoys
- Division, Partition 4–5, 12, 20, 73, 75, 83, 112, 119–120; *see also* Treaty
- of the Merovingian kingdoms 72
  - of the Carolingian kingdom (768) 57
  - of the Carolingian empire (806) 91
  - of Worms (839) 81–82, 95, 119
  - of Aachen (842) 95
  - of Lotharingia (855) 71, 76
  - of Provence (863) 85
  - of Meersen (870) 75, 84–104, 115–117, 119–120
  - of the Habsburg empire (planned in 1915) 165
  - of post-war Germany (1945) 177, 193–194
- Doctrine; *see also* Approach
- of recognition 8–9, 15, 18–20, 142–146, 212–213, 214, 217, 221
  - Gelasian ~ 97
  - Stimson ~ 218
  - Halstein ~ 4
  - of convergence 199
  - Brezhnev ~ of limited sovereignty 32, 197, 201
- Effectiveness 9, 149, 152, 213, 217–222; *see also* Criteria
- Elections 1, 19, 163, 183, 188, 189, 191; *see also* Democracy
- Embassy, Permanent representation 11, 27, 39, 47, 73, 171, 179, 181, 183, 191–193; *see also* Consulate, Diplomats, Envoys
- of the United States in Petrograd (1917) 160
  - of the United States in Russia (1933) 174
  - Indian military mission in West Berlin 179–184

- Indian office in West Germany 183–186, 192
- High commissioner of India in the United Kingdom 178, 188
- Indian agency and embassy in China 179–181
- East German ~ in China 191, 193
- East German trade mission and consulate in India 194
- Empire 3, 5, 19, 23
  - Seleucid ~ 8, 10, 27–48
  - Roman ~ 4, 10, 14, 27–48
  - Islamic Califate 11, 71
  - Byzantine ~ 3, 12, 64–70, 71, 110
  - Carolingian ~ 3–4, 12–13, 49–70, 71–122
  - Holy Roman ~ 15, 123–136
  - Spanish and Portuguese colonial ~ 5, 137–156
  - Spanish Habsburg ~ 138
  - of Brazil 153–155
  - British ~ 8, 141
- Entity, *see* State
- Envoys, Diplomatic envoys 11–13, 24, 27, 29, 35, 37, 39, 41, 42, 44, 47, 67, 140; *see also* Diplomats, Embassy
  - Jewish ~ to Rome (–161) 37, 39, 42, 44
  - Roman ~ in Syria (–161) 41
  - Papal ~ to the Franks (751) 55
  - Spanish ~ to Charlemagne (777) 66
  - from Tunisia, Jerusalem and Bagdad to Charlemagne (794) 67
  - from Jerusalem to Charlemagne (800) 69
  - from Michael I to Charlemagne (812) 68
  - to Louis the German (858) 79
  - from Louis the German to emperor Louis II (859) 84
  - from the Lotharingians to Charles the Bald (869) 85
  - from Louis the German to Charles the Bald (869) 87
  - from Hadrian II to Charles the Bald (870) 90
  - from Charles the Bald to Rome (870) 93
  - from Engelberga to Charles the Bald and Louis the German (875) 104–105
  - from Louis the German to Charles the Bald (876) 111
  - from Savoy to the peace conference of Westphalia (1648) 131
  - from France, Catalonia and Portugal to the peace conference of Westphalia (1648) 133
  - from Basel to the peace conference of Westphalia (1648) 135
  - from the Dutch Republic to European countries (1608–1648) 139
  - from Portugal to the peace conference of Westphalia (1648) 140
  - from Brazil to Buenos Aires (1821) 145
  - from Colombia to Europe (1821) 147–148
  - from Colombia to other Spanish–American governments (1821) 149
  - from Colombia to the United States (1822) 147, 154
  - from Spain to Washington (1822) 147
  - from Brazil to the United Kingdom (1822, 1824) 154
  - from the United States to anti-Bolshevik military forces (1917–1918) 168
  - from the Bolsheviks to the Versailles peace conference 169–170
  - from the United States to the Bolshevik representatives at Stockholm (1919) 171
  - from the United States to the Bolsheviks in Petrograd (1919) 172
  - from France to the Helsinki Conference 200
  - between Romania and France 200, 207
- Friendship 11, 27, 68–69, 98, 101, 105, 148, 152, 160, 167, 180; *see also* Alliance
  - between the Romans and the Jews 11, 37, 39, 41–45, 47
- Frontiers, *see* Borders
- Gifts, Diplomatic gifts 67, 93, 105–107, 113, 126
- Government, de facto government 6, 13, 16, 19, 145, 147, 156, 163, 164, 169, 172, 190, 216

- Hegemony 5, 9, 14, 21, 66, 139
- Independence 11, 14–16, 21, 31, 123;  
*see also* Autonomy, Doctrine
- De facto ~ 142, 148, 155, 187, 219
  - of Jewish Palestine 10–11, 389–39, 46
  - of the Netherlands 124–125, 140–141
  - of Portugal 128, 139–141
  - of the Swiss Confederacy 129–130, 134
  - of Lorraine 131
  - of Savoy 131–132
  - of Colombia, Argentina and Mexico 142–156
  - of India 177–181, 187
  - of Romania 196, 202, 204, 207, 209, 220
- Intervention, military ~ 19–20, 143, 150, 156, 159, 202, 216
- of Rome in the East 38, 43–46
  - of Louis the German in the West 76, 79
  - of the Western powers in Russia 168–173
- Invasion 18, 19, 22, 75–84, 114–117, 119, 217
- Ius gentium 11, 17, 29, 35; *see also* Law of nations
- Law 7, 29, 75; *see also* Ius gentium, Order
- of nations 16, 18, 29, 141–142, 148, 153, 155
  - Basic ~ (1949) 183
  - International ~ 2–3, 7–11, 16–19, 23, 27, 133, 135, 136, 137, 141, 144, 151–152, 178, 211–213, 215, 218, 221
  - Natural ~ 17, 80, 82–83, 93, 99, 119, 138, 154
- League of Nations 21, 175, 179, 187, 217, 218
- Legation, Legate, *see* Diplomats, Envoys
- Mediator 1, 10, 37, 41, 114; *see also* Arbitration
- Mission, *see* Embassy
- Negotiations 6, 15, 34, 41, 86, 117–118, 120, 145, 160, 162, 164, 166–167, 170, 207, 219
- of Meerssen (870) 97, 101–102
  - of Westphalia (1640–1648) 14–15, 124, 126, 132–134
  - of Hispanic America with Spain (1820–1822) 148–150, 152
- Neutrality 21, 134, 190, 192–193, 211
- Nobility, *see* Aristocracy
- Non-alignment 179, 188, 192, 194
- Oaths 11, 24, 36, 71, 110, 112, 114–117, 121;  
*see also* Alliance, Treaty
- over the Jewish–Roman alliance 42–43
  - of Tassilo of Bavaria 52–53
  - Strasburg ~s (842), *see* Alliance
  - of the Treaty of Verdun (843), *see* Treaty of Verdun
  - of Aachen (870) 94
- Office, *see* Embassy
- Opinion, public ~ 6, 126, 163, 173, 182
- Order; *see also* Community, Society, System
- International ~ 1, 3–5, 8–9, 11, 14–18, 20, 23–24, 75, 120, 125, 135, 142, 159, 167, 198, 215
  - International ~ of the Spanish era 4
  - International ~ of the French age 4
  - Soviet ~ 196–197, 202, 204, 208
- Organization, international ~ 21, 29, 75, 211, 216; *see also* League of Nations
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) 207
  - Organization of the American States (OAS) 9, 19, 213
- Pact, *see* Alliance, Treaty
- Partition, *see* Division
- Peace, *see* Treaty
- Permanent representation, *see* Embassy
- Power (as a synonym of State) 3, 5, 11, 12, 39, 43, 46, 154, 198, 201–203, 209
- Colonial ~ 181, 190, 193
  - New ~ 3, 6, 18, 23, 39
  - Super~ 5, 21, 46, 177, 215
  - World ~ 15, 33, 37
- Pragmatism 6, 178–180, 182; *see also* Realism
- Protection 9, 12, 17, 46, 103, 110, 131
- over the Church 56, 65, 67, 80, 107, 119
  - French ~ over Catalonia 129, 133
  - British ~ over Hispanic America 150
  - American ~ over the Russian People 167

- Realism, Realpolitik 6, 10, 74, 87, 94–95, 100, 119–121, 155, 157, 184, 188–189;  
*see also* School
- Rebellion 12, 103, 220
- of the Jewish ethnos against the Seleucid 37–45
  - against Charles the Bald 76–77, 118
  - of Bohemia (1618) 123, 125
  - of the Netherlands (1568), *see* War, Dutch war for independence
  - of Portugal against Spain 133, 139–141
  - of Catalonia, Andalusia, Sicily and Naples against Spain 128–129, 133
  - of the Fronde against Louis XIII of France 127
  - of the United States against the United Kingdom 141, 156
  - of Hispanic America against Spain 137
  - February Revolution in Russia 157
  - Bolshevik Revolution in Russia 160
  - Hungarian revolution (1956) 201
  - Prague Spring (1968) 200–201, 206
- Recognition
- De facto ~ 144, 147, 189, 190
  - De iure ~ 16, 144, 147, 189, 190
  - Internal ~ 12, 24
- Regime, *see* Government, de facto ~
- Reordering 2, 5, 7, 14–16, 23, 72–73, 109, 112, 137
- Reputation 39, 44, 46, 107
- Requirements, *see* Criteria
- Revolution, *see* Rebellion
- Right
- of conquest 4, 142
  - of rebellion 4
  - Human ~s 4, 10, 19, 29, 198, 200, 202, 206, 209, 214, 219
- Sacre, Anointing 65, 69, 81–83, 85, 87–89, 109, 119
- School
- English ~ 215–217, 219
  - Realist ~ 216; *see also* Realism
- Self-determination 165, 178, 179, 184, 186
- Society; *see also* Community, Order, System
- Anarchical ~ (Hedley Bull) 215
  - International ~ 3, 6, 9, 10, 213–220, 222
  - Christian international ~ 219, 221
  - International ~ of civilized States 4, 144, 219, 221–222
  - Global international ~ 219
- Sovereignty 3, 12, 14, 16, 17, 22, 24, 31, 32, 34, 73, 109, 123, 131, 135–136, 140–141, 144–146, 155, 156, 166, 193, 197, 201, 216, 220; *see also* State
- Popular ~ 4, 15, 137, 142, 155, 204, 208, 220
  - Conditional or limited ~ 183, 186; *see also* Doctrine, Brezhnev ~
  - Swiss ~ 135
  - Dutch ~ 139
  - of the United States 141–142
  - of the Hispanic–American countries 147–148, 151, 153
  - of Russia 166
  - of West and East Germany 177–178, 186
- Succession 16, 57, 73–75, 78, 80, 119, 137, 139, 143, 144
- of Charles Martel 51, 55
  - of Lothar II (869) 84–87, 89, 96, 99, 102–103, 111, 114–115
  - of Louis II of Italy (870) 104–109, 111, 116–117
- Synod 12–13, 59–60, 92–93, 96–97
- of Nicea (781) 66
  - of Frankfurt (794) 66–67
  - Frankish ~s of 813 62
  - of Quierzy (858) 77, 79–81
  - of Savonnières (859) 82–83
  - of Attigny (870) 97
  - of Ponthion (876) 108–112, 116
  - of Ravenna (877) 111
- System; *see also* Community, Order, Society
- International ~ 14, 17, 20–21, 34, 124, 132–133, 136, 137, 143, 150, 155, 216–218
  - of States (Hedley Bull) 216
- State (and synonyms of ~); *see also* Government, Power, Regime
- The concept of the modern ~ as confronted to ancient societies 2–5, 10, 15–16, 27–36, 63–64, 72–73, 123

- ~hood 7, 9, 13, 17, 24, 32, 34, 64, 178, 211–212, 214–215
- ~-building 72, 123, 211, 222
- Limited ~ 24, 32
- Nation~ 27–30, 47
- Unfinished ~ 128
- Polity 6
- Political organisation 35
- Sovereign authority 10
- Sovereign entity 2, 3, 4, 8, 10–12, 14–16, 23, 24, 72, 137, 153
- Sovereign people 137
- Sovereign power 13
- Sovereign unit 23, 141
- Political entity 3, 4, 28, 32, 129, 216
- Symploke 28, 33
  
- Territory 9–10, 17, 18, 22, 142, 146, 152, 155, 214, 217, 220–222
- Threat 2, 5–6, 42, 46, 49, 53, 64–65, 72, 86, 101, 108, 131, 171
- of excommunication or damnation 83, 90–93, 95–96
- Internal and external ~ 197–210
- Trade, Traders 141, 148, 150, 152, 171, 182–185, 188–189, 190–191, 194; *see also* Agreement
- Treaty, Pact, Convention 11–13, 21–22, 24, 31, 35–36, 141, 149, 152, 156, 162, 178, 186; *see also* Agreement, Alliance, Division, Oath, Conference
- between the Jewish ethnos and the Romans 37–45
- of Verdun (843) 13, 71, 73–74, 78, 81–83, 89–93, 94–95, 98–99, 109, 115–116, 121
- ~s of the Carolingian confraternity 72, 74, 77, 79, 82, 85, 87, 89, 91–92, 95, 100, 102, 109, 115–116, 119–121
- of Basel (1499) 130, 134
- of Nürnberg (1542) 131
- ~s of Westphalia, ~s of Münster and Osnabrück (1648) 3–4, 14–15, 17, 123–136, 140–141
- Spanish–Dutch ~ (1648) 124
- of the Pyrenees (1659) 131, 133
- of Lisbon (1668) 129, 140
- of Paris (1783) 142
- between Colombia and Peru (1821) 149
- of recognition of Brazil (1825) 153
- of London (1915) 165
- of Brest–Litovsk (1918) 161–163, 167
- of San Francisco (1951) 186
- Basic ~ (1972) 194
- Briand–Kellog Pact (1928) 217, 219
- Montevideo convention (1933) 212, 214, 215
- Charter of the United Nations *or* Charter of San Francisco (1945) 219
- Charter of Paris (1990) 214
  
- Unification 4, 33, 128, 193–194
- United Nations 4, 29, 191, 214, 219
  
- Visit
- of de Gaulle to Bucarest and of Ceausescu to Paris (1968–1970) 8, 22, 201
- of Ion Ghorghe to France (1971) 207
- of Brezhnev to Bucarest (1976) 209
- of Giscard d’Estaing to Bucarest and of Ceausescu to Paris (1979–1980) 210
  
- War 1, 6, 13, 19, 73, 76, 79, 94, 96, 108, 125, 211
- ~s of Charles Martel 49
- ~s of Charlemagne 63–66
- Carolingian civil ~ (840–843) 71, 78, 84, 96, 116
- between Charles the Bald and Louis the Younger (876) 116–117
- Swiss ~ (1499) 130
- Dutch ~ for Independence, Eighty years ~ (1568–1648) 124, 126, 138, 220
- Thirty years ~ (1618–1648) 14–15, 123–136
- Franco–Spanish ~ (1635–1659) 126, 128–129
- American ~ of Independence (1775–1783) 220
- English–American ~ (1812) 143
- Hispanic–American ~s of Independence (1810–1825) 152
- First World ~ 20, 157–169, 187
- Russian civil ~ 156, 171, 174
- Chinese civil ~ 179–180

- Second World ~ 21, 30, 73, 174–175, 182, 197, 222
- Cold ~ 3, 10, 20–22, 158, 174, 177, 178, 197–210, 222
- Greek civil ~ (1946–1949) 177
- First Kashmir ~ (1947–1948) 177
- Syrian civil ~ 1