

Index

China, People's Republic of, 64, 73, 147, 149 agency, 220-221 America, United States of, 39, 42, 64, 128, 146, Christiano, Thomas, 209-213 149, 151, 166, 183, 205, 218 coercion, 25-26, 212, 220 collective self-determination, 2, 52, 111, 116, antecedents of statehood applied to particular cases, 71-72 120, 127, 130, 135, 136, 148, 223 defined, 12-13, 70, 100-101, 223 as procedural principle, 116-122 effectiveness antecedent, the, 13, 80-85 self-determination units, 99-100, 157-159, independence antecedent, the, 13-14, 85-100 163, 184 population antecedent, the, 13, 72-74 colonialism, 62, 88-92, 126 territory antecedent, the, 13, 75-80 colonisation. See states, colonies Arendt, Hannah, 30, 52-53, 62-63 Congo, Democratic Republic of the, 80, 82, authenticity, 51, 54, 55, 67, 84, 120, 235 89, 128, 167, 185, 226 defined, 39-40 Crawford, James, 3-5, 7, 74, 81, 87, 95, 103, 108, 116, 119, 123, 142, 156, 163–167, 224, 232 limits upon, 40-43 vs autonomy, 40 Crimea, Republic of, 123, 129 vs reasonableness, 32-33, 46-47, 57-59 Cyprus, Republic of, 98, 120 autonomy, 25-28, 172, 182-183. See also legitimacy, autonomy problem, the Daesh. See Islamic State and consent, 192-193 decolonisation, 78, 80, 94, 99–100, 128 vs agency, 220-221 democracy. See representative government vs authenticity, 40 diplomatic protection, 2, 78 Donetsk People's Republic, 92, 110, 123–125, Bahrain, Kingdom of, 96 129, 163 Dworkin, Ronald, 10, 11, 20, 39, 59 Bangladesh, People's Republic of, 132-136, 147, 152, 163 Bantustans, the, 110, 117-118, 121 empire. See colonialism Belgian Congo. See Congo, Democratic equality, 25-28, 56-57, 172 Republic of the and consent, 192-193 and Non-Voluntary Membership, 59 Bilad Sĥinguitti, 164 Bosnia-Herzegovina, 80, 82, 106, 112, 150, and representative government, 207-208 180, 184 ethics, normative, 33, 45, 48, 68 British Empire, 89, 90-92, 96, 99, 130. See and personal narratives, 29-30 also United Kingdom of Great Britain defined, 19-20 and Northern Ireland European Community Guidelines on the Recognition of New States in Eastern Buchanan, Allen, 178-181, 198, 200-201, Europe and the Soviet Union, 84, 214, 232 202-203, 206 Buchanan's challenge, 178–181, 197, 229 European Union, the, 45, 95, 113 Canada, 95, 130, 133 Capps, Patrick, 141, 156, 190-192, 199 French Republic, the, 25, 55, 97, 166, 173, 205



252 Index

genuine political communities, 1, 12, 19-22, equality problem, the, 23, 25-28, 172, 181, 25, 28, 43, 46, 51, 53, 61, 68–70, 73, 106, 192-193, 197, 207-208 113-115, 126, 141, 229-235. See also states of governance institutions, 173-175 Germany, Federal Republic of, 128 of governments, 173 governance and human rights, 190-191, 199-204 as an activity, 172, 186-187, 204 of individual governance acts, 172 defined, 170-172 as 'effective', 80-85 internal vs external, 178 and the rule of law, 188-192, 235 as ethically valuable, 60-69 popular consent, 195 factually independent, 88-93 tacit consent, 195-197 vs authority, 175, 179 formally independent, 94-99 legitimacy thesis, the. Discussed within and Non-Voluntary Membership, 83-84 as problematic, 25-26, 170-172 Chapters 6&7. See also legitimacy and accountability, 218-222 Hobbes, Thomas, 54, 181-188 autonomy problem, the, 208, 219 Hobbes' thesis, 181-188, 197, 204, 208, 219 civil incorporation, 188-192, 235 distinct from the stability thesis, 181, 184 defined, 169-170 human rights, 67, 68, 81, 162, 188, 199-204, 227 and 'democracy-plus', 209-213 and 'effectiveness', 84-85 equality problem, the, 219 and remedial secession, 132-135 justification gap, the, 213-218 and representative government, 209-213 popular consent, 195 and tacit consent, 195-197 rights-based legitimacy, 190–191, 199–204 tacit consent, 195-197 Liechtenstein, Principality of, 98 imperialism. See colonialism India, 73, 89, 91-92, 132-136, 153 Locke, John, 171, 192, 194, 195 International Court of Justice, 108 Luhansk People's Republic, 92, 110, 123-125, Kosovo Advisory Opinion, 126-128, 130, 133 129, 163 Nicaragua case, 126-128, 205 Monaco, Principality of, 97, 106 statute of, o Wall in the Occupied Palestinian Territory Montevideo Convention on the Rights and Advisory Opinion, 123 Duties of States (1933), 72, 75, 80, 85, 98, Western Sahara Advisory Opinion, 145-147, 152, 161-163, 191, 234 111-113, 164 morality, definition of, 20 international law the Grotian tradition of, 10-11, 121 Nicholson, Rowan, 4-5, 7, 87, 103, 108, 123, the nature of, 11-12, 20, 174 131, 224-225, 233 the rule of, 142 Non-Voluntary Membership Islamic State, 84, 110, 187 beneficiary condition, the, 22, 25-29, 63, 74, Israel, State of, 104, 120-121, 146-147, 149, 217 76–78, 83–84, 132–136, 228 contribition condition, the, 228 defined, 21-22, 46 jural relations, 3 and equality, 57-59 Kant, Immanuel, 24, 54, 188-190, 235 and political duty, 22-29 Kelantan, British protectorate of, 90-91 and the population antecedent, 74 Kenya, Republic of, 76, 99, 215 residence condition, the, 22-25, 72-74, Kosovo, Republic of, 149, 155, 162 76-77, 83-84, 99, 228 and state continuity, 228 Lauterpacht, Hersch, 4, 10-11, 107, 108, 149, and territory, 76-78 156, 160 normative reasons legal positivism, 5, 143 defined, 9 and legal disagreement, 5-7 and the nature of international law, 11-12 and rational reconstruction, 9-10 legitimacy and accountability, 218–222 North Korea, Democratic People's Republic of, 104, 124, 147 Northern Cyprus, Turkish Republic of, 110, autonomy problem, the, 23, 25-28, 172, 181-183, 192-193, 197 and civil peace, 181-188 117, 119, 121, 122, 203 of conventions vs that of principles, 175

Oppenheim, Lassa, 5, 141, 143

defined, 170-172, 198-199



Index 253

Pakistan, Islamic Republic of, 132-136, 152 of Hans Kelsen's views, 189 Palestine, State of, 109, 149, 151, 162 and legal disagreement, 7, 100-101, 103, 146, Paris, Charter of, 84, 202-203, 206 147, 149, 151 limits of, 71–72 Parkinson, John, 65-67 personal narratives, 30, 32-34, 39-40, 61. and normative reasons, 9-10, 77 See also politics and the sources of international law, o political action, 12-14, 29, 34, 36-39, 43-44, Ratner, Steven, 141, 144, 156, 161-162, 180 46, 48–52, 55–59, 91, 98, 102–103, 113–115, reasonableness, 30-35, 38, 41, 51, 54, 55, 67, 121, 125 84, 120, 235 and governance, 60-68, 80-85, 120, 227 and attempts, 30-31 political membership. See Non-Voluntary and moral objectivity, 31 and political duty, 32-34 Membership. vs nationality, 74 and radical change, 63 as scalar, 32 political morality and the nature of international law, 11-12 vs authenticity, 46–47, 57–59 political duties, 22-29 recognition, 6, 15, 130-132, 137, 203, 223, 231 of ambiguous and disputed relevance, 4-7, and remedial duties, 132-136 145-147, 149-153, 155 artefacts of, 61-63, 82, 83, 90, 97-98, 105, collective non-recognition, 109-111 114, 131–132, 227 constitutive or declaratory, 4-7, 103, 106–108, 145–147 and governmental legitimacy, 178–181 defined, 20-21, 69 degrees of participation, 59-60 and equality, 56-60, 119 and justice, 178-181 as an ethical and moral domain, 32-34 libtery to recognise, the, 109 focuses for, 63-67, 73, 75-76, 82-83, 85, 90, as procedural principle, 14, 103–111, 132 97, 99, 105, 109, 114, 119 as relativistic, 157-159 forums for, 65-68, 73, 75-76, 82-83, 85, 90, representative government, 74, 84 97, 99, 114, 119 accountability, 218-222 and the hazards of being governed, 25-29 and equality, 207-208 and the hazards of living together, 23-25 and human rights, 209-213 as instrumentally valuable, 44-45 in international practice, 204-207 and modest political burdens, 37-39 as a poor compromise, 213-218 and moral duty. See reasonableness Republic of China. See Taiwan Russian Federation, 3, 50, 93, 122–125, 133, 149 and peace, 23-25, 52-54, 128-129 political duty, 22-23 political successes, 43-44 secession, 2-3, 6, 113, 128, 131, 161-164, 194 relationship with violence, 52-54 judicial treatment of, 129-130, 132-133 and violence, 54-56, 117, 119, 122, remedial secession, 15, 132-137 125-126, 188 self-authorship. See authenticity social facts, 1, 5, 6, 81-82, 86, 87 procedural principles, 14 and legal disagreement, 6-7, 103 defined, 102-103, 136-137, 223 international peace principle, the, 14-15, Somalia, Federal Republic of, 6, 130-131, 226 122-126, 129-131, 135-136, 163, 226 Somaliland, Republic of, 6-7, 130-131 negative self-determination principle, the, South Africa, Republic of, 44, 55, 65, 14–15, 116–122, 130, 131, 148, 163 117-118, 187 recognition principle, the, 14, 103-111 Southern Rhodesia, 117, 119, 121, 147-149, referendum principle, the, 14, 111-116, 130 184, 203 territorial integrity principle, the, 15, stability thesis, the, 169, 192, 224, Discussed within Chapter 5 126-136, 226 and constitutive recognition, 156-161 Quebec, Reference re Secession of, 129-130 defined, 16, 142-144 distinct from Hobbes' thesis, 181, 184 rational reconstruction, 1, 48, 55, 68-69, 72, and the presumption of state continuity, 74, 159, 169, 174, 177, 178, 198–199, 213, 144, 226-227 and the prohibition on the threat and use 223, 224, 226, 230, 233, 235

of force, 154

Criteria, 161-168

as a reconstruction of the Montevideo

and the Grotian tradition of international

defined, 8-9

law, 10-11



254 Index

```
stability thesis, the (cont.)
                                                        and Non-Voluntary Membership, 76-78
                                                        as a political forum, 68, 75-76
  true value of, 168
  value of stability, 73
                                                        as procedural principle, 126-136
state continuity, the presumption of, 225-229
                                                        territorial grants, 78-80
  and the stability thesis, 144, 226-227
                                                        territorial integrity, right to, 126-128,
state creation. See also statehood as political
                                                           131–136, 147, 161, 191
     community
                                                        territorial title, 75
  as contentious and contested, 3-7, 145-154
                                                     Tesón, Fernando, 196, 199, 200
  as necessitating legitimate government,
                                                     tyranny, 13, 60, 65, 83, 84, 89, 162, 187–188
    178-181
                                                     Ukraine, 3, 50, 112, 123–125, 133
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, 112
  summarised, 12-15
statehood as political community. Discussed
     within Chapters 1-4 (inclusive)
                                                     United Kingdom of Great Britain and
  defined, 1, 12, 19, 223
                                                           Northern Ireland, 45, 55, 95, 109,
  as a framework for judgement, 15, 223
                                                           117, 130, 133, 146, 149, 151, 166, 174,
                                                     214, 217, 221
United Nations
  legal implications, summarised, 12-15
  and the prohibition on the threat or use of
     force, 154-155
                                                        Charter of the, 122, 124, 125, 129, 136, 137,
  vs the legitimacy thesis, 169
                                                           154, 190
  vs the stability thesis, 154, 168
                                                        election monitoring by the, 205
                                                        General Assembly of the, 108, 111-112, 117,
  colonies, 87, 92-94, 99-100, 135, 184-185
                                                           118, 122–129, 134, 151–152
  as dangerous entities, 2
                                                        and independence referendums, 112, 114
                                                        membership of the, 134, 151-152, 206
  dissolution of, 15, 112, 113, 128, 129-132, 137,
                                                        Security Council of the, 111, 117, 118,
  extinction of, 144, 224-229
                                                           122-125, 134, 146, 151
  fiduciary theories of, 234-235
  merger of, 128-129
                                                     Vidmar, Jure, 4-6, 103, 112, 113, 127, 152-153,
  nature of, 229-235
                                                          231-232
                                                     violence, 23, 35
  parent states, 2
  protectorates, 94, 184
                                                        defined, 53
  puppet states, 87, 92–93, 99, 122, 184, 226
                                                        as inimical to politics, 21, 53-54, 68, 117, 119,
  small island states, 73, 226-228
                                                           122, 125-126, 188
  vs 'the state', 175-176
                                                        as politics, 54-56
Swiss Confederation, the, 216
                                                        relationship with politics, 52-54
Syrian Arab Republic, 54, 124, 162, 165–166, 226
                                                     Waldron, Jeremy, 209–213
Taiwan, 105-106, 147, 153, 160-161
                                                     Weil, Prosper, 141, 143
                                                     Yugoslavia, Socialist Federal Republic of, 80,
  as antecedent, 75-80
  defined by governance, 83-84
                                                           82, 84, 113, 128, 144, 226
```