

International Recognition

A Historical and Political Perspective

Edited by

Warren Pez  and Daniel E. Rojas



Bedrohte Ordnungen 16



Mohr Siebeck

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16



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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 7th and 8th 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 20th, 2021

W.P. and D.R.

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The International Order under Threat

A Historical and Political Perspective on Recognition

Daniel E. Rojas, with Warren Pezé

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.¹ 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 Fayeza 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).² Given that context,

¹ *Gëzim 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.

² 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 (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.³ This has resulted in a spatially and temporally restrictive perspective, which is only concerned with recognition among sovereign entities since the 17th 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.⁴ 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 19th 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.⁵ Historians of international relations have traditionally

³ 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.

⁴ Cf. Julien Freund, *L'essence du politique*, Millau 2004, 246.

⁵ 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 conquest⁶ and to the right to rebellion against kings.⁷ 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.⁸ 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 e), 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 olkerrecht des Jus Publicum Europaeum*, Berlin 1974; *Jean-Fran ois Kerv egan*, *Que faire de Carl Schmitt*, Paris 2011.

⁶ 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 asicos del pensamiento), Madrid 2007.

⁷ 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 elanie Dubuy*, *Le droit de r esistance   l’oppression en droit international public: le cas de la r esistance   un r egime tyrannique*, in: *Civitas Europa* 32, 2014, 139–163.

⁸ *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 2nd 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 ...)?⁹ 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

⁹ 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*.¹⁰ 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).¹¹ 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”.¹² 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.¹³ Therefore, it is crucial to consider how communication takes place practically and how information

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

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

¹² *Fries/Neiswand*, *Bedrohte Ordnungen*, 7.

¹³ *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”.¹⁴ 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.¹⁵ Even when there is agreement on the legal functions of recognition, the diversity of cases and problems on which

¹⁴ Ian Brownlie, *Principles of Public International Law*, New York 2008, 89.

¹⁵ 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”.¹⁶

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.¹⁷ 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 2nd 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 17th 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.¹⁸ 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 1968.¹⁹

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

¹⁶ *Brownlie*, Principles, 90.

¹⁷ *Schmitt*, *Der Nomos der Erde*.

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

¹⁹ *Beatrice Scutaru*, *La Roumanie   Paris: exil politique et lutte anti-communiste*, in: *Histoire@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.²⁰ 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.²¹

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.²² In the legal international doctrine of recognition of the early 20th 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 [...]”.²³ 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”.²⁴ To illustrate this

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

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

²² See Högger’s contribution, 222.

²³ *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).

²⁴ See Högger’s contribution, 219.

problem, Högger 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.²⁵ 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 presupposes²⁶ – 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 jüdisch-römische Bündnis 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 2nd 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 Fuß in der Tür zum hellenistischen Osten erhalten” (gain a foothold in the Hellenistic East).²⁷

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

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

²⁶ Edmond Frézouls/Anne Jacquemin (Ed.), *Les relations internationales. Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg des 15–17 juin 1993*, Paris 1995.

²⁷ See Baltrusch’s contribution, 37.

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