INTRODUCTION

PART I: STATEHOOD

CHAPTER 1 THE CONCEPTS OF ‘SUBJECT OF LAW’ AND ‘PERSONALITY’ IN INTERNATIONAL LAW

§ 1. Introduction 9
§ 2. The meaning of ‘subject of international law’ and ‘international personality’ 10
§ 3. Conclusion 18

CHAPTER 2 THE STATE AS AN INTERNATIONAL LEGAL PERSON

§ 1. Introduction 19
§ 2. The notion of the State 20
  § 2.1. The State as a political and social organization 21
  § 2.2. The State as a legal concept under international law: legal personality, attributes and legal criteria for statehood 21
  § 2.3. Sovereignty 25
§ 3. Recognition of States and the acquisition of international personality 28
  § 3.1. The constitutive theory 29
  § 3.2. The declaratory theory 32
§ 4. The theories on recognition revisited 33
  § 4.1. Evaluation of the constitutive theory 33
CHAPTER 3 THE TRADITIONAL CRITERIA FOR STATEHOOD AND THE CONCEPT OF EFFECTIVENESS

§ 1. Introduction 49
§ 2. Statehood and the notion of effectiveness in international law 50
  § 2.1. Raison d'être and function of effectiveness 50
    § 2.1.1. Absence of a central organ with general powers of attribution and enforcement of rights and obligations 50
    § 2.1.2. Legal order 52
    § 2.1.3. Legal security 53
  § 2.2. Legal effects of effectiveness 53
  § 2.3. The meaning of effectiveness in the context of the formation of States 57
§ 3. The traditional criteria for statehood 58
  § 3.1. Permanent population 58
  § 3.2. Defined territory 59
  § 3.3. Government 62
  § 3.4. The capacity to enter into relations with other States 73
  § 3.5. Independence 74
    § 3.5.1. Formal independence 76
    § 3.5.2. Actual independence 78
§ 4. Recognition and the traditional criteria for statehood 82
§ 5. Retroactivity of recognition of statehood 83
§ 6. The moment of the commencement of statehood 85
§ 7. Conclusions 86

CHAPTER 4 THE OBLIGATION OF NON-RECOGNITION AND ADDITIONAL CRITERIA FOR STATEHOOD BASED ON LEGALITY

§ 1. Introduction 89
§ 2. The prohibition of premature recognition 92
  § 2.1. No recognition without 'permissive' recognition? 93
Table of Contents

§ 2.2. Non-fulfilment of the traditional criteria for statehood and recognition 95
  § 2.2.1. Colonialism and state formation through national liberation wars: the requirement of effective government and the operation of the right of self-determination 95
    (a) Algeria 96
    (b) Guinea Bissau 98
    (c) Angola 99
    (d) The Congo 100
  § 2.2.2. The formation of States and ineffective government in the post-colonial era 101

§ 2.3. Observations 101

§ 3. The meaning of the doctrine of obligatory non-recognition 105

§ 4. The origin and development of the doctrine of obligatory non-recognition in practice 113

§ 5. State practice in the field of non-recognition of claims to statehood 116
  § 5.1. The era of the League of Nations 116
  § 5.2. The era of the United Nations 122
    § 5.2.1. Violation of the prohibition of the use of force, in particular the prohibition of aggression 122
    § 5.2.2. Violation of the right of peoples to self-determination 128
      (a) The case of Southern Rhodesia 128
      (b) The South African Homeland territories 134
    § 5.2.3. Violation of the prohibition of systematic racial discrimination including the prohibition of Apartheid 140

§ 6. The character of the legal norms involved 141

§ 7. The legal basis of the obligation of non-recognition 150

§ 8. Modern criteria for statehood based on legality 151

§ 9. Limits to the obligation of non-recognition 158

§ 10. Non-recognition and the European Community Declaration on the Guidelines on the Recognition of New States in Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union 165

§ 11. Conclusions and observations 167
PART II: SELF-DETERMINATION

CHAPTER 5  THE EMERGENCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION: FROM THE AMERICAN AND FRENCH REVOLUTIONS TO THE ERA OF DECOLONIZATION

§ 1. Introduction 171
§ 2. Political and philosophical foundations 172
  § 2.1. The American and French Revolutions: democratic political theory 172
  § 2.2. Nationalism 176
§ 3. From a political principle to a legal right 177
  § 3.1. Woodrow Wilson and 'Wilsonian self-determination' 177
  § 3.2. Vladimir Ilyich Lenin and self-determination 184
  § 3.3. Self-determination in the aftermath of World War I 188
    § 3.3.1. Versailles 188
    § 3.3.2. The League of Nations 193
    § 3.3.3. National self-determination as a gift 196
  § 3.4. The United Nations and decolonization 199
    § 3.4.1. The liberation of colonial peoples and territories: towards a right of self-determination 199
    § 3.4.2. The subject of the right of self-determination and the principle of territorial integrity 206
    § 3.4.3. Implementation and legal status of self-determination 210
    § 3.4.4. Decolonization and statehood 219
§ 4. Reflections and conclusions: raison d'être and core meaning of political self-determination 220

CHAPTER 6  THE POST-COLONIAL ERA: INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL SELF-DETERMINATION

§ 1. Introduction 226
§ 2. Self-determination beyond decolonization 227
  § 2.1. The continuing character of self-determination and its internal dimension 228
  § 2.2. The meaning of internal self-determination and its surplus value 237
§ 3. The subject of internal self-determination 242
Table of Contents

§ 3.1. The territorial definition: the entire population of existing States 244
§ 3.2. The 'ethnic' definition: subgroups within existing States 247
§ 3.3. Minorities 265
§ 4. Internal self-determination as a right under international law 272
§ 5. The right of external self-determination: meaning and exercise 289
§ 6. The principles of territorial integrity and uti possidetis 293
§ 7. Conclusions and observations 305

CHAPTER 7 SECESSION

§ 1. Introduction 308
§ 2. Theoretical approaches to a right of secession 309
§ 3. Acknowledgment of a right of secession 313
   § 3.1. Recognition of a right of secession under national law or approval by the central government 313
   § 3.2. International instruments, doctrine and judicial decisions 316
      § 3.2.1. International instruments 316
      § 3.2.2. Doctrine 324
      § 3.2.3. Judicial decisions and opinions 328
      § 3.2.4. Observations 332
   § 3.3. Successful secessions and international practice 332
      § 3.3.1. Bangladesh 335
      § 3.3.2. Croatia 342
         (a) History 342
         (b) Secession and/or dissolution of the SFRY? 356
         (c) Entitlement to unilateral secession? 361
      § 3.3.3. Acknowledgement of the existence of a qualified right of unilateral secession under international law 362
§ 4. Cumulative criteria for a right of unilateral secession 366
   § 4.1. Minority-people 366
   § 4.2. Territorial bond 367
   § 4.3. A direct or indirect violation of the right of internal self-determination 367
### Table of Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>§ 4.4. Exhaustion of all effective judicial remedies and realistic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>political arrangements for the purpose of realizing the right of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>internal self-determination</td>
<td>370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 4.4.1. The catalytic agent: widespread and serious violations of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>individual human rights</td>
<td>372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 5. Unsuccessful unilateral secessions: the cases of the Chechen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republic of Ichkeria, the Republic of Abkhazia and the Republic of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbian Krajina</td>
<td>372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 5.1. The Chechen Republic of Ichkeria</td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 5.2. The Republic of Abkhazia</td>
<td>379</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 5.3. The Republic of Serbian Krajina</td>
<td>386</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 6. Conclusion: the norms of territorial integrity and secession</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>revisited</td>
<td>394</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PART III: STATEHOOD AND SELF-DETERMINATION

CHAPTER 8  THE FORMATION OF STATES AND THE OPERATION OF THE LAW OF SELF-DETERMINATION

§ 1. Introduction 401
§ 2. Recognition of statehood despite the existence of an ineffective government: modern state practice and the role of the right of self-determination 402
§ 2.1. The cases of Georgia and Moldova 402
§ 2.1.1. The Republic of Georgia 402
§ 2.1.2. The Republic of Moldova 405
§ 2.2. Observations 406
§ 2.3. External self-determination and the statehood criterion of 'government': juridical and empirical statehood 408
§ 2.4. The special case of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina 414
§ 3. The law of self-determination and the criteria for statehood: the unlawful proclamation of independence 418
§ 3.1. The prohibition of abuse of the right of self-determination: the requirement of fulfilment of the conditions of the qualified right of secession 419
§ 3.2. Respect for the right of internal self-determination of peoples 423
Table of Contents

§ 4. The proper subject of the right of unilateral secession as a criterion for statehood 425
§ 5. The formation of States, self-determination and recognition 426
§ 6. Conclusions 437

PRÉCIS

§ 1. The formation of States, traditional criteria for statehood and recognition 439
§ 2. The obligation of non-recognition of statehood: the introduction of the notion of legality in the law of statehood and additional criteria for statehood 441
§ 3. The law of self-determination 443
§ 4. Statehood and self-determination 449
§ 5. The modern law of statehood 451

Bibliography 453
Table and Index of Cases 481
Index 485