



## Welcome

### Welcoming words from Xabier Macías

The peoples of Scotland and Catalonia have just demonstrated the usefulness of our work. Their impeccable mobilization for their collective political rights has been an example to the world.

After long years of arguing, against the grain, in favor of cultural diversity and self-determination, these two old nations have become a reference point both in terms of democratic revitalization and the empowerment of their citizens (who are clearly not content to just settle

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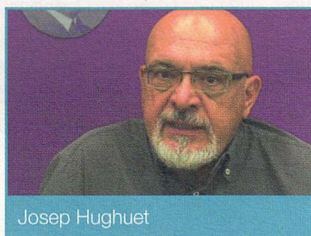
for a way out of the crisis being imposed on them by financial markets). Europe needs this democratizing effort to counter

the authoritarian tendencies that claim to have a monopoly on the alternatives. In this future, the role of stateless nations is crucial. Self-government is no longer exclusively a synonym for cultural identity. Self-confidence and the ability to take decisions about your own economy are essential requisites for drawing up more equitable policies aimed at guaranteeing the well-being of social majorities.

Uniting the popular slogans from the Catalan and Scottish movements we should all affirm: to build a new country, leave the future in our hands. That's what this is all about, and that is what we wish to continue contributing to here at the Maurits Coppieters Centre.

Xabier Macías  
President of the Centre Maurits Coppieters

# Future is now!



Josep Huguuet

## “Scotland's victory was holding the referendum”

Scotland has decided, by a small margin, not to become independent. It did so within the framework of a democratic independence referendum that was agreed with the UK government. It would be gratifying if this scheme were to be followed in every

*The Scottish case represents a precedent for other European peoples seeking to build their own state.*

legitimate views of the Scottish people, the Scottish case represents a precedent for other European peoples seeking to build their own state. If others wish to follow the same democratic path and seek to create

European State where similar issues arise.

Despite the result, which reflects the

a newly independent country, they should be allowed to do so in the same way the Scottish people did within Great Britain.

Having said this, I think it is worth underlining how the pro-union political parties that backed the “Better Together” campaign committed themselves to listening to the massive clamour for a greater degree of autonomy. Consequently, new devolution laws, granting Scotland fresh tax and financial powers and also a greater degree of recognition of its identity, are to be expected: Scotland's victory was holding the referendum!

Josep Huguuet  
President of the Fundació Josep Irla  
and Scientific Counselor of  
the Centre Maurits Coppieters



# How an independence minded majority emerges

**Secession from a high-income democracy is difficult. The last two secessions in Western Europe occurred in 1944 (Iceland) and 1905 (Norway). Still, several independence movements have come close to their objective in recent years: Quebec, Scotland, the Faroe Islands, Greenland, and Catalonia among them. What might cause an independence minded majority to emerge somewhere in Europe?**

My own research<sup>1</sup> has looked at the “structural” sources of the electoral successes of secessionist parties: what factors cause certain regions to have greater secessionist potential? Generally, the factors include more speakers of a regional language, higher net fiscal outflows, a higher population, geographic separation, a past history of independence, and the lack of “irredentist potential” (existence of a neighbouring country where the regional language is spoken by the majority) all correlate with greater support for “secessionist” parties, defined as parties that support more regional autonomy and do not rule out future independence.

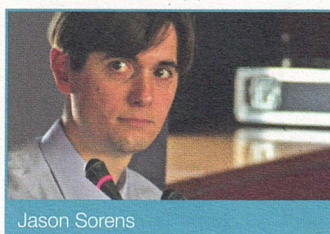
My statistical model predicts the average level of secessionist support in each region from 1980 to 2000 well. Only three regions are outliers with results on the low side, meaning that they have less secessionist support than predicted: Sardinia, Aaland, and the

Balearic Isles. It’s interesting that in the first two cases, secessionist support has increased significantly since 2000.

If the structural model explained everything, then we would not expect an independence minded majority to emerge anywhere in the developed world. But in fact, the level of electoral success of secessionist groups has been increasing over time. The average level of secessionism predicted by a time trend analysis has doubled between 1980 and 2013.

We do not know what lies behind this change. One explanation is that economic integration, particularly throughout the European Union, fosters independence claims because the economic costs of having a small country have fallen. Another explanation points to the spread of secessionist claims within countries where such claims have brought forth territorial concessions, such as in Spain.

Autonomist and independence leaning parties have learned from each other and from new models of sovereignty around the world. It is often difficult to draw sharp distinctions between autonomists and independence supporters.



Jason Sorens

The “Ibarretxe Plan” proposed for the Basque Country several years ago would have given the Basque Country “freely associated state” status with Spain, essentially a formal independence with Spanish control over foreign policy, customs, and defence.

*What might cause an independence minded majority to emerge somewhere in Europe?*

The “devolution max” proposal for Scotland would stop just short of independence, offering essentially the status that the Isle of Man and each of the Channel Islands already enjoy with respect to the United Kingdom. While the Scottish National Party clearly supports independence for Scotland, they also endorse continued ties with the United Kingdom, including a fully integrated market, a currency union, and a common monarchy.

Secessionist parties often try to split the difference between independence and autonomy in order to appeal to moderate voters and to reduce the costs of secession. Similarly, autonomist parties have sometimes switched to an independence minded discourse when their autonomist objectives have been frustrated.

This is what has happened in Catalonia. Since 2009, support for independence has more than doubled in Catalonia. More

than half of Catalans, who are willing to express an opinion on the matter, now support independence. The biggest reason for this shift has been the Spanish Constitutional Court’s overturning of much of the 2006 Statute of Autonomy for Catalonia. Seeing their autonomist aspirations frustrated, Catalans have turned to independence as the answer.

To reduce the desire for Catalan independence, the Spanish government would have needed to negotiate, in good faith, a federal reform of Spain.

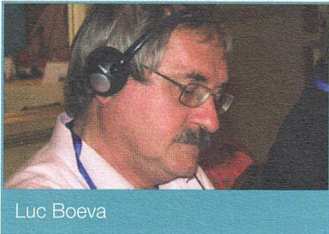
This they refused to do, instead they threatened legal penalties if a consultation on independence were held or any further steps toward secession taken. As a result, Catalans no longer trust the Spanish state to implement a generous program of autonomy. A negotiated settlement to the crisis now looks unlikely; either Catalonia will press on toward independence, through a campaign of civil disobedience if necessary, or their leaders will back down in the face of legal threats and internal divisions, as Lehendekari (Basque President) Ibarretxe had to do.

An independence minded majority emerged in Catalonia due to events, rather than the strategies of Catalan political leaders, who have merely responded to public opinion. When the status quo is unsustainable and independence is likely to have net economic benefits, the dominant political framework can quickly shift from decentralization to secession.

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<sup>1</sup> *Secessionism: identity, interest, and strategy*; Jason Sorens. Montreal, McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2012.

## Providing an instrument for the comparative transnational study of national movements



Luc Boeva

For more information, see [www.nise.eu](http://www.nise.eu) or contact the coordination centre in Antwerp (Belgium) ([info@nise.eu](mailto:info@nise.eu)). A full account of the organization's context, aims and framework can be found in L. Boeva, *Rien de plus international. Towards a comparative and transnational historiography of national movements, Antwerp, 2010* (an abridged version is available in English, Dutch, French, Spanish, German and Russian).

**Since the end of the 18th Century, nationalism has played an important role in the history of Europe. Its protagonists, assembled in national movements, were involved in the construction of nations and national identity, contributing both to the constitution and the dissolution of states. It still remains today a complex phenomenon that exerts an important influence on the cultural and political evolution of Europe.**

Nationalism is the object of sustained and intensive research. However, although national movements are in fact pre-eminently transnational, researchers often remain unaware of the results of studies covering other national movements. Case studies are therefore often carried out without a contextual or comparative dimension. Moreover, the formation of theories is insufficiently based on the results of comparative empirical research. The fact that comparative studies tend to be complicated, the existence of a language barrier and the

unavailability of controlled and systematically presented data, all contribute to the research problem.

Nor has there been any coordinated effort at a European level to collect sources on national movements, in order to conserve and disclose them for research.

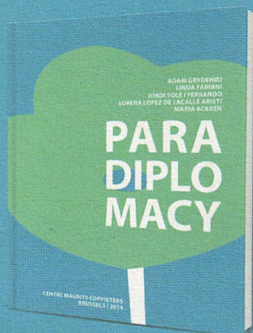
**National movements remain today a complex phenomenon that exerts an important influence on the cultural and political evolution in Europe.**

That is why the NISE (National Movements and Intermediary Structures in Europe) was established in 2008, providing an interdisciplinary research, heuristic and archival platform for sustained cooperation at a European level between academics as well as researchers and heritage organizations from all over Europe (including CMC).

NISE

### PAPER

## PARADIPLOMACY



The main policy papers presented during the conference Local Actions in a Global Context: "Paradiplomacy by sub-state Jurisdictions" in Svalbard are collected in this publication.

The authors: Günther Dauwen, Adam Grydehøj, Linda Fabiani, Jordi Solé, Lorena Lopez de Lacalle and Maria Ackrén considered how sub-state jurisdictions (towns, cities, counties, nations and regions) and other non-state actors use paradiplomacy to seek influence beyond their borders. As globalization reduces

the ability of state governments to independently implement effective policies, sub-state jurisdictions are finding that sovereignty is no longer an essential prerequisite for entering onto the global stage.

Local governments are using paradiplomacy and informal diplomacy to promote their interests internationally in areas like trade, culture, tourism, politics, and environment.

Find out more at [www.ideasforeurope.eu/publication/paradiplomacy/](http://www.ideasforeurope.eu/publication/paradiplomacy/)

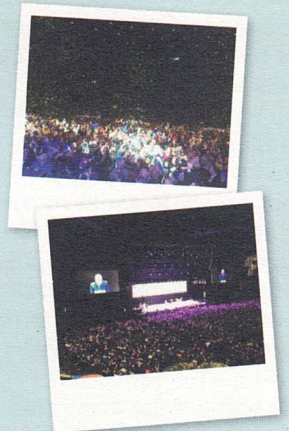


## TweetBest

Marta Rovira Vergés  
@martarovira October 15, 2014 [...] on November 9th #9N I will vote #SISí (Yes/ Yes) because we have to demonstrate there is a solid majority of Catalan society in favour of independence #independència We will win!

Günther Dauwen  
@gdauwen  
To involve and connect all the citizens of Europe is one of the #EUchallenges for the next five years.

Tasmina Sheikh @Tasmina Sheikh November 22, 2014  
Never seen anything quite like this anywhere! Incredible! @NicolaSturgeon@ StewartHosieMP @ AlexSalmond#SNPtour pic.twitter.com/DOiaCYKNAE



Centre M. Coppieters  
@IdeasForEurope  
January 22, 2015  
#EU Funding and working plan for 2015 approved. We are moving forward: The future is now!



## “The Catalans have shown their dignity and impeccable democratic behavior to the whole world”<sup>1</sup>

### INTERVIEW

**Daniel Turp is a professor in International Law, a prominent member of the Parti Québécois, adviser to domestic and international public institutions, and the author of works related to the right to self-determination. He was also one of the prime movers in Quebec’s 1995 referendum on independence. On November 9th, Turp was in Barcelona as an international observer of Catalonia’s non-binding vote on independence.**

**At CIEMEN’s invitation, you were an international observer at the first popular, non-binding referendum on independence, which started the ball rolling, in Arenys de Munt in 2009. Since then, you have come back to Catalonia several times. You have always had the opportunity to speak in public about issues related to the content of these popular votes. Which features do you think distinguish the November 9th vote from previous referendums?**

This time, the call to the polls has been a general one, targeting all the people and all of those who live in Catalonia. The call was made directly by the

Catalan autonomous government. This time, even though volunteers again played an essential role, political responsibility was directly assumed by the Generalitat. These differences signal the importance and significance of what happened last Sunday November 9th in Catalonia, for the Catalan people and for the whole world.

**As an international observer, what is your take on what you saw and verified on November 9th?**

The Catalans have shown their dignity and impeccable democratic and peaceful behaviour to the whole world. Democracy has dominated everything, even the smallest details, in the long lines of voters at the time of voting and then in the conduct of the volunteers who were responsible for the smooth running of everything. These facts have an international impact. This is a well-planted seed. The Catalans have proved they have a democratic culture, as I understand the term, largely thanks to a longstanding tradition of setting up civil society organizations. Peaceful and democratic mass demonstrations in recent years, which have grown from grassroots dynamics, are a proof of that. I am sure that dozens of international observers during the

November 9th vote would agree with this view. In any case, all of those with whom I had the opportunity to talk definitely agree.

**What can be said about the attitude of the Spanish government?**

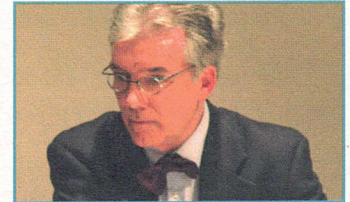
The behaviour of the Spanish government and the Spanish state in general is disastrous if viewed in democratic terms. It got everything confused and distorted. This shows that it still represents the kind of

*The behavior of the Spanish government and the Spanish state is disastrous if viewed in democratic terms.*

Spain that lacks a democratic culture. The Spanish government speaks of democracy, but it follows policies that are typical of countries unable to meet just claims which are rooted in international law and keen on dialogue. The Spanish government prefers to threaten, to persistently say “no”, to give up politics, even invoking the intervention of a court that finds itself forced to take political stances instead of carrying out its duties of a purely legal nature. The Catalans are well aware of these inconsistencies, and have been able to show that they can get by without the Spanish state by acting with an eye to the establishment of their own, Catalan state.

**What should be done now?**

In my opinion, the Catalans should maintain and strengthen what they have once again proven on November 9th: that



Daniel Turp

they are a sovereign people which is aware of its right to self-determination and which has decided to exercise it. This is happening in the face of a state that is acting unlawfully, in the sense that it does not accept the fundamental rights of peoples, and ignores and cancels out the legitimate demands of the Catalan people by attributing the only true sovereignty to the Spanish people.

Spain has objectively lost credibility on the international stage. Most media reporting on the November 9th vote demonstrated this fact. It is clear that other states reacted by siding with the Spanish state not because of convictions, but because it suited their convenience. What state would like to undergo a process such as Spain’s? No state wants to endanger itself, especially those where Catalan-like situations exist or could exist.

In this context, and with regards to its future, the Catalans -with their representatives at the forefront- should promote an international policy to make themselves understood. They should look for complicity, to build a consensus in international institutions. Catalan civil society should help this through actions targeting civil societies in other countries.

<sup>1</sup> Source: *Nationalia - Ciemen*; 13/11/2014 (<http://www.nationalia.info/en/news/2012>)

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