

Copyright © ECMI 2018

This article is located at:

[http://www.ecmi.de/fileadmin/downloads/publications/JEMIE/2018/Anderson\\_intro.pdf](http://www.ecmi.de/fileadmin/downloads/publications/JEMIE/2018/Anderson_intro.pdf)

---

## **Overview: the Diversity and Complexity of Separatist Movements in Europe**

Alan B. Anderson\*

*University of Saskatchewan*

Of 42 independent countries in Europe (excluding mini-states, dependencies, and counting the four states together comprising the United Kingdom as a single country), almost all contain territorial-based ethnic minorities which have been, continue to be, or may potentially be engaged in separatist movements.<sup>1</sup> While ‘separatism’ is often equated with full political secession, separatist movements – broadly defined – may actually range from secession to autonomy.<sup>2</sup> Secessionist movements seek complete independence from an existing country. They may include militant independence movements, involving violence initiated by secessionists; violent state repression of secessionism; or non-violent democratic secessionism. Autonomist movements aim at achieving, strengthening, or maintaining political autonomy within an existing country, short of independence. Such movements may be working toward the achievement of autonomy; or may aim at increasing or strengthening existing autonomy; whereas some autonomous regions may simply be content with existing autonomy (the status quo). Several relatively newly independent countries have recently acquired their independence

---

\* Alan B. Anderson is Professor Emeritus of Sociology and a former chair of the International Studies Program at the University of Saskatchewan (Canada). Correspondence details: e-mail: alan.anderson@usask.ca.

due to the dissolution of previous federations, and indeed some historic countries with a strong nationalistic identity wish to break away from existing federations. Certain separatist movements are irredentist, seeking annexation by a neighbouring country. A unique situation – which could be called ‘imposed minority internationality’ – exists where the homeland territory of a minority has historically been divided between two or more states. Of course, various types of separatist movements may exist for a specific territorial ethnic minority concurrently, depending on the stance taken by particular political parties. Moreover, any classification of separatist movements may be time-specific; over time, militant movements may become less militant and more democratic, whereas conversely militancy may increase, depending upon political circumstances.

Today, while it could be observed that some historical militant secession movements have lessened their militancy, other extremely militant movements have in recent years been characterized by full-scale warfare. Militant secession movements which have degenerated into full-scale warfare have been – with the exception of Northern Ireland – all in eastern Europe and the Caucasus during the 1990s: Bosnia, the Transnistria region of Moldova, the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict in Azerbaijan, Chechnya, Abkhazia and South Ossetia in Georgia, and more recently eastern Ukraine since 2014. Short of open warfare, terrorist movements have characterized the Basque country in Spain and France since the 1960s, Corsica since the 1970s, and Brittany in France; and South Tyrol in Italy during the 1950s and 1960s. Yet all of these have now receded, although still militant. Other militant yet non-violent movements (more verbal than armed) have been formed in England, the regions of Galicia and Leon in Spain, Sardinia in Italy, Jura in Switzerland, and Tatarstan in Russia.

Some secession movements can be described as repressive, characterized by central state repression of minority politicization, sometimes leading to outright warfare when the minority resists. Yet state repressive control of minorities does not necessarily pertain to attempted secession. Central state repression has long been evident in the Basque country in both Spain and France and most recently in Catalonia in Spain. Pro-Russian separatists in eastern Ukraine argue that they have been – and continue to be – repressed by the central government of Ukraine, as have the ethnic Russian majority in Crimea until they succeeded in declaring their independence from Ukraine and de facto reunification with Russia.

As the Catalan case illustrates, secession movements can be democratic and non-violent (at least on the part of a particular minority). In fact, most of the autonomous regions of Spain contain democratic independence movements. So, too, are such movements found in the Basque

country and Brittany in France; Wallonia and Flanders in Belgium; Sicily, Veneto, and Liguria in Italy; and the Faroe Islands and Greenland under Danish jurisdiction.

In contrast to secession movements, which seek complete independence, autonomy movements aim at achieving, strengthening, or maintaining the autonomy of a minority territory. First, what could be called pro-autonomy movements wish to achieve central state recognition of some degree of autonomy where none has hitherto existed. There are numerous contemporary European examples. There are currently at least eight countries in western Europe and another 15 in eastern Europe within which minorities and regional movements have been advocating some measure of self-government. In the west: Denmark (Bornholm); England (London, Cornwall, Mercia, Wessex, and Yorkshire); Scotland (Shetlands and Orkneys, Outer Hebrides); France (Brittany, North Catalonia, Savoy, Occitania, Provence, Alsace, Alpes-Maritimes, Normandy, French Flanders); Netherlands (Groningen, Eindhoven); Germany (Bavaria, Franconia); Italy (Lombardy and northern region, Sicily, Veneto, Liguria, Vals Vaudois); and Austria (Slovene minority and Burgenland). And in the east: Russia (Sami); the Baltics (various minority areas); Poland (Silesia, Kashubia); Hungary (Slovaks); Czech Republic (Moravia, Silesia); Slovakia (Hungarian minority); Croatia (Hungarian and Serb minority areas); Serbia (Sandzak); Macedonia (Kosovar/Albanian minority); Romania (Transylvania, Banat, Bukovina); Moldova (Taraclia); Bulgaria (Turkish and Pomak minority areas); and Greece (Vlachs, Macedonians).

Apart from these aforementioned cases where ethnic minorities are seeking regional autonomy, throughout Europe may also be found situations where minorities already possess limited degrees of autonomy yet where there are transitional movements to increase or strengthen that autonomy. In western Europe, examples are found in: Britain (Isle of Man, Channel Islands); Belgium (Flanders, Wallonia); France (Corsica); many of the autonomous regions of Spain; Italy (Friulia, South Tyrol and Ladinia, Aosta, Sardinia); Germany (East and North Friesland and Schleswig, Lusatia); and in Scandinavia (the Sami of Norway, Sweden, and Finland, the Faroes and Greenland under Danish administration, and the Aland Islands in Finland). In eastern Europe, such 'transitional' autonomy movements are exemplified in: Russia (Tatarstan, Circassia, Karachay-Balkaria, Karelia); Serbia (Voivodina); Moldova (Transnistria); and Georgia (Adzhar).

This extensive categorization of autonomist movements rather raises the question as to whether there are any existing autonomous regions relatively satisfied with their present status. Again, in any given autonomous region there could be – and often are – political factions ranging from secessionists, through more moderate parties and organizations nonetheless

pressing for more autonomy, to those reasonably satisfied with the current definition of autonomy, bearing in mind that such differences of political opinion may tend to co-exist in any particular autonomous region. It could be suggested that such contented cases are relatively fewer, and may include designated Swede-Finn areas in mainland Finland; Friesland in the Netherlands; the German ‘Ost-Kantone’ in Belgium; some autonomous regions in Spain; the Jura and Ticino in Switzerland; and perhaps Gagauzia in Moldova.

A unique situation for regional ethnic minorities has resulted from the dissolution of complex former federations: the USSR in 1991, Yugoslavia in 1991-92, and Czechoslovakia in 1993. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), established in 1922, contained the most complex system of autonomous governments at various levels, ranging from the dominant Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR), to 14 member Soviet Socialist Republics (SSRs), within which were a plethora of lesser autonomous sub-states ranked as Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics (ASSRs), Autonomous Oblasts (AOs), and Nationality Okrugs (NOs).<sup>3</sup> Similarly, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, established in 1963, was a federation of six member republics, inclusive of two autonomous areas within Serbia. The resulting implications of this dissolution for ethnic separatism will be summarized later, along with the United Kingdom (increasingly dis-united) from Irish independence in 1922 to ‘devolution’ in 1997 and the Scottish independence referendum in 2014.

There are many areas in Europe where border minorities have been advocating annexation to neighbouring countries, i.e. irredentist movements: e.g. in western Europe: Northern Ireland, Scotland, Netherlands, Belgium, France, Spain, Gibraltar, Finland and northern Scandinavia, Switzerland, Italy, Germany, and Austria. And in eastern Europe and the Caucasus: Russia, Ukraine, Slovakia, Moldova, Romania, Albania, Bosnia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia.

Lastly, what has been called ‘imposed minority internationality’ exists where a well-defined, compact homeland territory of a minority people has been divided between two or more states (i.e. excluding numerous cases of cross-border minorities): the Sami, Basques, Catalans, Occitans, Irish, Macedonians, Albanians, and Ossetians.<sup>4</sup>

There has been substantial and continuous interaction between separatist movements throughout Europe, with the common aim of preserving ethnic minority languages, cultures, and territories through politicization. The European Free Alliance (EFA) is a political coalition (allied with the Green Party since 1999) comprised of ‘progressive’ regionalist political parties advocating complete independence/sovereignty or devolution/self-government/political autonomy. Many separatist movements have been members. Founded in 1981 by six parties or

organizations (the Frisian National Party, Independent Fianna Fail, the Party of German-speaking Belgians, the Party for the Organization of a Free Brittany, and the Alsace-Lorraine National Association), the EFA currently has 36 active member political parties or organizations (seven in France, five each in Spain and Italy, four in Britain, three in Germany, one each in another twelve countries), plus another 28 former members, eight observers and two associate members.<sup>5</sup> Moreover most countries in Europe (with the exception of Ireland, Portugal, Belgium, San Marino, Andorra, Bosnia, Serbia and Montenegro, Albania, Greece, Bulgaria, Turkey, Georgia, Belarus, and the Baltics) became signatories to the European Charter of Regional or Minority Languages between 1992 and 2003; and almost all (except France, Andorra, Turkey, and Belarus) signed the Convention on the Protection of National Minorities between 1995 and 2005.

Let us now look at separatist (secessionist and autonomist) movements and political parties in specific countries and minority regions.

### **Spain, Portugal, and Gibraltar**

Spain has the greatest recognition of autonomous regions of any country in Europe – in fact, since the reform of the Statutes of Autonomy within the Spanish Constitution of 1978, the entire country has been divided into autonomous regions;<sup>6</sup> yet Spain has also contained among the strongest secession movements. These autonomous regions are defined differently, and certainly exhibit differing degrees of politicization, especially in regions having a unique minority language spoken by a strong majority; the other regions of Spain tend to be more content with their existing autonomous status, although some may contain militant secessionist movements or parties pressing for increased autonomy. The Basque country, Catalonia, and Galicia are defined as a bilingual ‘historical nationality’ having the clearest autonomous self-government; Navarra as a bilingual ‘chartered community’; Andalusia as a ‘semi-historical nationality’; Aragon and Valencia as a ‘declared nationality’; the Balaeric Islands and Canary Islands as an ‘insular territory’; Asturias, Cantabria, Castille, and Leon as a ‘historical community’; Murcia, Extremadura, Castilla-La Mancha as a ‘region of historical identity’; Rioja as a ‘province with historical identity’; and Madrid as ‘autonomous for national interest’.

The Basque country (Euskal Herria) has been a classic case of ‘imposed minority nationality’ ever since it was divided between Spain and France by 1620.<sup>7</sup> ETA (Euskadi Ta Askatasuna/Basque Homeland and Freedom), formed in 1959, soon became a violent campaign characterized by terrorist bombings, assassinations, kidnappings (mainly of government politicians and administrators), robberies, and extortions. From 1968 until a ceasefire in 2011,

more than 800 deaths (almost half of them civilians) were attributed to ETA, and thousands more were injured.<sup>8</sup> Occasional earlier ceasefires had been declared (e.g. in 1989, 1996-98, 2006) before ETA agreed to a ‘cessation of armed offenses’ in September 2010; a ‘permanent, general and verifiable’ ceasefire in January 2011; and again a ‘definitive cessation of armed activity’ in October 2011; then in November 2012 ETA further announced its intention to negotiate a ‘definitive end’ to all its operations and complete disbandment; in April 2017 all arms and explosives were reportedly surrendered; and finally in April and May 2018 ETA announced the ‘complete dissolution of all its structures and end to its political initiatives’. ETA was supported by a variety of militant political parties (collectively the *Izquierda Abertzale/Nationalist Left*): *Batasuna/Patriotic Socialist Union*, originally formed in 1978 as a coalition between *Herri Batasuna/Popular Unity* and *Euskal Herritarok/Basque Citizens*, as well as *Herri Alderdi Sozialista Iraultzailea/Peoples Socialist Revolutionary Party*, *Demokrazia Hiru Milioi/Democracy Three Millions*, *Euskal Herrialdeetako Alderdi Komunista/Partido Comunista de las Tierras Vascas/Communist Party of the Basque Homelands*, and *Komando Autonomo Antikapitalistak*. All of these parties were banned (*Batasuna* in 2003 for supporting ETA), yet *Batasuna* was succeeded by the *Sortu/Create* party in February 2011 and *Euskal Herria Bildu/Basque Country Unity* coalition in April 2011. The short-lived *Aralar* Party was in the *EFA* in 2012-17. Yet besides these militant parties there has been a wide range of moderate nationalist and autonomist parties, including: *Euzko Alderdi Jeltzalea/Partido Nacionalista Vasco/Basque Nationalist Party* (an *EFA* member in 1999-2004), *Berdeak Los Verdes/the Green Party* (formerly *Euskal Herriko Berdeak/Verdes del Pais Vasco*), *Eusko Abertzale Ekintza/Basque Nationalist Action* – outlawed in 2008, *Eusko Alkartasuna/Basque Solidarity* (which joined the *EFA* in 1986), *Herritarren Zerrenda/Fellow-Citizens List*, *Democracia Cristiana Vasca*, the former *Partido Republicano Nacionalista Vasco/Basque Nationalist Republican Party*, *Alternatiba*, and the former *Communist Movement of Euskadi* (which became *Zutik*, affiliated with the nationalist *Batzarre* party). Militant Basque nationalism has been met with state repression, both in Spain and France, although such repression has certainly lessened with increasing autonomous rights being granted in this minority region by central governments – more so in Spain than France. Clearly, a longstanding duality has prevailed between militant Basque nationalism and central state repression: the more violent the militancy, the stronger the state response – but also vice-versa. Hundreds of Basque nationalists and separatists have been imprisoned at a time. Basque nationalists are represented by political parties ranging from militant to more moderate secessionist advocating peaceful, democratic change toward independence, thereby opposed not only to militant

violence but also autonomy (pro-Spanish parties or parties favouring the status quo have included the People's Party of Euskadi, Socialist Parties of the Basque Country and Navarra, and Union Progreso y Democracia/Union Progress and Democracy).

There continues to be a bewildering range of political factions in the Basque region of Spain – now at least 20 active parties, reformed coalitions, and organizations. It is still much debated whether to support complete independence or autonomy, in other words, where exactly to stand; this has always been changing, especially recently with increased autonomy. Further details on the recent Basque movement out of violent militant secessionism and into democratic politics are provided in Angela Bourne's paper in this special issue: 'Pathways Out of Violence: Desecuritization and Legalization of Bildu and Sortu in the Basque Country'. In this paper she examines "political processes leading to the legalization of the Batasuna successor parties – Bildu and Sortu – by applying the concept of 'desecuritization'" – which, as she explains, is "a process by which an issue moves from the field of 'emergency politics' and 'existential threat' into the normal bargaining process of the public sphere".

The Spanish Basque region is actually divided into two autonomous regions: in accordance with the Statute of Autonomy of the Basque Country (Euskal Autonomia Erkidegoko Estatutua, 1978), the Basque Autonomous Region (Euskal Herriko Autonomia Erkidegoa) is comprised of three provinces: Araba/Alava, Bizkaia/Vizcaya, and Gipuzkoa/Guipuzcoa, whereas Navarra is a separate autonomous region defined as a 'chartered community' (Nafarroako Foru Komunitatua/ Comunidad Foral de Navarra); both autonomous regions are officially bilingual in Basque and Spanish.<sup>9</sup>

While Catalan separatism in Spain has a long history, more recent events have clearly illustrated central state repression of an essentially populist democratic movement rather than violent militancy. The Catalan independence movement ('independentisme catala') derived from broader Catalan nationalism as early as the 1920s. In 1931 a Catalan Republic (Republicana de Catalunya) led to Catalan autonomy, nonetheless abolished by Franco in 1938; since his death in 1975, the main political effort was on the restoration of this autonomy rather than independence.<sup>10</sup> In 2010 the contemporary independence movement began in earnest, when the Constitutional Court of Spain found that certain acts of the 2006 version of the Statute of Autonomy were 'unconstitutional', resulting in a popular demonstration numbering over a million. In 2009-11 at least 550 municipalities of Catalonia held symbolic referenda on independence, virtually all returning a positive vote (yet with just a 30% turnout). In November 2014 a referendum partly asked, "Do you want Catalonia to become a state, and if so, do you want this state to be independent?" This time 81% answered positively (yet still the turnout was

less than half – 41%). In response, the central government of Spain declared referenda on independence to be illegal – specifically this most recent referendum was ruled a violation of the Constitution of Spain by the Constitutional Court, which also banned the revised ‘non-binding’ vote. Subsequently criminal charges were levied against the Catalan government leader and separatist politicians. Nevertheless the Catalan government called a plebiscite on independence in September 2015, a resolution declaring the commencement of the independence process through a ‘transition law’ in November of that year, resulting in Spanish Prime Minister Mariano Rajoy threatening to “use any available judicial and political mechanism contained in the Constitution and in the laws to defend the sovereignty of the Spanish people and of the general interest of Spain”. In the Catalan election in 2015, pro-independence parties collectively gained 47% of the vote.

Now the Catalan parliament agreed to start the process toward independence in November. In assuming office as President of Catalonia in January 2016, Carles Puigdemont (leader of the main separatist party) refused to swear allegiance to the King of Spain and the Spanish Constitution; moreover, he announced that a ‘binding referendum’ on independence would be held October 1, 2017. Again the central government of Spain declared this referendum to be illegal, void and a violation of the Constitution and Statutes of Autonomy; mayors cooperating with the referendum were charged; polling stations were fined and shut down by the Guardia Civil, who violently attacked referendum staff and supporters; Catalan police were ordered away; referendum organizers were arrested; Catalan government cabinet ministers were charged with ‘rebellion, sedition, and misuse of public funds’, imprisoned and taken away for trial. Anti-independence parties called for non-participation in this referendum; 43% voted, of which 90% were in favour. Based on this result, the Catalan parliament called for a unilateral declaration of independence, in violation of the Spanish Constitutional Court. Together, the secessionist parties (Partit Democrata Europeu Catala, Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya, and Candidatura d’Unitat Popular) – backed by at least six other smaller parties, youth movements, economic organizations, and ‘think-tanks’ – did not quite comprise a majority (47.5%). The ‘middle ground’ tending to favour autonomy short of complete independence was held by more moderate parties (the Socialist party, gaining 13.9%, favoured reforming the Spanish Constitution to better accommodate Catalonia, while Podemos, a Spanish national party, supported a bilateral and legally recognized referendum). The remaining 29.6% (Ciutadans, Partit Popular Catala) were clearly opposed to independence and favoured the status quo.

Immediately following this latest referendum, the Spanish central government closed down the Catalan parliament and took over most of the administrative functions of the

Generalitat (the Catalan government).<sup>11</sup> Since then, Puigdemont escaped to Belgium to lobby the EU, and eventually was arrested on the Danish-German border on an international warrant, however a German court refused extradition back to Spain. Pedro Sanchez, a Socialist, replaced Conservative Mariano Rajoy (of the Popular Party – not very popular in Catalonia) as Prime Minister, having been elected not the least due to backing by Catalan nationalists. The new national government is seeking a ‘political solution’ rather than repression, and several ministers would prefer the Court to release Catalan political prisoners. Quim Torra, who replaced Puigdemont, is claiming to be ‘building the Catalan republic’; he has given Sanchez a month ultimatum to agree to hold yet another referendum, or else Catalan support for the national Socialists could be withdrawn (of course, Sanchez is accused of appeasement to Catalan nationalists). Yet the Catalan nationalist movements, with well over two million adherents, like the Basque, have become even more divided between secessionists pursuing civil disobedience and those advocating further reforms to autonomy. The Democratic Convergence of Catalonia was a member of the EFA in 1981-87, and the Republican Left of Catalonia joined in 1989.

In Galicia (also defined as a ‘historical nationality’), many gains have been made in official recognition and widespread use of the Gallego language (related to Portuguese). Increased autonomy and cultural agenda are pushed by a wide variety of political parties and advocacy organizations, ranging from moderately docile to militant (including Bloque Nacionalista Galego/Galician Nationalist Bloc – which joined the EFA as an observer in 1994 and member in 2000, Nos Unidade Popular, Frente Popular Galego/Galician Popular Front, Partido Galeguista/Galician Party, Terra Galega Coalition, Alternativa Galega de Esquedas/Galician Left Alternative, Galiza Nova, Resistencia Galega, etc.).

Andalusia (defined as a ‘semi-historical nationality’) has a strong regional identity, so not surprisingly has contained broadly nationalist political parties (Bloque Andaluz de Izquierdas, the Communist Party/Partido Comunista del Pueblo Andaluz, and the now defunct Partido Andalucista – which had joined the EFA in 1999 until it was dissolved in 2015), youth movements and trade unions, as well as secessionist factions (Nacion Andaluza, Asamblea Nacional de Andalucia, Candidatura Unitaria de Trabajadores).

Of the ‘declared nationalities’, Aragon contains a variety of nationalist or autonomist (Chunta Aragonesista /Aragonese Union – a member of the EFA in 2004-18, Tierra Aragonesa) and even secessionist movements (Estau Aragonés, Puyalon de Cuchas, Bloque Independista de Cuchas, A Enrestida, Sindicato d’Estudiants Independistas y Revolucionarias d’Aragon). Valencia is in a unique situation: While a significant majority of its people speak a dialect

related to Catalan, not all would support Catalan separatism, rather many would choose to support increased Valencian autonomy, as evidenced in the broad variety of Valencian autonomist and nationalist political parties and advocacy groups (including Pro-Catalan Valencianists, secessionist Blaverists and Valencian Sovereignty, Valencian Nationalist Bloc – an EFA member since 2012, Initiative of the Valencian People, Popular Unity Candidates, Republican Left of the Valencian Country, Valencian State, Nationalist Left, Valencian Left, etc.).

Similarly, in the Balaeric Islands, where a very high proportion of the people speak Catalan, they tend to favour increased autonomy over Catalan secession. The Socialist Party Majorca (Entesa Nacionalista de Majorca and affiliated Partit Socialista de Mallorca) became an EFA observer in 2000 and full member in 2008. In the Canary Islands some political factions advocate secession culminating in a ‘Republic of the Canary Islands’ (e.g. Frepic-Awañak, Alternativa Nacionalista Canaria, Alternativa Popular Canaria, and Unidad del Pueblo), whereas others tend to be more moderate autonomist (e.g. Coalicion Canaria – an EFA member in 1994-99, Partido Nacionalista Canario, Centro Canario Nacionalista, and Nuevo Canarias – an EFA observer since 2013).

The ‘historical communities’, Asturias, Cantabria, and Castille and Leon all possess limited autonomy simply on the basis of unique regional identity. Yet again there are wide differences in political views, especially in Asturias, where political parties range from autonomist (Partiu Asturianista, Union Renovadora Asturiana), to nationalist (Unida Nacionalista Asturiana – an EFA member, Compromisu por Asturias, Bloque por Asturias), and even secessionist (Andecha Astur, Sofitu). The autonomy of Cantabria is supported by the Cantabrian National Council; Pais Leonés/Leonese Country by the Union del Pueblo Leonés and AGORA Pais Llionés, while Tierra Lleonesa is more militant. Of the ‘regions of historical identity’, in Extremadura Coalicion Exremeña and Extremadura Unida represent the autonomist movement, whereas Bloque Popular de Exdremadura is sovereigntist. Murcia has both nationalist political parties (Partido Federal Murciano, Partido del Pais Murciano, Union de los Pueblos de Murcia) and autonomist (Partido Regionalista Murciano, Partido Murcianista, Nueva Region, Union Democratica de la Region de Murcia-Coalition Ciudadana Regional). Even in the heartland of Spain, in Castille-La Mancha there is a moderate autonomist party (Partido Castellano PCas) as well as a more militant party (Izquierda Castellana).

Finally, two interesting potential irredentist cases within Spain merit mention. The Val d’Aran (where the regional language is a variant of the Gascon dialect of Occitan, prevalent in the neighbouring Gascony region of France) is a semi-autonomous region within the

autonomous region of Catalonia. Thus the movement to promote Aran autonomy is represented by a variety of politicized organizations (including *Convergencia Democràtica Aranès*, *Unitat d'Aran*, *Partit Renovador d'Arties-Garos*, *Esquèrra Republicana Occitana*, *Partit de la Nacion Occitana*, and *Partit Occitan*). Again, *La Franja*, the frontier strip in Aragon along the border of Catalonia, is predominantly Catalan-speaking so more empathetic to Catalan than Aragonese nationalism.

While Portugal could justifiably be considered one of the most ethnically homogeneous countries in Europe (at least, for the indigenous population, excluding population of immigrant origins), the communes of *Miranda de Douro* and *Vimioso* on the Spanish border in the northeast, where most residents speak a unique Asturian-Leonese dialect of Spanish, are granted 'official recognition of the linguistic rights of the Mirandan community'.

And of course Gibraltar, a British possession since 1704, has long experienced Spanish irredentist claims (reportedly with very little if any interest from its diverse people).<sup>12</sup>

## **France**

What separatists perceive as the continuing marginalization of minority languages and cultures by the national government of France was reaffirmed in 1992 legislation emphasizing that French is 'la Langue de la République'....this despite the existence of 'langues historiquement implantées sur le territoire' (Franco-Alémanique and Mosel-Lorrain, Basque, Catalan, Corse, Breton, Flamand – as well as dialectical variations: Sud et Nord-Occitan, Franco-Provençal and Provençal-Alpin, Franc-Comtois, Wallon, Picard, Normand, Gallo, etc.). Social scientists have stressed that it is a French national obligation to ensure recognition particularly of frontier languages (i.e. in cases of imposed minority internationality – Basque, Catalan, Alsatian, Flemish). Yet France has been reticent to sign 'la Convention-cadre pour la Protection des Minorités Nationales' – hence the 'urgent need to protect minority languages and cultures'.<sup>13</sup>

Both the Basque and Catalan home territories have been divided between Spain and France for almost four centuries (the Basques since 1620, the Catalans since 1659), still inspiring calls for reunification. The Basque country (*Pays Basque*) in France is viewed – especially by Basque nationalists and separatists – as part of the greater Basque region (*Euskal Herria*). Although French Basques have gradually gained certain rights – such as bilingual designations for communities within the region – the French Basque region is still not recognized as a political entity, rather it forms part of the *Département de Pyrénées-Atlantique*. Nonetheless it is certainly considered to be a distinct cultural region characterized by unique traditional architecture and prevalent use of the Basque language. It consists of three historic

areas: Lapurdi/Labourd, Nafarroa Beheria/Basse-Navarre, and Zuberoa/Soule. Basque militants (Irrintzi, Batasuna) allied with ETA have continued to be active: Irrintzi was responsible for sabotage and numerous attacks in 2006-07. However, with the amnesty proclaiming the dissolution of ETA and recent capture of a leader in France, most French Basques have opted for a more moderate stance advocating Basque autonomy within France – represented by nationalistic Eusko Alkartasuna (an EFA member) and Euzko Alderdi Jeltzalea/Basque Nationalist Party.

Northern Catalonia (Catalunya Nord) is coterminous with the historic French province of Roussillon, today the Département de Pyrénées Orientales. Again, this is a distinct cultural region where Catalan is commonly spoken and the Catalan flag flies. Pan-Catalan nationalism is promoted by the Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya, Candidatura d'Unitat Popular, and Unitat Catalana/Party for Catalan Unity (which joined the EFA in 1991).<sup>14</sup>

Other minority regions of France have long exhibited militancy. Brittany (Breizh/Bretagne), while again obviously a historic region with a distinct culture and language, has never been recognized as a unitary autonomous political entity by the central government of France; rather it has been divided into five departments. Actually the strength of the Breton culture and especially language use as well as politicization could be described in three zones: strongest in western Brittany (Breizh Izel) – today the department of Finistère (Penn-ar-Bed), variable in central Brittany (Breizh Uhel) – today the departments of Côtes d'Armor (Aodou-an-Arvor) and Morbihan (Mor-Bihan), while weakest in eastern Brittany – today the departments of Ille-et-Vilaine (Il-ha-Gwilen) and Loire-Atlantique (Naoned/Pays Nantais). A militant faction has been the Breton Revolutionary Army (Talbenn Dieubin Breizh), while a more moderate stance has been exemplified by a variety of nationalistic groups, including democratic secessionists (Party for the Organization of a Free Brittany – an original founder of the EFA in 1981, Adsav, Strollad Breizh, Emgann, and Breizh Atao), pro-autonomists (Unvaniezh Demokratel Breizh – an EFA member since 1987), and a pan-Celtic advocacy organization (the Celtic League).<sup>15</sup>

Corsica has experienced longstanding extremely active militancy in the Corsican National Liberation Front/Front National de Libération de Corse,<sup>16</sup> which has reportedly been responsible for an incredulous 10,000 attacks over four decades before agreeing to a 'permanent and unconditional ceasefire' on June 27, 2014 – however there has been further unrest during the summer of 2016 over a presumed increasing Moslem presence in Corsica. The Party of the Corsican Nation and Union of the Corsican People were early EFA members in 1981; Ensemble pour Corse joined the EFA in 2018.

Clearly the reluctance of the national government of France to recognize minority regions as autonomous has resulted in much political unrest not only in the Pays Basque, North Catalonia, Brittany, and Corsica, but also in other minority regions throughout France.<sup>17</sup> In Occitania, covering virtually all of southern France inclusive of Provence, Languedoc, and Gascony (as well as even transitional areas farther north), various nationalistic groups have pushed for autonomous status to promote Occitanian dialects and culture. During the 1970s the Fédération Occitane had the slogan ‘Pour le Socialisme et l’Autonomie’ and the Mouvement Socialiste Occitan rallied around ‘Volem Viure al País! Non à l’exode! Non à la liquidation!’ Today the separatist political parties are Partit de la Nacion Occitana, Partit Occitan (an EFA member since 1982), Iniciativa per Occitania, Anaram au Patac, and Hartèra.<sup>18</sup> Moreover, Occitan dialects are spoken across the border in the Val d’Aran in Spain and the Vals Vaudois in Italy. Within this region, Provence has also experienced the militancy of the Front Nacionala Liberacion de Provença, while the nationalistic Partit Nissart has emphasized the uniqueness of Alpes Maritimes (some communities were Italian until after the Second World War). So, too, the uniqueness of Savoy (perhaps also solidarity with neighbouring Val d’Aoste in Italy) is emphasized by the Savoyan League/Liga de la Savouè (an EFA member in 2000-12) and Movement Règion Savouè (an EFA member since 1991). Alsace-Lorraine/Elsass-Löthringen has a long German cultural – and periodically also political – identification;<sup>19</sup> the uniqueness of this region is stressed by such organizations as Elsass Zuerst, Nationalforum Elsass-Löthringen, and Unser Land. The Alsace-Lorraine National Association was a founding member of the EFA in 1981, while Notre Pays has been a member since 1991. The northernmost part of France, called French Flanders (Frans-Vlaanderen), retains a Flemish identity, yet while there may be some support for autonomy there has been little for political reunification with Belgian Flanders.<sup>20</sup> Normandy, too, has an autonomous movement (Mouvement Normand).

### **Italy**

Linguistic or cultural minorities were recognized in the 1948 Constitution of Italy, as well as the 1999 law which specified means for the protection and promotion (in public administration, education, and media) of minority interests; minority rights were to apply wherever at least one-third of the electorate claimed it.<sup>21</sup> So, apart from the South Tyrol, Aosta, and Friuli, regions having autonomy, other territorial minorities where regions or communities are given some degree of recognition are the Walser (whose unique dialect of German, which they call ‘Walser-Titsch’ is spoken in some 63 communities in four countries – Switzerland, Italy, Liechtenstein, and Austria – so regional autonomy is not practical), and other German-dialect-speaking

communities constituting isolated 'language islands',<sup>22</sup> Ladins, the Vals Vaudois (speaking an Occitan dialect), Slovenes on the Slovenian frontier, scattered Albanian and Greek communities and a Croatian community in the south, and Alghero in Sardinia (where Catalan is still spoken).

The South Tyrol region of Austria was promised to Italy by the Treaty of London in 1915, during the First World War, in an effort to secure the allegiance of Italy; with the close of the war the region was occupied by Italy in November 1918, then formally annexed the following year. In 1926 the predominantly German-speaking Province of Bozen/Bolzano was combined with the almost completely Italian-speaking Province of Trento into the region of Venezia Tridentina, thus ensuring an Italian majority. With the rise of fascism, South Tyrol was subjected to heavy-handed Italianization (prohibition of use of German in public service and administration, placenames changed from German to Italian, education allowed only in Italian, German-language newspapers heavily censored – with the exception of the fascist *Alpenzeitung*, and Italian settlement was encouraged – especially in the two largest cities, Bozen/Bolzano and Meran/Merano). With the commencement of the Second World War, the South Tyrol Option Agreement between Nazi Germany (which had annexed Austria in 1938) and fascist Italy specified that either the German population of South Tyrol could emigrate (some in fact were used for Hitler's 'drang nach osten' whereby ethnic Germans were encouraged to resettle conquered eastern lands) or stay (provided that they relinquish their Austrian/German identity, language, and culture). The region was occupied by German troops and authorities in 1943 when Italy sided with the Allies. Nonetheless, following the war, according to the Gruber-De Gasperi (Paris) Agreement on South Tyrol in September 1946, the Trentino-Alto Adige autonomous region was created, again ensuring an Italian majority, although now German language education was permitted and official German-Italian bilingualism (for example, including in designation of communities). Dissatisfied, during the late 1950s through early 1960s the militant Befreiungsausschuss Südtirol (Committee for the Liberation of South Tyrol) bombed Italian state infrastructure and destroyed fascist monuments, and later also attacked Italian security forces. In 1960 the 'Südtirolfrage' ('question of the South Tyrol') became even more of an international issue when it was brought to the United Nations; finally in 1971 Italy and Austria agreed in a treaty that disputes would be settled in the International Court of Justice in the Hague.<sup>23</sup> Since then South Tyrol politicization has been more moderate with the abandonment of terrorist actions; Ein Tirol continued to press for Austrian irredentism during the late seventies through mid-eighties, but the number of key public manifestations has progressively diminished. South Tyrolean Freedom joined the EFA in 2008, when the Union of South Tyrol was expelled. In her paper in this special issue,

‘Between Consolidated Autonomy and Separatist Claims: a European Perspective on Present-day South Tyrol’, Katharina Crepez describes and critically evaluates the development of autonomy in South Tyrol, from minority protection contested by the Italian-speaking population to being viewed as a necessary precondition for the efficient management of the region accommodating three linguistic groups – German, Italian, and Ladin.

Where the Ladin minority fits into the autonomy has always been questionable, as just two of the five traditional Ladin valleys are situated within the South Tyrol – Val Gherdëina/Grodnertal/Val Gardena and Val Badia/Gadertal; Val de Fascia/Fassatal/Val di Fassa is in Trentino, and Fodom (Val Arabba)/Buchenstein/Livinallongo and Val Anpezzo/Val Ampezzo are in the Province of Belluno. Within South Tyrol, where Ladin is used in the school system, public administration, placenames, and street signs, over 20,000 residents speak Ladin as their native language; in the three communes of Val Gherdëina 84-92% speak Ladin, as do 90-98% in four communes of Val Badia. In Trentino Ladin has protected status in accordance with the Standards for Protection of Historic Language Minorities Act (1999); there are some 19,000 Ladin-speakers constituting 83% in the Val de Fascia and 77-88% in seven communes. So the Ladin minority is recognized in both South Tyrol and Trentino by national and provincial law, whereas in the Province of Belluno (formerly part of South Tyrol until Italian annexation) the Ladins – numbering only about 2,000 – have few rights recognized; they form a slight majority (51-54%) in just two communes and just 15% in the region’s main town of Cortina.<sup>24</sup> There has long been a movement for Ladin unification (advocated by the Union Generala di Ladins des Dolomites) within a separate autonomous region (proposed by the Union Autonomista Ladins – a ‘progressive-centrist’ party founded in 1983 – and Fassa Association). While Ladins are most protected within the autonomous region of South Tyrol, they comprise less than 5% of this region, where they are far outnumbered by German-speakers and form a minority within a minority, whereas they view all five valleys very much as their home territory.

Although Italy was a signatory to the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages in 1991, it delayed ratification. Other autonomous regions have movements aimed at increasing their self-government: in Friuli, the traditional territory of the Friuli-speaking Rhaeto-Romance minority (Res Publica Furlane-Parlament Furlan, Patrie Furlane, and Friulian Front, while Friulian Fatherland became an EFA observer in 2017); in Trieste (Movimento Trieste Libera and movement for a Territorio Libero de Trieste); and in Sardinia (where the more militant factions – Fronte Nazionale de Liberazione de sa Sardigna, Movimentu Nazionalista Sardu, and Movimento Armato Sardo – are now all defunct, although a ‘Republic of Sardinia’ may still be supported by Independence Republic of Sardinia, Project Republic of

Sardinia, Lega Nord Sardinia, Sardinia Nation, Sardinian Action Party – an EFA member since 1984, etc.). The Val d’Aoste/Valle di Aosta – predominantly speaking a Franco-Provençal dialect – now seems relatively content with its bilingual autonomous status; the movement with the curious title Autonomy Liberty Participation Ecology became an EFA observer in 2007 and member in 2011, while the Valdostan Union was a member until 2007. Whereas to the immediate south the Vals Vaudois (Waldensian valleys), speaking an Occitan dialect, do not constitute an autonomous region. In contemporary Italy, apart from regions already possessing some measure of official recognition, there are several regions intent on achieving self-government, if not actual independence: in Lombardy and northern Italy (the Independence Front Lombardy, Pro Lombardy Independence – an EFA observer since 2015, and Liga Lombarda – an EFA member in 1989-91, advocating a ‘republic of Lombardy’, as well as Lega Nord – in the EFA in 1991-94, Lega Padana, Padanian Union, and Alpine Padanian Union); in Veneto (the idea of a ‘Republic of Venice’ supported by a variety of movements – Liga Veneta – in the EFA in 1989-91, Northeast Project, Liga Veneta Repubblica – an EFA member since 1999, Veneto State, Venetian Independence, Venetian People’s Unity, Party for Independent Veneto, Comitato Nazionale per la Liberazione del Veneto); in Liguria (a ‘Ligurian Republic’ advocated by the Ligurian Independence Movement and Lega Nord Liguria); in Sicily (the Sicilian Independence Movement, which became a former EFA member in 2008, Sicilian Socialist Party, Party of the Sicilians, and Free Siciliana); in Emilia-Romagna (the Emilian Free Alliance was in the EFA in 1999-2010); in the Mezzogiorno (where the Other Side became an EFA observer in 2014); and in the Slovene minority area along the border of Slovenia (represented by the Slovene Union, which joined the EFA in 1991).

### **Switzerland and Austria**

Two separatist movements may be identified in Switzerland. First, in the ‘Republic and Canton’ of Italian-speaking Ticino, there has been a pro-Italian separatist and possibly even irredentist movement for unification with neighbouring Italy (represented by the Lega Sud Ticino and Doma Nunch). However, not all of Italian Switzerland is within Ticino: other Italian areas are within the neighbouring canton of Graubunden/I Grigioni (Val Poschiavo, Val Bregaglia, and Val Mesocina). Second, a movement to separate the French-speaking communes in Jura from the predominantly German-speaking Canton of Bern dated back to the 1950s. Finally in 1979 the ‘République de Jura’ became a separate canton – yet the new canton consisted only of the predominantly Catholic communes ((Delémont, Porrentruy, and Franches-Montagnes), whereas the largely Protestant communes (Moutier and Bienne/Biel) remained within the

canton of Bern – at least until 2017, when Moutier partially (the town but not all rural districts) decided to join Jura. The Mouvement Indépendentiste Jurassien is secessionist and irredentist; together with the Mouvement Autonomiste Jurassien they press for unification of all of the Jura region.

Austria is officially considered to be a unitary state so has never favourably viewed the creation of autonomous minority regions; nevertheless historic minorities have secured certain rights, moreover autonomy has been suggested for Burgenland, with substantial Hungarian (with their own private schools) and Croatian minorities (48 communities, ensuring bilingual schools and toponymy in accordance with a 1955 state treaty), as well as for the Slovenes of Carinthia (a 1920 referendum set the border, yet the Slovenes are assured bilingual toponymy, school system, and local administration – official minority status where they constitute a local majority).<sup>25</sup> Ethnic Slovenes have been represented in the EFA by the Unity List since 2005.

### **Germany**

Germany identifies certain minority regions as ‘Recognized National Minorities’, based on the Council of Europe’s Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities and the Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, both ratified by Germany. The Frisian minority has progressively gained certain rights, including parity between the Frisian and German language. The region of East Friesland (Ostfriesland) is recognized as a ‘cultural region’, promoted by Die Friesen party; yet German has long dominated; it is only in a small area – Seelterlound/Saterland Gemeinde, incorporating four communities (Strukelje/Strücklingen, Roomelse/Ramsloh, Seeidelsbierich/Sedelsberg, and Schädde/Scharrel in 1974), where the unique East Frisian dialect is still spoken and protected (a participant in the EFA since 2008 but no longer a member). Whereas in North Friesland (Kris Nordfraslönj/Kreis Nordfriesland) – essentially the west coast of South Schleswig – North Frisians (speaking ten distinct dialects) share minority language rights with the historic Danish minority in many communities, making for a particularly complex situation; North Friesland partially overlaps the Schleswig-Holstein (Søndre Jylland/South Jutland) region within which the Danish-speaking minority is protected in accordance with the 1920 plebiscite, guaranteeing minority rights, including education in Danish. The South Schleswig Voter Federation (an EFA member since 2010) works to ensure minority rights within this region; there are approximately twice as many in the Danish minority south of the border in Germany as the German minority north of the border in Denmark.

Lusatia (Luzica/Lausitz), bordering Poland and the Czech Republic, is the homeland territory of the Sorbs, a Slavic minority. Consisting of two districts, Upper Lusatia (Hornja Luzica/Ober Lausitz), centred on Budysin/Bautzen and including Wojerecy/Hoyerswerda, and Lower Lusatia (Dolna Luzica/Nieder Lausitz), centred on Chosebuz/Cottbus, regional autonomy is pushed by the Lusatian Alliance (with observer status in the EFA since 2009 and membership since 2013). The Sorb language is used in the school system and media.

Two other regions of Germany reveal autonomist inclinations but are not recognized as minority cultural regions: a “Free State of Bavaria” is advocated by the Bavarian Party (an EFA member since 2008), and autonomy of Franconia by the Party for Franks. Politically both the historic regions of Franconia and Swabia have long been divided between Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg.

### **Benelux**

In the Netherlands, the province of Friesland (Fryslan) has long enjoyed far-reaching autonomy and self-government – the province, government, media, and school system are officially bilingual; nonetheless the Frisian National Party (a founding member of the EFA in 1981) has consistently sought to ensure autonomous rights. Autonomous status has also been sought by the Groningen Centraal party in neighbouring Groningen and by Metropoolregio Eindhoven in the city and area of Eindhoven, while there has been an irredentist movement for unification of the southern Dutch province of Limburg with Belgian Limburg.

Belgium has long been sharply divided between Dutch-speaking Flemings and French-speaking Walloons – with the German-speaking minority to the east left to fend for themselves. Border adjustments between Flemish and Walloon provinces have ensured a higher degree of linguistic homogeneity in each region. In both Flanders and Wallonia, as well as the bilingual Brussels capital region, there have been strong ethno-nationalist parties advocating separation and either independence or even possibly annexation to neighbouring Netherlands and France. Flemish nationalist parties and movements (some going so far as to promote unification with the Netherlands) have notably included the Volksunie, Nieuw-Vlaamse Alliantie/New Flemish Alliance, Vlaams Belang, Vlaamse Volksbeweging, and Overlegcentrum van Vlaamse Verenigingen (among many others). The Flemish People’s Union had been an EFA member since 1981, the Social Liberal Party in 2001-09, and the New Flemish Alliance since 2010. Conversely, Walloon nationalist parties and movements promoting a separate Walloon Republic if not annexation by France have included the Rassemblements Wallon, Wallonia-France, and Bruxelles-France. The Rassemblement Populaire Wallon participated in the EFA

in 1982-2011. Walloon nationalist-regionalist parties have included the *Fédéralistes Démocrates Francophones*, *l'Union des Francophones*, and *Front National*.<sup>26</sup>

While Belgian politics have long been dominated by intense rivalry between Flemish and Walloon parties and organizations, the easternmost areas are in fact predominantly German-speaking. Part – but certainly not all – of these areas have gained a limited degree of autonomy: the *Ostkantone* comprise an autonomous minority region, the *Deutschsprachige Gemeinschaft Belgiens* (now simply called *Ostbelgien*), consisting of the communes of Eupen and Sankt-Vith within *Neu-Belgien*, which had been within Prussia and Germany since 1815 yet were annexed by Belgium in 1919. However, the German-speaking areas of *Alt-Belgien* (within Belgium before 1920, i.e. around Arel/Arlon, Bucholz/Beho, Welkenrat/Welkenraedt, Baelen, Montzen, Bleiberg/Plombières, etc.) are excluded from this autonomous region.<sup>27</sup> The autonomous region parliament and local government administration are centred at Eupen. The Party of German-speaking Belgians was a founding member of the EFA until 2008, then the Pro-German-speaking Community became an observer in 2009 and member in 2011; Belgian German interests are also represented by the *Christlich-Soziale Partei*, *Partei für Freiheit und Fortschritt*, *Sozialistische Partei*, and *Pro Deutschsprachige Gemeinschaft*.

### **Britain and Ireland**

Secession has long threatened to break up the United Kingdom, initially established in 1801 as the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. ‘Devolution’ in 1997 represented an attempt to provide more self-government to the remaining four states comprising the UK, yet separatism has been gaining strength.<sup>28</sup>

Most of Ireland gained independence in 1922 as the Republic of Ireland, leaving only Northern Ireland (specifically six of the nine counties of Ulster) within the UK. Longstanding communal violence in Northern Ireland culminated in ‘the Troubles’ – virtual civil war between the pro-British unionists and republican nationalists – during the 1960s through 1980s, eventually leading to a strengthening of Northern Irish self-government from 1988 to 1994. The predominantly Catholic nationalist United Ireland movement advocating unification with the Republic has been supported primarily by the *Sinn Fein* and *Social Democratic and Labour Party*, as well as a wide variety of other militant or democratic parties, cadres and organizations (including: the *Irish Republican Army (IRA)*, *Real IRA*, *Oglaigh na hEireann*, *Republican Sinn Fein*, *Republican Socialist Party*, *Fianna Fail*, *Workers Party of Ireland*, *Irish Republican Socialist Party*, *Celtic League*, *32 County Sovereignty Movement*, etc. – the *Independent Fianna Fail*, a founding member of the EFA in 1981, ceased to be active in 2006). These have

been countered by predominantly Protestant parties favouring retaining union with Britain (e.g. the UK Unionist, Ulster Unionist, Democratic Unionist, British Ulster Democratic, Independent Unionist, Protestant Unionist, Progressive Unionist parties and Conservative and Unionist Party of Northern Ireland, as well as such militant factions as the Ulster Defence Organization, Provos, and Orangemen). The 500 km border between the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland was opened in 1993, finalized in the 1998 Good Friday Agreement effectively ending ‘the Troubles’, then reinforced in 2011 by the Joint Statement Regarding Cooperation on Measures to Secure the External Common Travel Area Border; however Brexit – the departure of the UK from the EU – has again necessitated a ‘hard border’ and inflamed passions.<sup>29</sup> The Republic of Ireland is officially bilingual as a whole, though everyday use of Gaelic is found primarily in the Gaeltacht – officially-designated areas where Gaelic is still prevalent.<sup>30</sup>

Scotland became officially affiliated with England in 1707, long before the creation of the UK. Devolution has reinstated the powers of the Scottish government, but insufficiently according to the secessionist Scottish National Party/Partaidh Naiseunta na h-Alba, founded in 1934 (an EFA member since 1989). During the past several decades the SNP has continuously grown in strength:<sup>31</sup> today it is the second largest political party by membership in the entire UK (behind Labour, ahead of the Conservatives) and is the third largest by seats in the House of Commons in the British Parliament (occupying 35 of 59 Scottish seats), and by 1999 the majority of the Scottish Parliament (forming a minority government in 2007 and a majority in 2011). In September 2014 a referendum on independence was held; very close to half the electorate (45% or over 1.6 million voters) answered positively, but were slightly outnumbered by those not wanting complete independence...yet. Meanwhile, almost two-thirds of Scottish voters have expressed their opposition to the UK leaving the EU (‘Brexit’). Scottish nationalism is also supported by the Celtic League, Green Party, Scottish Socialist Party, etc. A strong majority of Scottish voters are opposed to leaving the EU. Within Scotland, there are separatist groups in the Outer Isles: Na h-Eileanan Siar supports autonomy for the Gaelic-speaking Outer Hebrides; and in the Scandinavian-influenced Shetlands and Orkneys, the Liberal Democrats support autonomy while there are some Shetland islanders who even advocate unification with Norway.

Wales was virtually annexed by England back in 1535-42. The Government of Wales Act in 1998 devolved certain executive and legislative powers to the National Assembly of Wales/Cynulliad Cenedlaethol Cymru, further expanded in the Government of Wales Act in 2006. The nationalist party Plaid Cymru, founded in 1925 (an EFA member since 1983), is currently in a relatively weak position: just one of the four executive seats, four of 40 Members

of Parliament, and 11 of 60 Additional Members of the Welsh government and just three of 40 Welsh MPs in London are Plaid Cymru members.<sup>32</sup> Apart from Plaid Cymru, a number of other parties and movements have also supported Welsh nationalism (Cymru Annibynnol/Independent Wales Party, Cymru Sovereign, Cymuned, the Celtic League, and the Welsh Green Party).

There are also a variety of fairly obscure or esoteric militant and separatist groups in England, apart from the larger UK Independence Party (the self-styled English People's Liberation Army): in Cornwall (the Cornish Republican Army, less militant Cornish Nationalist Party, Mebyon Kernow – which joined the EFA in 2002, Celtic League, Cornish Constitutional Convention, Cornwall 2000, Revived Cornish Parliament, Tyr Gwyr Gweryn, etc.); in Wessex (the Wessex Regionalists, Party of Wessex, and Wessex Constitutional Convention); in Yorkshire (Yorkshire First and Yorkshire Devolution Movement (the Yorkshire Party joined the EFA in 2015); and in Mercia (Sovereign Mercia).

The Isle of Man (Mannin/Ellan Vannin) is a Crown dependency self-governed by the Tynwald Parliament. The almost extinct Celtic Manx language was introduced into primary schools in 1992 and recognized in 2001 as an Autochthonous Regional Language under the European Charter of Regional or Minority Languages.

The Channel Islands (Iles Normandes) off the coast of France consist of two self-governing Crown Dependencies (Bailiwicks) – Guernsey and Jersey, the historic remnants of the tenth century British-controlled Duchy of Normandy; these dependencies are not within the UK. Four Norman dialects predominated until the nineteenth century but soon became largely replaced by English and preserved primarily in placenames.

## **Scandinavia**

The Sami (Lapp) people are divided between Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Russia, so are a classic case of 'imposed minority nationality'. While having gained a modest degree of autonomy within the three Nordic countries – each having a Sami parliament – the Sami in Russia lack any such recognition. Sami concerns continue to be free passage of traditional reindeer herders across international borders, blocking mining and other 'development' which they do not see as being in their interest, and maintenance of Sami language and culture.

Iceland – granted autonomous status in 1918 – gained its independence from Denmark in 1944. In recent years, Denmark has had to deal effectively with three separatist movements. Greenland (where Inuit comprise 88% of the population) has been moving steadily through self-government toward independence. At least one political faction, Inuit Ataqatigiit

(‘community of the people’) would support complete independence rather than simply autonomy. So, too, the Faroe Islands, a Danish possession (where 85% speak Faroese, a Nordic language which like Icelandic is more closely related to old Norse than Danish), currently have five political parties (Republican Party, Progress, People’s Party, Centre Party, and Self-government Party), the more nationalistic of which would advocate independence from Denmark. And the island of Bornholm in the Baltic has been proposed as an autonomous region by Bornholms Selvstyreparti (Bornholm Self-government Party). The Schleswig Party has represented the German minority in Denmark in the EFA since 2010.

In Finland, which is bilingual in Finnish and Swedish at the national level, the Swedish-speaking Aland Islands/Ahvenanmaa conduct self-government and education in Swedish; moreover, they fly a flag which seems only a slight variation of the flag of Sweden. Political factions tend to ensure strong and increased autonomy, if not still union with Sweden (the Future of Aland party has participated in the EFA since 2005), whereas the Swedish-Finns forming a substantial minority (or local majority) along the western and southern coasts of mainland Finland possess more limited autonomous rights, including the constitutional guarantee of education in their own language wherever they represent at least 8% or 3,000 of the local community residents.

### **The Baltics**

The three Baltic countries – Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania – not only have to deal with restive Russian minorities (now comprising approximately 24% in Estonia, 28% in Latvia, and at least 5% in Lithuania, yet a far larger proportion in most cities and some districts – the Latvian Russian Union became an EFA observer in 2010), but also a variety of other ethnic minorities whose inclination may be toward achieving at least a modicum of autonomous status: the Setos, a small minority straddling the Estonia-Russia border, who are Orthodox in religion and speak a Finnic language closely related to Estonian (they are officially protected in Pskov oblast on the Russian side, where they now number only about 500, compared to some 6,000 in Estonia); the Livs or Livonians, an almost extinct minority (but now experiencing cultural revival) in Latvia speaking a Finnic dialect; some 115,000 Old Believers in all three Baltic countries; and Belarussians and Poles in Lithuania (represented by the Lithuanian Polish People’s Party in the EFA until 2010).<sup>33</sup>

### **East-Central Europe**

In 1945 Kaliningrad, the former German Königsburg, became – together with the surrounding region, the northern half of what had been East Prussia – a Russian exclave, and Russians replaced Germans as the dominant population of the region. Since the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, this region has been isolated far to the west of Russia, virtually constituting a de facto autonomous entity (which now, interestingly, is visited by the descendants of deported Germans who have become tourists).<sup>34</sup>

Kashubia, the traditional homeland territory of the Kashube minority (speaking a unique Polish dialect) has been divided between Poland and Lithuania since the Second World War. On the Polish side, Kaszebsko Jednota is an autonomy movement; Kashubian Unity joined the EFA as an observer in 2016. Autonomy is also sought for Silesia (a strongly German region before the war) through the Silesian Autonomy Movement (active in the EFA since 2002) in both Poland and the Czech Republic. Long claiming their own identity as neither exclusively German nor Polish, Silesian autonomy is vigorously opposed by the Polish government yet is backed by the European Court for Human Rights. Nor are other frontier minorities in Poland recognized – Germans, Belarussians, Lithuanians, Ukrainians and Lemkos. Poland resolutely stresses unification and common Polish identity (yet there were some 300 German schools, 100 Ukrainian, 40 Belarussian, 15 Lithuanian in 2005).<sup>35</sup>

Within the Czech Republic, Moravane (an EFA member since 2006) lobbies for Moravian autonomy (Czechoslovakia had been established in 1918, then split into the Czech Republic and Slovak Republic/Slovenska Republika in 1993). The central government refuses to recognize Moravians as an ethnic group, although Article 35 of the Constitution of 1997 theoretically protects the right of minority development (and supposedly for minority political parties to be represented in parliament).

Autonomy continues to be sought for the predominant Hungarian minority concentrated in southern Slovakia (notably by the Party of the Hungarian Community and the Hungarian Christian Democratic Association in the EFA since 2008). There is a coalition of Hungarian parties in the national government. In eastern Slovakia; the eastern-rite Ruthenian Catholics have their own churches, however the government has stressed the need for acculturation.

In Hungary, attempting to profit from a 1993 law on ‘cultural autonomy of minorities’, at least some minimal degree of autonomy has been sought for minorities in border areas: Slovenes, Germans, Slovaks, Serbs, Croats, Romanians, Ruthenians, as well as Roma (e.g. the Renewed Roma Union Party in the EFA in 2009-12).

## **The Balkans**

With the dissolution of Yugoslavia (originally founded as the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in 1918, then became the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1929, the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia in 1945, and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1963) as a federal state in 1991-92, the many diverse ethnic minorities now found themselves to be situated within recreated nation-states formerly having republic status within the federation – hence their concern about maintaining autonomous status.<sup>36</sup> During the 1980s, official texts distinguished between 'constitutional peoples of the state' ('državni tvorni narodi'), 'nations' ('narodi'), and 'national minorities' ('narodnosti').

Within Slovenia, two officially recognized minority areas are the Hungarians in Prekmurja and the formerly Italian communities near Trieste and in Istria (which is mostly in Croatia); the Slovenian Istria Party joined the EFA as an observer in 2013.

Croatia similarly proclaimed its independence in 1991. The separatist Republika Srpska de Krajina was declared in 1995; recrimination for this resulted in the reduction of Serb seats held in the Sobor (lower house of parliament). List for Croatia joined the EFA in 2009. Another potential Croatian autonomous area could be Baranja, having substantial Serb and Hungarian minorities.

Within Serbia, the Voivodina region, largely Hungarian but with an extraordinarily diverse population also inclusive of Serbs, Croats, Ruthenians, Germans, Czechs and Slovaks, and Rom, autonomy has been maintained. An independent Republic of Voivodina has been proposed (backed by the League of Social Democrats of Voivodina), as well increased rights (Reformists of Voivodina and Voivodina's Party), and a Hungarian autonomous region (supported by a coalition of the Alliance of Voivodina Hungarians, Democratic Party of Voivodina Hungarians, and Democratic Fellowship of Voivodina Hungarians); the League of Social Democrats of Voivodina became an EFA observer in 2016. The Muslim Bosniaks of the Sandzak area close to Montenegro have been seeking autonomy (through the Bosniak Democratic Party of Sandzak, List for Sandzak, Party of Democratic Action of Sandzak, and Islamic Community of Serbia). Kosovo fought for its independence from Serbia in 1998-99,<sup>37</sup> and after a UN interim administration unilaterally declared the Republic of Kosovo in 2008, which was recognized by a majority of UN members; yet the Serbs remaining mainly in northern Kosovo persist in reunification with Serbia, while ethnic Albanians in Kosovo may express interest in reunification with Albania. Montenegro remained united with Serbia within what was called the State Union of Yugoslavia until 2006, when it too became independent; apart from Serbs, its main minority is Muslims.

When Bosnia-Herzegovina declared independence in 1992, an intense war with much ‘ethnic cleansing’ erupted, then resulted in 1995 in an agreed split into two separate states: the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (for Croats – who may propose annexation to Croatia – and Bosniak Muslims) and Republika Srpska (for Serbs, who are closely allied to Serbia and tend to propose unification with Serbia through such nationalist parties as the Serbian Radical Party).<sup>38</sup>

After declaring its independence in 1991, Macedonia was styled as The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia in 1993 (in order to placate Greece, which contained its own historic region of Macedonia),<sup>39</sup> then the Prime Minister proposed being retitled the Republic of Northern Macedonia (to take effect in 2019, however a referendum in September 2018 secured little more than a third of popular votes in favour of this change, so now it must go before parliament – the change has been demanded by Greece as a condition for approval of joining NATO and the EU). Macedonia represents ‘imposed minority internationality’ as the historic greater Macedonia region extends from former Yugoslavia into both Greece and Bulgaria. To complicate matters further, militants in the substantial Albanian minority within Macedonia fomented an insurgency in 2001, and now propose their own Republic of Ilirida – if not outright annexation to Albania. Macedonia has officially recognized six minorities in constitutional amendments: Albanians, Turks, Vlachs, Serbs, Rom, and Bosniaks.

The Greek minority in southern Albania has been seeking autonomous status if not union with neighbouring Greece (through Omonia and the Unity for Human Rights party). The Albanian government recognizes Greeks and Montenegrins as ‘national minorities’, Vlachs and Rom as ‘linguistic minorities’, but not Macedonians.

And in Greece, due to the longstanding Macedonian question (implying the perceived threat of irredentism), the government, in the interest of the ‘indivisibility of the nation’, does not recognize minorities; moreover it views Macedonians simply as Greeks (Macedonians in Greece have been represented by Rainbow in the EFA since 1999). Yet there are indeed minorities: the scattered Vlach minority (speaking Aroumanian, related to Romanian) may think of promoting an autonomous region within Epirus, and there are surviving communities of Albanians, Turks (represented by the Party of Friendship, Equality and Peace as observer in the EFA in 2015), Pomaks, and Bulgarians, despite a long history of population exchanges (i.e. ‘ethnic cleansing’, especially during the 1920s).

The Bulgarian government has tended to regard Macedonians simply as Bulgarians; the VRMO party (Interior Macedonian Revolutionary Organization) regards all Macedonians – even those in Greece and Macedonia – essentially as Bulgarians, while the United Macedonian

Organization has been active in the EFA since 2006). Bulgaria has neglected the possibility of creating an autonomous region for its Turks and Pomaks (Bulgarian-speaking Muslims) in the south (although Turks tend to be widely scattered throughout Bulgaria). In fact, the Bulgarian government exhibits strong opposition to minority recognition – which is not clearly found in the constitution, nonetheless there has been some recognition in a ‘national council for demographic and ethnic questions’.

The question of minority regional autonomy becomes more complicated in Romania. Territorial autonomy has long been proposed for Transylvania (annexed in 1919 by Romania from Hungary, regained by Hungary in 1941, then again by Romania in 1945), where Hungarians and Szekelys/Szechlers are concentrated (Hungarians comprise a quarter of the total population of the region, yet Szechlers and Csangos as much as 75-85% of the area where they are concentrated).<sup>40</sup> Political parties and movements have included: the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania (which has jointly demanded Hungarian autonomy since 1993), the Hungarian Civic Party (which has agreed to cooperate with the Democratic Union to jointly support Hungarian autonomy), the Hungarian People’s Party of Transylvania (which has proposed self-government in the form of a Transylvanian parliament and an autonomous state of Partium – it has been active in the EFA since 2015) and Hungarian National Council of Transylvania, the Szechler National Council (advocating autonomy for Szekely Land), and organizations promoting the regionalization of Romania (Liga Pro Europe, Provincia, Liga Transilvania Democrata, and Liga Banateana – formerly active in the EFA). There is also the Lipovene minority of Old Believers in the Danube delta. Nationally, the Rom are particularly numerous but are not concentrated, so tend not to be eligible for any sort of territorial autonomy.

In the past Romania has had irredentist ambitions in Moldavia (which it annexed in 1918-1945). Conversely, in recent years Moldova has had to contend with secessionist and autonomist movements. Transnistria, with an approximately equal proportion of ethnic Russians, Moldovans, and Ukrainians, has waged a violent war over secession (led by militant secessionists including the self-styled Army of Transnistria, together with the Transnistrian Republican Guard and militia supported by Russia) in 1990-92, following the dissolution of the Soviet Union.<sup>41</sup> The present government of Transnistria (the Pridnestrovian Moldovan Republic) operates on the basis of being a state-within-a state. The Gagauz minority (Orthodox Christians of Turkish descent), straddling the southern border between Moldova and Ukraine, have succeeded (not without some initial conflict) in securing autonomy on the Moldovan side as the Gagauz Autonomous Region or Union Territory of Gagauzia/Gagauz Yeri (which however is not a single territory but many fragments); yet the Gagauzian People’s Assembly

aspires further to become an independent Republic of Gagauzia.<sup>42</sup> In her paper in this special issue, Larisa Patlis focuses on ‘The Discourse on Asymmetrical Devolution in Moldova: Gagauzia and Transnistria’; in critically analyzing the devolution process of the national government of Moldova, and the accompanying political discourses over the reintegration of Transnistria into Moldova and the meaning of Gagauzian autonomy, the complexity of minority separatism is described. Ethnic Bulgarians, too, want their own autonomous state, Taraclia.

### **The Caucasus**

Within Georgia, both South Ossetia and Abkhazia have been engaged in full-scale warfare, respectively in 1991-92 and 1992-93. During the war in South Ossetia (formerly the Yugo Ossetia AO) between secessionists (backed militarily by Russia) wishing to unite with North Ossetia (formerly the Severo Ossetia ASSR within Russia) more than 1,000 died and 100,000 Ossetians and 23,000 Georgians fled, according to one source; 158,000 fled (including 30,000 Ossetians who headed north into Russia, according to another source.<sup>43</sup> In the similar war in Abkhazia (formerly Abkhazia ASSR), where secessionists fighting for an independent Republic of Abkhazia are backed by Russia, at least 15,000 Georgians were killed and a quarter of a million expelled.<sup>44</sup> Whereas the relatively quieter Adzhar autonomous region (formerly Adzhar ASSR) has simply pressed for increased autonomy. Armenian irredentism has been directed at Nagorno-Karabakh, an Armenian exclave within neighbouring Azerbaijan (formerly an autonomous oblast), resulting in warfare and the establishment of the self-proclaimed Republic of Artsakh (which, with the elimination of a strategic Azeri corridor between this exclave and Armenia, should allow annexation by Armenia). Conversely, there has been no strong irredentist ambition of Armenia to annex Nakhichevan, a predominantly Azeri exclave (former ASSR within Azerbaijan) on the Armenia-Turkey border.

### **Russia**

While militarily supporting secession movements in Georgia, Russia has had to deal with separatist movements on the Russian side in the Caucasus, as well as elsewhere. This has resulted in full-scale warfare in Chechnya (former Chechen-Ingush ASSR); during the first phase of war, in 1994-96, according to differing estimates 3-14,000 fighting on the Russian side and 3-17,000 on the Chechen secessionist side were killed, between 30-100,000 civilians killed, another 200,000 injured, and over half a million displaced, then during a second phase in 1999-2009, up to 50,000 were dead and missing.<sup>45</sup> An independent Chechen Republic of Ichkeria remains a separatist dream. In other Russian minority regions in the Caucasus, Circassian

nationalists (e.g. the Circassian Congress, International Circassian Association, Circassian Youth Initiative, Adyge Djegi, Adyge Khase) have been arguing for an autonomous region to unite all Circassians, not only in Adygea (former autonomous oblast) but also in northern Kabardino-Balkaria (former ASSR), northern Karachay-Cherkessia (former autonomous oblast), southeastern Krasnodar krai, and southern Stavropol krai.<sup>46</sup> Conversely, however, the Balkar and Karachay peoples are seeking separation from Circassians in a distinctly Karachay-Balkar Republic.

And elsewhere in Russia, militant Muslim Tatars are pushing for increased autonomy of Tatarstan (former Tatar ASSR), where however they are far outnumbered by Russians. To the north, Karelia has repeatedly actively sought reinstatement of autonomy held in 1923 as the Karelia ASSR, then in 1941 as the Karelo-Finnish SSR, and after the dissolution of the USSR in 1991 as the anticipated Karjalan Tasavalta Republic of Karelia.

## **Ukraine**

Ukraine is an ethnically diverse country – besides the Ukrainian majority (nationally now approximately three-quarters of the total population) – historically consisting of concentrations of Russians, Germans, Poles, Czechs, Hungarians, Romanians, Bulgarians, Jews, Rom, Greeks, Turks, and Tatars. However, with the exception of Crimea (with a primarily Russian, Ukrainian, and Tatar population) autonomous areas were never officially recognized (apart from the Jewish Pale). With Ukraine gaining independence from the Russian-dominated USSR in 1991, the dissatisfaction of the large restive Russian minority increased;<sup>47</sup> Russians formed 17% of the national population but a far larger proportion in eastern Ukraine (38-39% respectively in Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts comprising the Donbas region by 2001). In 2014, demonstrations held by pro-Russian anti-Ukrainian government activists in Donbas cities rapidly escalated into armed insurgency and the self-declared Donetsk and Luhansk People's Republics.

Crimea had formerly been an ASSR within Russia in 1921, then a Russian oblast in 1945, annexed by Ukraine SSR in 1954, and the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and Sevastopol City within independent Ukraine in 1991. With Russians comprising almost two-thirds of the regional population (compared to just 15% Ukrainians and 12% Tatars), a unilateral separatist referendum was held in March 2014 (the turnout was 83%, with 96% voting for separation from Ukraine).<sup>48</sup> On March 17 the Crimean parliament unilaterally declared independence and asked to rejoin Russia; and the following day proposed the Treaty of Accession of the Republic of Crimea and Federal City of Sevastopol into the Russian Federation, which was passed March 21. However, the UN General Assembly passed a non-binding resolution stating the invalidity

of this referendum and illegal incorporation of Crimea into Russia. In May 2018 the long (almost 20km) bridge linking Crimea with Russia was completed – it is heavily guarded by Russian military who in November 2018 blocked Ukrainian naval access through the Kerch Strait.

The most devastating case in recent years of militant separatism leading into warfare has been in eastern Ukraine, and also of democratic secessionism has been in Crimea. Both cases merit more attention, so are discussed further in this special issue in the book review on the genesis of a separatist movement – the Ukrainian conflict. Coincidentally, it is noteworthy that on October 11, 2018 the Ecumenical Patriarch of the Eastern Orthodox Church declared his intention to recognize the independence of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church from Russian Orthodoxy.

Another area in Ukraine seeking autonomy is Subcarpathian Ruthenia, west of the Carpathians. Here the Rusyn people, having a unique culture, dialect, and historical identity, together with the Hungarian minority are demanding regional autonomy under a complicated title as the Transcarpathian Regional Confederation of the Hungarian and Rusyn People, with a People's Parliament of Carpathian Rusyns.

## **Conclusion**

In concluding, let us re-emphasize the timely and continuing importance of studying separatist movements. From all the foregoing detail, it becomes obvious that separatist movements are omnipresent in Europe; almost all European countries contain separatist (secessionist or autonomist) movements and political parties. Yet what could be called separatist movements range from militant secession leading into outright warfare, through repression by national/central governments, non-violent democratic independence movements, movements aimed at achieving some measure of autonomy (however defined), increasing or strengthening existing autonomy, to relative contentment with status-quo autonomy.

Doubtless, official national government recognition of ethnocultural or ethnolinguistic minorities has become more complicated with the dissolution of former complex ethnic federations whose structure protected minority territoriality, with irredentist movements advocating annexation of a minority territory by a neighbouring country, and with historic 'imposed minority internationality' dividing a minority territory between two or more countries.

In re-examining and evaluating separatist (including secessionist and autonomist) movements in contemporary Europe, any number of problematic issues could be considered:

First and foremost, what are the ultimate aims of the movements? Immediate or eventual complete independence? Semi-independent associated status? Further regional autonomy? How far should minorities go toward separating? Autonomy may often seem preferable to full independence. Are autonomist movements likely to become secessionist? Why and when has the movement started – how long has it existed? What differences of opinion are represented in political parties within the relevant areas? To what extent is militancy or violence involved in the conflict, in pushing minority aims or in state repression? Obviously, degradation of secession movements into warfare or severe repression by the central government are always undesirable and often avoidable – but unfortunately may be viewed respectively by the minority or central government as the only options. In the case of minority militancy – evidenced often but not always by terrorism – is ‘democratization’ possible only after ‘de-radicalization’, ‘de-securitization’ and banning of militant parties?

Secondly, there are issues concerning the relationship between minorities and the central government. What, exactly, should be the relationship of autonomous minority regions to the national government in political and economic terms? Is it in the best interest of a minority to separate from a country, and if so what should be the reaction of that country? What has been/is currently/will likely be the reaction of the existing national state? To what extent do minority interests potentially conflict with national interests? The very omnipresence and continuing durability of minority separatism would seem to suggest that minority interests, loyalty and traditionalism should not necessarily be viewed as incompatible with national nor international interests. The central government may tend to view any sort of autonomy – and even cultural distinctiveness – as undermining national identity, patriotism/loyalty, and citizenship, and inevitably leading toward secession aimed at full independence. But to what extent should this realistically be viewed as a threat or challenge to the inclusive country when alternatives could be considered?

Thirdly, there are issues around the definition of claimed minority territoriality. Are there differences in opinion as to how minority territory should be defined? How well-defined is a minority’s claimed territory? To what extent do people within such a territory agree on their identities and what level of politicization may seem appropriate? How are overlapping ethnically diverse minority areas and claims effectively resolved?<sup>49</sup>

Fourthly, there may be concerns over what may be called eligibility: What is the strength of minority claims in a legal sense? How widely accepted is the minority claim to distinctiveness? In the case of European minority regions (and perhaps similarly indigenous territorial-based minorities internationally), how is independence, autonomy, or self-

government to be defined? This, in turn, raises the question of the viability of a minority territory or region for self-government as a state-within-a-state. Should all minorities having a historic territorial claim be eligible for autonomy? Are not some claims more legitimate than others? The legal definitions of ethnic minorities and their territories may be very complex.<sup>50</sup> Moreover, it is obvious that there are different degrees or levels of autonomy. What form should autonomy assume (e.g. flag, government and regional administration, control of the economy, international relations or representation, placenames, education, media in the minority language, etc.)? And how does separatism affect minority rights of territorial-based ethnic minorities?

Fifthly, it is important to look at separatism within the broader European and international context. In this day and age, shouldn't minorities be less concerned with localism or regionalism than broader international relations? What should be the response of the European Union to separatism, specifically to perceived breakup of existing independent countries? Yet the EU has actually facilitated minority interests (hence the concept of a 'Europe of the Regions'), as has the virtual eradication of international borders within Europe (although now with what has been perceived as the 'migrant crisis' there is in a number of countries a reversion back to tighter border control). The duration of international collaboration between ethnic minorities, often represented in separatist movements, not only within Europe but also more broadly, on strategies and policies seems to be a continuous if not increasing trend.

And yet, lastly, the very diversity of political policies, stances, and opinions represented by minorities in so many countries would seem to imply a strong need for peaceful and rational debate on constructive (rather than destructive) courses of action, in the best interests not only of the minority but also the national government. Indeed, in sum, given the continuing, if not in fact increasing diversity and complexity of minority and regional separatist movements in contemporary Europe, it is extremely challenging to understand the salient objectives of all these various movements – much less to recommend appropriate courses of policy which could be most beneficial to both minorities and central states. Full comprehension of historical circumstances, patriotic nationalism and minority ethnonationalism, territorial claims, economic ramifications, minority cultural distinctiveness, and not the least changing demographics, would all seem essential. Finally, there is the increasingly pertinent question of just how territorial or regional-based ethnic minorities will relate to the vast influx of immigrant-origin minorities within a national context obliged to conform to policies cognisant of multicultural diversity.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the only exceptions may be mini-states (Andorra, Monaco, San Marino, Liechtenstein) as well as highly homogeneous countries – possibly only Portugal (with the exception of immigrant minorities, although it does contain an autonomous minority area) and Iceland (however it gained its independence from Denmark back in 1944). Current online sources listing separatist movements and related political parties in Europe include: List of Active Separatist Movements in Europe (Wikipedia); and Henley, J. et.al. ‘Beyond Catalonia: Pro-independence Movements in Europe’. *The Guardian*, October 27, 2017. Also see: Noutcheva, G., et.al. ‘Europeanization and Secessionist Conflicts: Concepts and Theories’. *JEMIE*. 1 (2004); Nodia, G. ‘Europeanization and (not) Resolving Secessionist Conflicts’. *JEMIE*. 1 (2004); Groupement pour les Droits des Minorités. *Atlas des Minorités en Europe* (2005); ECMI. Special Issue: ‘Civil War and Conflicts’. *JEMIE*. 1 (2009); Calzada, I. ‘Metropolitan and Post-national Urbanity Beyond (Pluri-)nation(al) States in the EU: Benchmarking Scotland, Catalonia and the Basque Country’. *JEMIE*. 16(1) (2017): 51-78.

<sup>2</sup> Definitions of separatism, secession, and autonomy may differ. See, for example: Morris-Jones, W.H. ‘Realities and Dreams: Ebb and Flow in the Politics of Separatism’. *Ethnic Studies Report*. IV(1) (January 1986); Premdas, R.R., et.al., eds. *Secessionist Movements in Comparative Perspective* (1993); Prina, F., ed. Special Issue: ‘Non-territorial Autonomy in Theory and Practice’. *JEMIE*. 12(1) (2013); Sterio, M. ‘Self-determination and Secession Under International Law’, and Epps, V. ‘Secession, Stagnation and the State-centered Version of International Law’. *ILSA Journal of International and Comparative Law*. 21(2) (2015): 293-306 and 307-316.

<sup>3</sup> Discussions of the implications for the post-Soviet system for designated ‘nationalities’ have included, for example: Motyl, A.J. *Thinking Theoretically About Soviet Nationalities* (1995); Alexseev, M.A., ed. *Center-Periphery Conflict in Post-Soviet Russia: A Federation Imperiled* (1999); ECMI. Special Issue: ‘Reconceptualizing Autonomy in Post-Communist Europe?’ *JEMIE*. 3 (2003a); Zamyatin, K. ‘Russian Political Regime Change and the Strategies of Diversity Management: From a Multinational Federation Towards a Nation-state’. *JEMIE*. 15(1) (2016): 19-49; Zamyatin, K. ‘Power-sharing or Ethnic Domination? Ethnic Representation in the Republics of Russia in the Late 2000s to Early 2010s’. *JEMIE*. 16(3) (2017): 26-54. The journal *Nationalities Papers* has devoted much attention to the post-Soviet redefinition of ‘nationalities’.

<sup>4</sup> ‘Imposed minority internationality’ and cross-border minority situations are described and exemplified in: Anderson, A.B. ‘Ethnic Minorities and Minority Rights in Europe’. ECMI Working Paper 99, September 2017.

<sup>5</sup> An ongoing list of current, former and associated members of the European Free Alliance is provided in these online sources: [www.e-f-a.org/home/about-us](http://www.e-f-a.org/home/about-us) and [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/European\\_Free\\_Alliance](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/European_Free_Alliance).

<sup>6</sup> Further description and evaluation of the structure of Spanish autonomy are found in the following online sources: World Atlas. ‘The Autonomous Communities of Spain’. *WorldAtlas.com*, September 28, 2017; and New York Times. ‘Spain is a Collection of Glued Regions – or Maybe not so Glued’. *New York Times*, October 28, 2017.

<sup>7</sup> Selected sources on the historical development of the Basque political situation have included: Payne, G. *Basque Nationalism* (1975); Medhurst, K. *The Basques and Catalans*. London: Minority Rights Group, Report No. 9, 1977; Greenwood, D.J. *Continuity in Change: Spanish Basque Ethnicity as a Historical Process* (1977); Oyhamburu, P. *L’Irréductible Phénomène Basque* (1980); Clark, R.P. *The Basque Insurgents: ETA, 1952-80* (1984); Shafir, G. *Immigrants and Nationalists: Ethnic Conflict and Accommodation in Catalonia, the Basque Country, Latvia and Estonia* (1995); Mees, L. *Nationalism, Violence and Democracy: The Basque Clash of Identities* (2003); Vieyetez, E.R., ed. ‘New Perspectives for the Basque Country in a Post-conflict Scenario’. *JEMIE*. 12(2) (2013): 79-105.

<sup>8</sup> Data from Lista de víctimas mortales. Ministerio del Interior, September 15, 2010; and Eusko News. ‘Datos significativos del conflicto vasco, 1968-2003’. *Eusko News*, 2003.

<sup>9</sup> On Basque autonomous status, see: The Statute of Autonomy of the Basque Country ([www.basquecountry.eus/contenidos/informacion/estatudo](http://www.basquecountry.eus/contenidos/informacion/estatudo)); Manuel Mata, J. ‘Nationalism and Political Parties in the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country: Strategies and Tensions’. Universidad del País Vasco, Working Paper 137, Barcelona, 1998; Dowsett, S. ‘The Basque Country: Spain’s effective but expensive antidote to secession’. *Reuters*, October 9, 2017. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-spain-politics-catalonia-basques-anal/the-basque-country-spains-effective-but-expensive-antidote-to-secession-idUSKBN1CE2G6>.

<sup>10</sup> On the history of Catalan nationalism, see: Shafir, G. op.cit. (1995); Xavier Hernandez, F. *The History of Catalonia*, summarized in Anderson, A.B. ‘Commentary: The Roots of Catalan Identity and Ethnonationalism’. *JEMIE*. 16(3) (December 2017): 55-63.

<sup>11</sup> BBC News. ‘Catalonia Crisis: Spain moves to suspend autonomy’. *BBC News*, October 19, 2017. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-41678086>.

<sup>12</sup> According to recent census data, the historic population of Gibraltar consists of residents of British (27%), Spanish (24%), Italian - particularly Genoese (20%), and Portuguese - mainly from Algarve (10%) origins, as well as Moroccan (including Sephardic Jews), Maltese, South Asian, Chinese, and other ethnic origins. People of Spanish origin (particularly Andalusian, Catalan, and Spanish Moroccan) comprise approximately a quarter of the total population, however are difficult to count with any real precision due to many intermarriages.

<sup>13</sup> Groupement pour les Droits des Minorités. op.cit. (2005).

<sup>14</sup> The historical/political background of Catalan nationalism in France has been explained in: Bernardo, D. 'Catalogne-Nord: le traumatisme de la coupure'. *Pluriel Débat*. 7 (1976): 5-27.

<sup>15</sup> Selected sources on Breton nationalism during the 1970s have included: Gwegen, J. *La Langue Bretonne Face à ses Oppresseurs* (1975); Planson, G. and E. Koshaneg. *Histoire de la Nation Bretonne* (1977); Reece, J.E. *The Bretons Against France* (1977).

<sup>16</sup> The background of Corsican nationalism is described in: Labro, M. *La Question Corse* (1977); Comby, L. *Histoire des Corses* (1978).

<sup>17</sup> See, for example: Gras, C. and G. Livet. *Régions et Régionalisme en France* (1977); Gordon, D.C. *The French Language and National Identity* (1978); Parti Socialiste. *La France au Pluriel* (1981); Kastoryano, R. *Negotiating Identities in France and Germany* (2002); Groupement pour les Droits des Minorités. op.cit. (2005).

<sup>18</sup> On the early development of the Occitan movement, see: Barelli Y. et.al. *L'Esperance Occitane* (1980).

<sup>19</sup> The background on Alsace-Lorraine identity and politicization has been described in: Streicher, J-C. *Impossible Alsace* (1982).

<sup>20</sup> Flemish separatism in France has been described in Castre, M. *La Flandre au Lion: Séparatisme et Régionalisme en Flandre Française* (1977).

<sup>21</sup> See: van der Jeught, S. 'The Protection of Linguistic Minorities in Italy: A Clean Break with the Past'. *JEMIE*. 15(3) (2016): 57-81.

<sup>22</sup> Details on Walser and other German 'language islands' in Italy were provided in Wurzer, B. *Die Deutschen Sprachinseln in Oberitalien* (1969).

<sup>23</sup> Numerous sources have debated South Tyrol autonomous status, for example: Austrian United Nations Association. *Memorandum on the South Tyrol* (1958); Siegler, H. *The South Tyrol Question* (1964); Fenet, A. *La Question du Tyrol du Sud: Un Problème de Droit International* (1968); Egger, K. *Zweisprachigkeit in Südtirol* (1977); Autonome Provinz Bozen-Südtirol, *Das Neue Autonomiestatut* (1979); Mumelter, N. *Die Selbstbehauptung der Südtiroler* (1980); de Villiers, B. 'Power-sharing Options in Complex Societies – Possible Lessons from South Tyrol for Young Democracies on Ways to Protect Ethnic Minorities at a Regional Level'. *JEMIE*. 16(1) (2017): 1-31.

<sup>24</sup> Ladin demographic data from 'South Tyrol in Figures'. Declaration of Language Group Affiliation. Population Census 2011.

<sup>25</sup> Groupement pour les Droits des Minorités. op.cit. (2005).

<sup>26</sup> The earlier development of Walloon nationalist movement for autonomy has been described in: Quévit M. *La Wallonie: L'Indispensable Autonomie* (1978); and Covell, M. 'Regionalization and Economic Crisis in Belgium: The Variable Origins of Centrifugal and Centripetal Forces'. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*. XIX(2) (June 1986): 261-281.

<sup>27</sup> A particularly detailed source on German-speaking communities within 'Alt-Belgien' and 'Neu-Belgien' is: Nelde, P.H. *Deutsch als Muttersprache in Belgien* (1979). Also see 'Belgian Germans'. In *World Directory of Minorities and Indigenous Peoples*. London: Minority Rights Group International. <https://minorityrights.org/minorities/germans-2/>. Retrieved: December 1, 2018.

<sup>28</sup> See: BBC News. 'A Guide to Devolution in the UK'. *BBC News*, September 18, 2016. <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-35559447>.

<sup>29</sup> 'Brexit highlights UK's devolution weaknesses'. *Irish Examiner*, November 9, 2018. <https://www.irishexaminer.com/breakingnews/world/brexit-highlights-uks-devolution-weaknesses-scotlands-first-minister-says-884376.html>; Globe and Mail. 'Irish border issues continue to stymie Brexit deal'. *Globe and Mail*, November 13, 2018.

<sup>30</sup> According to Irish census data in 2011 and 2016, 73,000 speak Irish on a regular basis; perhaps as few as 20,000 speak it as their first language; 0.2% as a home language. Yet 6% are able to speak Irish 'to varying degrees'; moreover, approximately a quarter of the total population (1.7 million out of 4.7 million) claim to understand Irish 'to some extent'. Moreover 65,000 students are currently attending Irish language classes at a medium level, and 25,000 attend Irish Language summer schools within the Gaeltacht.

<sup>31</sup> The early rise of the SNP has been described by: Marr, A. *The Battle for Scotland* (1995).

<sup>32</sup> Data on party representations from 2017 elections in Wales. BBC News. 'Catalonia Crisis: Spain moves to suspend autonomy'. *BBC News*, October 19, 2017. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-41678086>.

<sup>33</sup> On minorities in Estonia and the Baltics, see: Shafir, G. op.cit. (1995); Groupement pour les Droits des Minorités. op.cit. (2005); Brosig, M. 'A Plan for the Future? The Estonian State Integration Program on National Minorities, 2000-2007'. *JEMIE*. 7(2) (2008); Regelman, A-C, ed. Special Issue: 'Minority Participation in

Estonia and Latvia'. *JEMIE*. 1 (2014); Smith, D.J. 'Minority Rights, Multiculturalism and EU Enlargement: The Case of Estonia'. *JEMIE*. 14(4) (2015): 79-113.

<sup>34</sup> The recent history of Königsburg/Kaliningrad is described in: Egremont, M. *Forgotten Land: Journeys Among the Ghosts of East Prussia* (2011).

<sup>35</sup> Groupement pour les Droits des Minorités. op.cit. (2005), p. 43. Also see: Vermeersch, P. 'EU Enlargement and Minority Rights Policies in Central Europe: Explaining Policy Shifts in the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland'. *JEMIE*. 14(4) (2015): 114-140.

<sup>36</sup> On the effect of the dissolution of Yugoslavia on redefined majority-minority relations, see: Pavkovic, A. *The Fragmentation of Yugoslavia: Nationalism and War in the Balkans* (2000); Bieber, F. and V. Dzihic, eds. Special Issue: 'The Europeanization of Minority Issues in the Western Balkans'. *JEMIE*. 11(3) (2012); and Petricusic, A. and C. Blondel, eds. Special Issue: 'Reconciliation in the Western Balkans'. *JEMIE*. 11(4) (2012).

<sup>37</sup> On the outcome of turning Serbs into a minority within Kosovo, see: Rezun, M. *Europe's Nightmare: The Struggle for Kosovo* (2001); and Baliqi, B. 'Promoting Multi-ethnicity or Maintaining a Divided Society: Dilemmas of Power-sharing in Kosovo'. *JEMIE*. 17(1) (2018): 49-71.

<sup>38</sup> On ethnonationalism and 'ethnic cleansing' in Bosnia, see: Bell-Fialkoff, A. *Ethnic Cleansing* (1999); Sarajilic, E. 'Bosnian Elections and Recurring Ethnonationalisms: The Ghost of the Nation-state'. *JEMIE*. 9(2) (2010).

<sup>39</sup> On the Macedonian dispute, see: Poulton, H. *Who are the Macedonians?* (1995); Danforth, L.M. *The Macedonian Conflict: Ethnic Nationalism in a Transnational World* (1995); Association for the Study of Nationalities. 'Macedonia: A Balkan Time Bomb'. ASN newsletter, 10(6) (May 1995): 1-16; Association for the Study of Nationalities. 'The Balkan Cauldron Heats Up: Greece and Macedonia: The Dispute in Brief'. ASN newsletter, 6(12) (July-August 1995): 1-5.

<sup>40</sup> For background on Hungarians in Transylvania, see: Schöpflin, G. *The Hungarians of Rumania*. Minority Rights Group, Report no. 37, 1978; Kürti, L. *The Remote Borderland: Transylvania in the Hungarian Imagination* (2001).

<sup>41</sup> See: Vahl, M. and M. Emerson. 'Moldova and the Transnistrian Conflict'. *JEMIE*. 1 (2004), and Popescu, N. 'Europeanization and Conflict Resolution: A View from Moldova'. *JEMIE*. 1 (2004).

<sup>42</sup> See: Schlegel, S. 'How Could the Gagauz Achieve Autonomy and What has it Achieved for Them?: A Comparison Among Neighbours on the Moldova-Ukraine Border'. *JEMIE*. 17(1) (2018): 1-23.

<sup>43</sup> Estimates vary – see: 'Georgia-Abkhazia: Violations of the Laws of War and Russia's Role in the Conflict'. *Human Rights Watch*, March 1995. <https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/georgia953.pdf>; and Bahranpour, T. 'An Uncertain Death Toll in Georgia-Russia War'. *Washington Post Foreign Service*, August 25, 2008. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/08/24/AR2008082402150.html?noredirect=on>.

On the background to this conflict, see: Hill, F. "Russia's Tinderbox": *Conflict in the North Caucasus and its Implications for the Future of the Russian Federation*. Strengthening Democratic Institutions Project, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, September 1995; and Association for the Study of Nationalities. 'Russia's War Against Chechnya'. ASN newsletter, 6(6) (February 1995): 1-12.

<sup>44</sup> Again, estimates vary – see 'Georgia-Abkhazia: Violations of the Laws of War and Russia's Role in the Conflict'. *Human Rights Watch*, March 1995. <https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/georgia953.pdf>. Other sources on this conflict include: ECMI. Special Issue: 'The South Caucasus'. *JEMIE*. 2 (2003); Coppieters, B. 'The Georgia-Abkhaz Conflict'. *JEMIE*. 1 (2004).

<sup>45</sup> Estimates vary widely on the death toll during the first and second Chechen wars. See: Smick, E. 'The Chechen Separatist Movement'. *Council on Foreign Relations*, July 18, 2006. <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/chechen-separatist-movement>; [GlobalSecurity.org](http://www.globalsecurity.org); and regular reports in the *North Caucasus Weekly*, published by the Jamestown Foundation: Global Research and Analysis.

<sup>46</sup> For the background of Circassian history, culture and identity, see: Jaimoukha, A. *The Circassians* (2001).

<sup>47</sup> Selected sources on Ukrainian nationalism since independence include: Morris A. 'Ukrainian Nationalism: New Security Issues for Europe'. *Stanford Journal of International Affairs*. IV(1) (1995): 59-88; Reid, A. *Borderland* (2000); Protsyk, O. 'Majority-Minority Relations in the Ukraine'. *JEMIE*. 1 (2008); and Roth, B.R. 'The Neglected Virtues of Bright Lines: International Law in the 2014 Ukraine Crisis'. *ILSA Journal of International and Comparative Law*. 21(2) (2015): 317-324.

<sup>48</sup> 'Crimea referendum: Voters back Russia union'. *BBC News*, March 16, 2014. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-26606097>.

<sup>49</sup> Selected sources on ethnonationalism in Europe, particularly with relevance to minority territoriality and regionalism, have included, for example: Petrella, R. *La Renaissance des Cultures Régionales en Europe* (1978); Alcock, A.E. et al., eds. *The Future of Cultural Minorities* (1979); Calvert, L.-J. *L'Europe et ses Langues* (1993); Kupchan, C.A., ed. *Nationalism and Nationalities in the New Europe* (1995); Caplan, R. and J. Feffer, eds. *Europe's New Nationalism: States and Minorities in Conflict* (1996); Rioux, C. *Voyage à l'Intérieur des Petites Nations* (2000); Palard, J. et al., eds. *Diversité et Identités au Québec et dans les Régions d'Europe* (2006); and Brilmayer, L. 'Secession and Two Types of Territorial Claims'. *ILSA Journal of International and Comparative Law*. 21(2) (2015): 325-332.

---

<sup>50</sup> See, for example: Gal, K., ed. *Minority Governance in Europe* (2002); Malloy, T.H., ed. *Minority Issues in Europe: Rights, Concepts, Policy* (2013); Malloy, T.H., ed. Special Issue: 'National Minorities Between Protection and Empowerment'. *JEMIE*. 13(2) (2014); Jovanovic, T.H., ed. Special Issue: 'Europeanization and Minority Rights: From External Conditionality to Internal Practices'. *JEMIE*. 13(3) (2014); Pentikainen, M. 'Social Integration of "Old" and "New" Minorities in Europe in Views of International Expert Bodies Relying on Human Rights: Contextual Balancing and Tailoring'. *JEMIE*. 14(1) (2015): 26-47.

<sup>51</sup> See: Anderson, A.B., ed. Special Issue: 'Minority Rights and the New Migration'. *JEMIE*. 16(2) (2017); and Anderson, A.B. 'Book Review: The Crisis of Multiculturalism in Europe: A History'. *JEMIE*. 17(1) (2018): 72-78.

## References

Alcock, A.E., B.K. Taylor, and J.M. Welton, eds. *The Future of Cultural Minorities*. London: Macmillan, 1979.

Alexseev, M.A., ed. *Center-Periphery Conflict in Post-Soviet Russia: A Federation Imperiled*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999.

Anderson, A.B. 'Book Review: The Crisis of Multiculturalism in Europe: A History'. *JEMIE*. 17(1) (2018): 72-78.

\_\_\_\_\_. 'Ethnic Minorities and Minority Rights in Europe'. ECMI Working Paper 99, September 2017a.

\_\_\_\_\_, ed. Special Issue: 'Minority Rights and the New Migration'. *JEMIE*. 16(2) (September 2017b).

\_\_\_\_\_. 'Commentary: The Roots of Catalan Identity and Ethnonationalism'. *JEMIE*. 16(3) (December 2017c): 55-63.

Association for the Study of Nationalities. 'Macedonia: A Balkan Time Bomb'. *Association for the Study of Nationalities*. 10(6) (May 1995a): 1-16.

\_\_\_\_\_. 'Russia's War Against Chechnya'. *Association for the Study of Nationalities*. (6(6), February 1995b): 1-12.

\_\_\_\_\_. 'The Balkan Cauldron Heats Up: Greece and Macedonia: The Dispute in Brief'. *Association for the Study of Nationalities*. 6(12) (July-August 1995c): 1-5.

Austrian United Nations Association. *Memorandum on the South Tyrol*. Vienna, 1958.

Autonome Provinz Bozen-Südtirol, *Das Neue Autonomiestatut*. Bozen: Athesia, 1979.

Bahrnpour, T. 'An Uncertain Death Toll in Georgia-Russia War'. *Washington Post Foreign Service*, August 25, 2008. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/08/24/AR2008082402150.html?noredirect=on>.

Baliqi, B. 'Promoting Multi-ethnicity or Maintaining a Divided Society: Dilemmas of Power-sharing in Kosovo'. *JEMIE*. 17(1) (2018): 49-71.

Barelli Y., J-F Boudy, and J-F Carencio. *L'Esperance Occitane*. Paris: Editions Entente, 1980.

---

BBC News. 'A Guide to Devolution in the UK'. *BBC News*, September 18, 2016. <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-35559447>.

\_\_\_\_\_. 'Catalonia Crisis: Spain moves to suspend autonomy'. *BBC News*, October 19, 2017. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-41678086>.

\_\_\_\_\_. 'Crimea referendum: Voters back Russia union'. *BBC News*, March 16, 2014. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-26606097>.

Bell-Fialkoff, A. *Ethnic Cleansing*. New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1999.

Bernardo, Domenec. 'Catalogne-Nord: le traumatisme de la coupure'. *Pluriel Débat*. 7 (1976): 5-27.

Bieber, F. and V. Dzihic, eds. Special Issue: 'The Europeanization of Minority Issues in the Western Balkans'. *JEMIE*. 11(3) (2012).

Brilmayer, L. 'Secession and Two Types of Territorial Claims'. *ILSA Journal of International and Comparative Law*. 21(2) (2015): 325-332.

Brosig, M. 'A Plan for the Future? The Estonian State Integration Program on National Minorities, 2000-2007'. *JEMIE*. 7(2) (2008).

Calvert, L-J. *L'Europe et ses Langues*. Paris: Plan, 1993.

Calzada, I. 'Metropolitan and Post-national Urbanity Beyond (Pluri-)nation(al) States in the EU: Benchmarking Scotland, Catalonia and the Basque Country'. *JEMIE*. 16(1) (2017): 51-78.

Caplan, R. and J. Feffer, eds. *Europe's New Nationalism: States and Minorities in Conflict*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Castre, M. *La Flandre au Lion: Séparatisme et Régionalisme en Flandre Française*. Dunkerque: Westhoek-Editions, 1977.

Clark, R.P. *The Basque Insurgents: ETA, 1952-80*. Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984.

Comby, L. *Histoire des Corses*. Paris: Editions Frenand Nathan, 1978.

Coppieters, B. 'The Georgia-Abkhaz Conflict'. *JEMIE*. 1 (2004).

Covell, M. 'Regionalization and Economic Crisis in Belgium: The Variable Origins of Centrifugal and Centripetal Forces'. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*. XIX(2) (June 1986): 261-281.

Danforth, L.M. *The Macedonian Conflict: Ethnic Nationalism in a Transnational World*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995.

de Villiers, B. 'Power-sharing Options in Complex Societies – Possible Lessons from South Tyrol for Young Democracies on Ways to Protect Ethnic Minorities at a Regional Level'. *JEMIE*. 16(1) (2017): 1-31.

---

Dowsett, S. 'The Basque Country: Spain's effective but expensive antidote to secession'. *Reuters*, October 9, 2017. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-spain-politics-catalonia-basques-anal/the-basque-country-spains-effective-but-expensive-antidote-to-secession-idUSKBN1CE2G6>.

ECMI. Special Issue: 'Civil War and Conflicts'. *JEMIE*. 1 (2009).

ECMI. Special Issue: 'Reconceptualizing Autonomy in Post-Communist Europe?' *JEMIE*. 3 (2003a).

ECMI. Special Issue: 'The South Caucasus'. *JEMIE*. 2 (2003b).

Egger, K. *Zweisprachigkeit in Südtirol*. Bozen: Verlagsanstalt Athesia, 1977.

Egremont, M. *Forgotten Land: Journeys Among the Ghosts of East Prussia*. New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 2011.

Epps, V. 'Secession, Stagnation and the State-centered Version of International Law'. *ILSA Journal of International and Comparative Law*. 21(2) (2015): 307-316.

Eusko News. 'Datos significativos del conflict vasco, 1968-2003'. *Eusko News*, 2003.

Fenet, A. *La Question du Tyrol du Sud: Un Problème de Droit International*. Paris: Librairie Générale de Droit et de Jurisprudence, 1968.

Gal, K., ed. *Minority Governance in Europe*. Flensburg: ECMI, 2002.

Globe and Mail. 'Irish border issues continue to stymie Brexit deal'. *Globe and Mail*, November 13, 2018.

Gordon, D.C. *The French Language and National Identity*. The Hague: Mouton, 1978.

Gras, C. and G. Livet. *Régions et Régionalisme en France*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1977.

Greenwood, D.J. *Continuity in Change: Spanish Basque Ethnicity as a Historical Process*. Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 1977.

Groupement pour les Droits des Minorités. *Atlas des Minorités en Europe*. Paris: Editions Autrement, 2005.

Gwegen, J. *La Langue Bretonne Face à ses Oppresseurs*. Quimper: Nature et Bretagne, 1975.

Henley J., F. Sheehy, G. Swann, and C. Fenn. 'Beyond Catalonia: Pro-independence Movements in Europe'. *The Guardian*, October 27, 2017.

Hill, F. "*Russia's Tinderbox*": *Conflict in the North Caucasus and its Implications for the Future of the Russian Federation*. Strengthening Democratic Institutions Project, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, September 1995.

Human Rights Watch. 'Georgia-Abkhazia: Violations of the Laws of War and Russia's Role in the Conflict'. *Human Rights Watch*, March 1995. <https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/georgia953.pdf>

---

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Ingush-Ossetian Conflict in the Prigorodnyi Region*. New York: Human Rights Watch Press, April 1996.

Irish Examiner. 'Brexit highlights UK's devolution weaknesses'. *Irish Examiner*, November 9, 2018. <https://www.irishexaminer.com/breakingnews/world/brexit-highlights-uks-devolution-weaknesses-scotlands-first-minister-says-884376.html>.

J.E. Reece. *The Bretons Against France*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1977.

Jaimoukha, A. *The Circassians*. New York: Palgrave, 2001.

Jovanovic, T.H., ed. Special Issue: 'Europeanization and Minority Rights: From External Conditionality to Internal Practices'. *JEMIE*. 13(3) (2014).

Kastoryano, R. *Negotiating Identities in France and Germany*. Princeton, NJ and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2002).

Kupchan, C.A., ed. *Nationalism and Nationalities in the New Europe*. Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 1995.

Kürti, L.. *The Remote Borderland: Transylvania in the Hungarian Imagination*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2001.

Labro, M. *La Question Corse*. Paris: Editions Entente, 1977.

Malloy, T.H., ed. *Minority Issues in Europe: Rights, Concepts, Policy*. Berlin: Frank and Timme, 2013.

\_\_\_\_\_, ed. Special Issue: 'National Minorities Between Protection and Empowerment'. *JEMIE*. 13(2) (2014).

Manuel Mata, J. 'Nationalism and Political Parties in the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country: Strategies and Tensions'. Universidad del Pais Vasco, Working Paper 137, Barcelona, 1998.

Marr, A. *The Battle for Scotland*. London: Penguin Books, 1995.

Medhurst, K. *The Basques and Catalans*. London: Minority Rights Group, Report No. 9, 1977.

Mees, L. *Nationalism, Violence and Democracy: The Basque Clash of Identities*. New York: Palgrave, 2003.

Minority Rights Groups International. 'Belgian Germans'. In *World Directory of Minorities and Indigenous Peoples*, Minority Rights Group International, London. <https://minorityrights.org/minorities/germans-2/>. Retrieved December 1, 2018.

Morris A. 'Ukrainian Nationalism: New Security Issues for Europe'. *Stanford Journal of International Affairs*. IV(1) (1995): 59-88.

Morris-Jones, W.H. 'Realities and Dreams: Ebb and Flow in the Politics of Separatism'. *Ethnic Studies Report*. IV(1) (January 1986): 1-8.

- 
- Motyl, A.J. *Thinking Theoretically About Soviet Nationalities*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1995.
- Mumelter, N. *Die Selbstbehauptung der Südtiroler*. Wien: Eckart-Schriften, Heft 73, 1980.
- Nelde, P.H. *Deutsch als Muttersprache in Belgien*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1979.
- New York Times. 'Spain is a Collection of Glued Regions – or Maybe not so Glued'. *New York Times*, October 28, 2017.
- Nodia, G. 'Europeanization and (not) Resolving Secessionist Conflicts'. *JEMIE*. 1 (2004).
- Noutcheva, G., et.al. 'Europeanization and Secessionist Conflicts: Concepts and Theories'. *JEMIE*. 1 (2004).
- Oyhamburu, P. *L'Irréductible Phénomène Basque*. Paris: Editions Entente, 1980.
- Palard, J., A-G Gagnon, and B. Gagnon, eds. *Diversité et Identités au Québec et dans les Régions d'Europe*. Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2006.
- Parti Socialiste. *La France au Pluriel*. Paris: Editions Entente, 1981.
- Pavkovic, A. *The Fragmentation of Yugoslavia: Nationalism and War in the Balkans*. London: Macmillan and New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000.
- Payne, G. *Basque Nationalism*. Reno, Nevada: University of Nevada Press, 1975.
- Pentikainen, M. 'Social Integration of "Old" and "New" Minorities in Europe in Views of International Expert Bodies Relying on Human Rights: Contextual Balancing and Tailoring'. *JEMIE*. 14(1) (2015): 26-47.
- Petrella, R. *La Renaissance des Cultures Régionales en Europe*. Paris: Editions Entente, 1978.
- Petricusic, A. and C. Blondel, eds. Special Issue: 'Reconciliation in the Western Balkans'. *JEMIE*. 11(4) (2012).
- Planson, G. and E. Koshaneg. *Histoire de la Nation Bretonne*. Paris: La Table Ronde, 1977.
- Popescu, N. 'Europeanization and Conflict Resolution: A View from Moldova'. *JEMIE*. 1 (2004).
- Poulton, H. *Who are the Macedonians?* Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995.
- Premdas, R.R., S.W.R. de A. Samarasinghe, and A.B. Anderson, eds. *Secessionist Movements in Comparative Perspective*. London: Pinter Publishers and New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993.
- Prina, F., ed. Special Issue: 'Non-territorial Autonomy in Theory and Practice'. *JEMIE*. 12(1) (2013).
- Protsyk, O. 'Majority-Minority Relations in the Ukraine'. *JEMIE*. 1 (2008).
- Quévit M. *La Wallonie: L'Indispensable Autonomie*. Paris: Editions Entente, 1978.

---

Reece, J.E. *The Bretons Against France* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1977).

Regelmann, A-C, ed. Special Issue: 'Minority Participation in Estonia and Latvia'. *JEMIE*. 1 (2014).

Reid, A. *Borderland*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 2000.

Rezun, M. *Europe's Nightmare: The Struggle for Kosovo*. London: Praeger, 2001.

Rioux, C. *Voyage à l'Intérieur des Petites Nations*. Montréal: Les Editions du Boréal, 2000.

Roth, B.R. 'The Neglected Virtues of Bright Lines: International Law in the 2014 Ukraine Crisis'. *ILSA Journal of International and Comparative Law*. 21(2) (2015): 317-324.

Sarajilic, E. 'Bosnian Elections and Recurring Ethnonationalisms: The Ghost of the Nation-state'. *JEMIE*. 9(2) (2010).

Schlegel, S. 'How Could the Gagauz Achieve Autonomy and What has it Achieved for Them?: A Comparison Among Neighbours on the Moldova-Ukraine Border'. *JEMIE*. 17(1) (2018): 1-23.

Schöpflin, G. *The Hungarians of Rumania*. London: Minority Rights Group, Report no. 37, 1978.

Shafir, G. *Immigrants and Nationalists: Ethnic Conflict and Accommodation in Catalonia, the Basque Country, Latvia and Estonia*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1995.

Siegler, H. *The South Tyrol Question*. Vienna: Verlag für Zeitarchive, 1964.

Smick, E. 'The Chechen Separatist Movement'. *Council on Foreign Relations*, July 18, 2006. <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/chechen-separatist-movement>.

Smith, D.J. 'Minority Rights, Multiculturalism and EU Enlargement: The Case of Estonia'. *JEMIE*. 14(4) (2015): 79-113.

Sterio, M. 'Self-determination and Secession Under International Law'. *ILSA Journal of International and Comparative Law*. 21(2) (2015): 293-306.

Streicher, J-C. *Impossible Alsace*. Paris: Editions Entente, 1982.

Vahl, M. and M. Emerson. 'Moldova and the Transnistrian Conflict'. *JEMIE*. 1 (2004).

van der Jeught, S. 'The Protection of Linguistic Minorities in Italy: A Clean Break with the Past'. *JEMIE*. 15(3) (2016): 57-81.

Vermeersch, P. 'EU Enlargement and Minority Rights Policies in Central Europe: Explaining Policy Shifts in the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland'. *JEMIE*. 14(4) (2015): 114-140.

Vieyetz, E.R., ed. 'New Perspectives for the Basque Country in a Post-conflict Scenario'. *JEMIE*. 12(2) (2013): 79-105.

World Atlas. 'The Autonomous Communities of Spain'. *World Atlas.com*, September 28, 2017.

Wurzer, B. *Die Deutschen Sprachinseln in Oberitalien*. Bozen: Verlagsanstalt Athesia, 1969.

Zamyatin, K. 'Power-sharing or Ethnic Domination? Ethnic Representation in the Republics of Russia in the Late 2000s to Early 2010s'. *JEMIE*. 16(3) (2017): 26-54.

\_\_\_\_\_. 'Russian Political Regime Change and the Strategies of Diversity Management: From a Multinational Federation Towards a Nation-state'. *JEMIE*. 15(1) (2016): 19-49.