Index

Åland Islands 93–8
  colonial self-determination comparison 98
  external self-determination approach 20, 25, 26, 94, 95, 96–8
  human rights and minority rights protection 94–6, 97
  internal autonomy recommendation 96–7
  League of Nations’ international jurisdiction 95–7
  plebiscite 94, 95, 96
  sovereignty and territorial integrity protection 94, 97
  see also attempted secessions
Abkhazia see South Ossetia and Abkhazia
Ahmed, D. 72
Alvarez, A. 13
Anderson, J. 115
Andorra 22
Ash, T. 121
attempted secessions 93–112, 165
  Åland Islands see Åland Islands autonomy 106–7
  autonomy, legal challenge to 107–8
  autonomy recommendation, internal 96–7
  autonomy and self-determination rights 106
Catalonia see Catalonia
  colonial self-determination comparison 98
  economic argument in favor of secession 107–8
  external self-determination approach 94, 95, 96–8
  human rights and minority rights protection 94–6, 97
internal and external self-determination, difference between 99–101
internal self-determination right
  oppression and external self-determination 101
  peoples, effects on 97, 99–101, 106
  Quebec see Quebec
  referenda 101, 103–5, 108–10
  Scotland see Scotland
  self-determination 98–9
  sovereignty and territorial integrity protection 94, 97, 99
  see also Åland Islands autonomy
  attempted secessions 106–7
  attempted secessions, internal autonomy recommendation 96–7
  attempted secessions, legal challenge to autonomy 107–8
de facto secessions 91
post-decolonization and internal autonomy rights 135–6
  and self-determination 19–20, 25, 48
  successful recent secessions 117–18
  successful recent secessions, autonomy denial 114–15
  successful recent secessions, autonomy removal 119–20
  successful recent secessions, autonomy within country 125–6, 128
Azerbaijan, Nagorno-Karabakh see Nagorno-Karabakh secession
Badinter Commission, and dissolution of former Yugoslavia 24, 26–7, 30, 55–6
Bangladesh 69–72, 135
decolonization and self-determination 70–72
*see also* historically remote secessions
Benzig, M. 75
Bilefsky, D. 81
Black, A. 105
Boas, G. 78
Borgen, C. 85, 87, 90, 149
Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbs self-determination claim 18
Brilmayer, L. 4–5, 32, 153, 156, 159
Brown, B. 119, 120
Brownlie, I. 16
Buchanan, A. 32, 37, 153, 159
Bucheit, L. 39
Burri, T. 39, 62–3, 145

Canada
James Bay Crees 12
Quebec *see* Quebec
Capotorti, F. 10
Carley, P. 82
Casperson, N. 83–4
Cassese, A. 33, 44, 59, 62, 72, 141
Castellino, J. 9, 11
*see also* attempted secessions
Charney, J. 74
Churkin, V. 60
civil war concerns 90–91
*see also* de facto secessions; destabilization issues
Clegg, D. 104 collapsed governments and statehood 50
*see also* international law norms colonial rule historically remote secessions and decolonization effects 70–73, 148 post-decolonization and internal autonomy rights 135–6 self-determination and decolonization effects 13–17, 21, 98 successful recent secessions and decolonization effects 114–15, 117, 118 territorial integrity and colonial boundaries 62–4 constitutional framework with consent of mother state 153–5, 157, 158, 161
*see also* new framework proposal constitutive view of recognition 52–4
*see also* international law norms; recognition contagion concerns, secession process 40, 41
Coppitiets, B. 87
Cornell, S. 87
Crawford, J. 16, 20, 49, 54, 70, 71, 81
Crimea 125–8, 148 as autonomous republic within Ukraine 125–6, 128 external self-determination via remedial secession 128 referendum and independence declaration 126–8 Russian annexation 127–8, 149 secession illegality concerns 128 territorial integrity 127
*see also* successful recent secessions
Crone, G. 103
Cvijic, S. 14
Cyprus *see* Northern Cyprus

De Chand, D. 114 de facto secessions 78–92, 164–5
civil war concerns 90–91
due process secession 81, 84
geographical issues 84
internal self-determination or autonomy rights 91
legal effectiveness issues 90–92
mother state, secession from 81, 83–4, 90–91
Nagorno-Karabakh see Nagorno-Karabakh
Northern Cyprus see Northern Cyprus
peoples, effects on 84, 89, 90, 91
referendum 88
secession illegality issues 81, 84
self-determination right 81–2
shared governance 79–80
South Ossetia and Abkhazia see South Ossetia and Abkhazia
territorial integrity 83, 88–9
unsuccessful secession effects 88–92
declaratory view of recognition 52, 54
see also international law norms; recognition
decolonization see under colonial rule
Del Mar, K. 145
dependency theory and statehood 50
see also international law norms
destabilization issues 157
see also civil war concerns; new framework proposal
Dhurgon, T. 114
dominant majority, groups constituting 156–7
due process secession
de facto secessions 81, 84
international law theory 41–2
new framework proposal 155–6, 158
Dumienski, Z. 21–2
Dunoff, J. 12, 22, 29, 49, 50, 52, 53, 55, 79–80
East Timor 73–7, 148
independence referendum 75
as nonself-governing territory 74, 76
as remedial secession 76
self-determination 75–6, 140
see also historically remote secessions
economic argument in favor of secession 107–8
see also attempted secessions
Eritrea, decolonization and self-determination 31–2, 72–3, 148
see also historically remote secessions
EU
microstates and loose association 22
recognition theory, human rights and protection of minority rights 54–6
external self-determination
Åaland Islands 20, 25, 26, 94, 95, 96–8
attempted secessions 94, 95, 96–8, 99–101
Crimea 128
and internal self-determination, difference between 99–101
oppressed noncolonized peoples 37–9, 45, 62
Quebec 99–101
and remedial secession 116–17, 118–19, 128, 134–5, 145
and secession process 32, 37–8
self-determination history 24–6
South Sudan 116–17, 118–19
see also internal self-determination; self-determination
fairness criterion 158–60, 161
see also new framework proposal
Falk, R. 33, 59
Fick, M. 115
Finland, Åaland Islands see Åaland Islands
force, ban on use of 35–6, 41, 43–4
see also secession process
Franck, T. 13, 39, 44, 59, 135, 142
free association
  international law norms 50
  self-determination history 21–4
frozen conflicts, South Ossetia and Abkhazia see South Ossetia and Abkhazia

Garcia, R. 106
geopolitics and Great Powers role 146–50
new framework proposal 161
powerful states and additional criteria of recognition 55–6
secession process 45–6
Georgia, South Ossetia and Abkhazia see South Ossetia and Abkhazia
Gibraltar 12
Goodenough, P. 149
Govan, F. 108
Great Powers see geopolitics and Great Powers role
Haass, R. 58–9, 61
Haiti, military intervention 18
Hanna, R. 17, 38, 98, 101, 157
Hannum, H. 20, 23, 39, 40–41, 64, 135
Hasani, E. 120, 121
Hashmi, S. 70
Helsinki Final Act 17
Henkin, L. 59, 92, 149
Hinck, J. 21
historically remote secessions 69–77, 164
Bangladesh see Bangladesh decolonization and self-determination 70–73, 148
East Timor see East Timor
Eritrea, decolonization and self-determination 31–2, 72–3, 148
independence referendum 75
nonself-governing territory 74, 76
remedial secession 76
Hooper, J. 57
Horowitz, D. 16
human rights
  and international law rules, inadequacy of existing 137–8
  new framework proposal 159
oppression and external self-determination 37–9, 45, 62, 101
see also minority rights
humanitarian intervention
  international law norms 58–61
  secession process 32–3, 34, 35, 36, 39, 40
illegality issues 81, 84, 128
illegitimate intervention, secession process 34–5
independence declaration, successful recent secessions 115–16, 122–5, 126–8, 143–4, 150
independence referenda see referenda
indigenous groups, classification of 12–13
internal self-determination
  attempted secessions 99–101
de facto secessions 91
and external self-determination, difference between 99–101
new framework proposal 154
Quebec 99–101
self-determination history 19–24, 25–6
successful recent secessions 117–18
see also external self-determination; self-determination
International Court of Justice
  Burkina Faso v. Mali 41, 63–4, 117, 158
  East Timor (Portugal v. Australia) 42–3, 44–5, 76, 139–40
jurisprudence, nonexistence on secession 138–46
Kosovo Advisory Opinion 27, 43–4, 123, 138–9, 143–4, 154
Wall Construction in Occupied Palestinian Territory Advisory Opinion 44–5, 142–3, 157
Index

Western Sahara Advisory Opinion 44, 141–2
International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), minority rights 10–11, 14, 16–17
International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, Prosecutor v. Tadić 35
international law involvement, secession process 31, 32–6, 40–46
international law norms 47–65, 164
autonomy and self-determination 48
collapsed governments and statehood 50
constitutive view of recognition 52–4
declaratory view of recognition 52, 54
dependency theory and statehood 50
freely associated states 50
human rights and protection of minority rights 54–5, 62
humanitarian intervention 58–61
intermediary view of recognition 54
involuntary sovereignty waiver theory 58–62
population issues and statehood 49–50
powerful states and additional criteria of recognition 55–6
recognition factor in self-determination 51, 52–7
remedial theory of secession 62–3
sovereignty, intervention and self-determination 57–61
statehood and self-determination 48–50
territorial integrity, *uti possidetis* and colonial boundaries 62–4
territorial issues and statehood 49
international law rules, inadequacy of existing 133–51, 165
external self-determination and remedial secession 134–5, 145
geopolitics and Great Powers predominance 146–50
groups not qualifying as peoples 136
and human rights 137–8
ICJ jurisprudence, nonexistence on secession 138–46
military interventions by Great Powers 147
normative framework 133, 134–5, 137, 138–9, 141–2, 144, 145–6, 149–50
peoples’ rights 134, 135–6, 139–40, 141–2, 143
positive law framework 133, 137, 138, 149
post-decolonization and internal autonomy rights 135–6
self-determination principle 134–5
self-determination right in non-colonial context 143
sovereignty and territorial integrity principle 133–4, 137, 141–2
intervention invited intervention by foreign military 34–5
and self-determination, international law norms 57–61
involuntary sovereignty waiver theory 58–62
see also sovereignty
Iraq, intervention on behalf of Kurds 59
Kelly, M. 54, 57, 146, 147
King, C. 86
King, I. 120
Koh, H. 4, 152–3, 162
Kohen, M. 29, 30, 36, 145
Koko, S. 115
Kosovo 119–25, 135, 137, 153–4, 156–7, 160
autonomy removal 119–20
humanitarian intervention 59–60
ICJ Kosovo Advisory Opinion 27, 43–4, 123, 138–9, 143–4, 154
independence declaration 122–5, 143–4, 150
Kosovar Albanians 18, 33–4
Sección en derecho internacional

protectorate status 20
self-determination issues 27, 32, 43–4, 123–5, 144–6
as territorial part of Serbia 121–2
see also successful recent secessions
Kramer, A. 87
Kruger, H. 82, 83
Lang, D. 85
legal effectiveness issues, de facto secessions 90–92
legalization, arguments against 40
Legvold, R. 87
Leslie, P. 98
Libya, humanitarian intervention 60–61
Lichtenstein 22
loose association, self-determination history 22–3
Lu, B. 140
Lynch, D. 90
Macedonia, recognition requirements 55–6
McElroy, D. 86
Machar, R. 114
Malanczuk, P. 16
Mamdani, M. 115, 116
Marr, A. 102
Mason, W. 120
microstates 22–3
see also self-determination history
Minder, R. 109
minority rights
attempted secessions 94–6, 97
International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) 10–11, 14, 16–17
international law norms 54–5, 62
new framework proposal 154–5
self-determination history 10–14
see also human rights
Minsk Group involvement, Nagorno-Karabakh 83
Monaco 22
Montevideo Convention on the Rights and Duties of States 48–50
mother state, constitutional framework and new framework proposal 153–5, 157, 158, 161
Nagorno-Karabakh 34, 82–4, 148, 157
and due process secession 84
geographical issues 84
Minsk Group involvement 83
Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe mediation 83
secession illegality issues 84
and Soviet Union collapse 82–3
see also de facto secessions
Nanda, V. 70, 71, 135
nationalism, ‘onion problem’ 40
new framework proposal 152–62, 165–7
constitutional framework with consent of mother state 153–5, 157, 158, 161
destabilization issues 157
due process international law theory proposal 155–6, 158
fairness criterion 158–60, 161
geopolitics role 161
groups constituting dominant majority 156–7
human rights issues 159
internal self-determination rights 154
limitations 160–62
minority groups and self-determination rights 154–5
new territorial divisions consistent with existing historical claims 158
normative framework 152–3, 155, 159–60
peoples’ rights 156
positive influence on secessionist groups 161–2
public referenda 153–4
recognition or nonrecognition acts and arbiters 161
reconciling secession with territory 156–8
remedial secession and fairness criterion 159
secession through negotiated process 153–6
self-determination principle 155, 157, 158, 161
sovereignty issues 154–5
uti possidetis principle and territorial integrity 155–6, 158, 161
New Zealand, Cook Islands, Niue and free association 22
nonself-governing territory, historically remote secessions 74, 76
normative framework 133, 134–5, 137, 138–9, 141–2, 144, 145–6, 149–50
new framework proposal 152–3, 155, 159–60
Northern Cyprus 78–82, 123, 127, 144, 148, 153
due process secession 81
occupation histories 79, 80
secession illegality issues 81
self-determination right 81–2
shared governance 79–80
see also de facto secessions
Nunes, J. 74
Oeter, S. 18, 62, 63, 134, 137
‘onion problem of nationalism’ 40
Oppenheim, L. 53, 89
oppression and external self-determination 37–9, 45, 62, 101
see also human rights
Orentlicher, D. 17, 32, 97, 153, 159
Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe 11, 83
Ortiz, F. 108
Orttung, R. 85, 88
Pacific Island nations and free association 22–3
Pakistan, Bangladesh secession 31
people definition 9–13
peoples, effects on
attempted secessions 97, 99–101, 106
de facto secessions 84, 89, 90, 91
international law rules, inadequacy of existing 134, 135–6, 139–40, 141–2, 143
new framework proposal 156
successful recent secessions 117, 118–19, 124, 127, 128, 136
Perritt, H. 119, 120
Peters, A. 13, 158
Phillips, B. 108
philosophical standpoint, secession process 32
plebiscites
Åaland Islands 94, 95, 96
self-determination history 13–14, 18
see also referenda
Polgreen, L. 49
political ideology and self-determination history 14
see also colonial rule
population issues and disputed territory 49–50
see also territorial integrity
positive law framework, international law rules 133, 137, 138, 149
post-decolonization and internal autonomy rights 135–6
see also colonial rule; international law rules, inadequacy of existing
powerful states see geopolitics and Great Powers role
Quebec 98–101, 153
internal and external self-determination, difference between 99–101
oppression and external self-determination 101
self-determination 18, 20, 25–6, 38, 61, 98–9
and territorial integrity
see also attempted secessions

recognition factor
constitutive view 52–4
declaratory view 52, 54
factor in self-determination 51, 52–7
new framework proposal 161
referenda
attempted secessions 101, 103–5, 108–10
de facto secessions 88
historically remote secessions 75
new framework proposal 153–4
self-determination history 20, 25
successful recent secessions 126–8
see also plebiscites

Reisman, W. 60
remedial secession
and external self-determination 116–17, 118–19, 128, 134–5, 145
and fairness criterion, new framework proposal 159
historically remote secessions 76
international law norms 62–3
process 32, 39, 41
Republika Srpska 3, 43, 123, 127, 144, 148
Rettman, A. 148
Rice, C. 124, 150
Richardson, C. 118
Robinson, J. 74
Rosenberg, M. 126
Rothbard, M. 1
Rushdie, S. 2, 52
Russia, annexation of Crimea see under Crimea
San Marino 22
Scharf, M. 10, 24, 59
Scotland 101–6, 153
devolution 103–4
independence history 101–2
internal autonomy and self-determination rights 106
referenda 20, 61, 101, 103–5
see also attempted secessions
secession
attempted see attempted secessions
de facto see de facto secessions
historically remote see historically remote secessions
illegality issues 81, 84, 128
remedial see remedial secession
successful recent see successful recent secessions
versus self-determination 36–40
secession process 29–46, 163–4
ban on the use of force 35–6, 41, 43–4
contagion concerns 40, 41
due process international law theory 41–2
and external self-determination 32, 37–8
as factual occurrence not regulated by international law 37, 38–9
humanitarian intervention 32–3, 34, 35, 36, 39, 40
illegitimate intervention 34–5
international law involvement 31, 32–6, 40–46
invited intervention by a foreign military 34–5
legalisation, arguments against 40
‘onion problem of nationalism’ 40
oppressed noncolonized peoples and external self-determination 37–9, 45, 62
philosophical standpoint 32
as remedial process 32, 41
as remedial right 39
self-determination versus secession 36–40
as state formation process 29–36
state intervention against mother state in support of secessionist movement 34
superpower involvement 45–6
territorial integrity protection 42–3, 44
uti possidetis principle 42
Sekularac, I. 122
Index

self-determination 98–9
and autonomy see autonomy
colonial rule see colonial rule
external see external self-determination
and human rights see human rights
internal see internal self-determination
international law rules see international law rules
minority rights see minority rights
new framework proposal see new framework proposal
origins 1, 2–3
recognition factor see recognition factor
and remedial secession see remedial secession
sovereignty issues see sovereignty issues
territorial integrity see territorial integrity
versus secession 36–40
see also individual countries
self-determination history 9–28, 163–4
autonomy 19–20, 25
decolonization 13–17, 21
democratic principles 17–18
external self-determination 24–6
free association 21–4
indigenous groups, classification of 12–13
internal self-determination 19–24, 25–6
loose association 22–3
microstates 22–3
minority rights 10–14
people definition 9–13
people definition, objective and subjective elements 10
plebiscites 13–14, 18
and political ideology 14
protectorate and local autonomy 20, 21
referenda 20, 25
separatist groups 18
state territorial integrity 26–7
territorial claim to clearly predefined territorial unit 18–19
trusteeship 21
Serbia, Kosovo see Kosovo
Shah, A. 74
shared governance, de facto secessions 79–80
Simpson, G. 73
South Ossetia and Abkhazia as frozen conflicts 84–9, 148, 153 as Russian puppet states 85, 86, 87, 88 self-determination claim 18, 34, 35–6 South Ossetia referendum 88 see also de facto secessions
South Sudan 113–19, 136, 148, 153, 156, 157 autonomy denial 114–15 colonial rule 114, 117 decolonization of Sudan 114–15, 118 external self-determination right through remedial secession 116–17, 118–19 groups not qualifying as peoples 136 independence declaration 115–16 internal self-determination rights through autonomy 117–18 uti possidetis principle 117 violence and internal fighting 116 see also successful recent secessions
Southern Rhodesia 41, 43, 53, 123, 127, 144 sovereignty issues attempted secessions 94, 97, 99 international law norms 57–61 international law rules 133–4, 137, 141–2 involuntary sovereignty waiver theory 58–62 new framework proposal 154–5 see also territorial integrity
Soviet Union collapse, and Nagorno-Karabakh 82–3
Spain
  Catalonia see Catalonia
  Gibraltar 12
state formation process 29–36
statehood and self-determination,
  international law norms 48–50
successful recent secessions 113–29, 165
autonomy denial 114–15
autonomy removal 119–20
autonomy within country 125–6, 128
colonial rule 114, 117
Crimea see Crimea
decolonization effects 114–15, 117, 118
external self-determination right
  through remedial secession 116–17, 118–19, 128
groups not qualifying as peoples 136
independence declaration 115–16, 122–5, 126–8, 143–4, 150
internal self-determination rights
  through autonomy 117–18
Kosovo see Kosovo
  peoples, effects on 117, 118–19, 124, 127, 128, 136
referendum and independence declaration 126–8
secession illegality concerns 128
self-determination issues 123–5, 144–6
South Sudan see South Sudan
territorial integrity 121–2, 127
  uti possidetis principle 117
Sudan see South Sudan
Summers, J. 125, 144, 145, 153, 160
superpower involvement see
  geopolitics and Great Powers role
Tancredi, A. 30, 32, 33, 35, 36, 41–2, 56, 81, 155, 158, 159
territorial integrity
  attempted secessions 94, 97, 99
de facto secessions 83, 88–9
international law norms 49–50, 62–4
international law rules 133–4, 137, 141–2
new framework proposal 155–6, 158, 161
new territorial divisions consistent
  with existing historical claims 158
secession process 42–3, 44
self-determination history 18–19
successful recent secessions 121–2, 127
see also sovereignty issues; uti possidetis principle
Thio, L.-A. 69, 70, 71
Tomuschat, C. 31, 33, 39, 72, 135, 137, 138
Transnistria 88, 148
Trebicka, V. 121, 122
trusteeship 21
UK
  Gibraltar 12
Scotland see Scotland
Ukraine, Crimea see Crimea
UN Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples 14–15
UN Friendly Relations Declaration 15–17, 24, 37–8, 62
UN Security Council intervention 18, 32, 33, 34–5, 43–4, 60, 74, 80, 123
UN Trusteeship Council 21
unsuccessful secession effects 88–92
see also de facto secessions
US
  Palau, Marshall Islands, Micronesia and free association 21, 22
  protectorates 20
  uti possidetis principle
## Index

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category/Keyword</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>international law norms</td>
<td>62–4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>new framework proposal</td>
<td>155–6, 158, 161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>secession process</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>successful recent secessions</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see also territorial integrity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vatican City</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vezgerbaite, I.</td>
<td>80, 81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vidmar, J.</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vienna Declaration</td>
<td>17, 38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Von Mises, L.</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Von Ungern-Sternberg, A.</td>
<td>32, 38, 138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wakaengela, M.</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walker, C.</td>
<td>85, 88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walter, C.</td>
<td>18, 24, 38, 124, 126, 127, 128, 138, 146, 155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wedgwood, R.</td>
<td>33, 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weller, M.</td>
<td>10, 12, 62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whelan, A.</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Williams, P.</td>
<td>57, 120, 121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wippman, D.</td>
<td>79, 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worster, W.</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia dissolution</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Badinter Commission</td>
<td>24, 26–7, 30, 55–6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kosovo <em>see</em> Kosovo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia)</td>
<td>41, 43, 53, 123, 127, 144</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: The exact page numbers may vary depending on the specific context within the text.*