





15 YEARS OF INIONATION





It is a pleasure for us, Nicolás, Antonia, Julio and María Camila, students of International Relations, Jurisprudence, History, Finance and Political Science and Government, to form the 15th Secretariat of the Model United Nations of our alma mater, the Universidad del Rosario.

We are excited to present an event that transcends being more than a space for discussion about the problems that affect today's society. We are dedicated to continuing the legacy of this event, building new stories with every step we take, not only in our country but around the world.

The General Secretariat has proposed a diversity of committees with a real impact, collaborating with various local, national and international entities. On the other hand, the General Directorate has worked on the organization and rigor of a Model that will host more than 400 people, national and international, including the participation of delegations from different parts of the world.

We hope you enjoy MUNUR and obtain unforgettable learning and experiences, both on a personal and professional level. We have worked tirelessly to deliver an event that leaves a lasting mark. We welcome you to the Model United Nations of the Universidad del Rosario!

Nicolás Amador Peñaranda Secretary General

Antonia Hernandez Botero Director General

Julio Pitta Urrea

Undersecretary General

Maria Camila
Salsedo
Underdirector General



WHAT IS? MUNUR

The Model United Nations of the Universidad del Rosario, MUNUR, marks a milestone by being the first of its kind at the university level in Colombia. It stands as a space of and for students, covering different educational levels and latitudes, where the word becomes a vital exercise. It is a corner that allows students to explore the vast universe of the international system, nurturing and getting involved with the various current, historical and future problems.

MUNUR had its origins as a project created by students from the Colegio Mayor de Nuestra Señora del Rosario, who, following global trends, decided to immerse themselves in this type of academic challenges. Currently, it remains a student initiative that not only promotes healthy discussion, but also the forging of friendships, the celebration of diversity and inclusion in a world that longs to strengthen fraternal ties.

In this sense, the topics explained in this document are subject to modifications made by the MUNUR Secretariat in the exercise of its functions. Participants will be duly informed when this guide is finalized. Only the Secretary General and the Director General of the conference have the authority to make changes to this academic guide. MUNUR assumes no responsibility for erroneous statements made by other staff members regarding this document.

The Sponsor, Faculty Advisor or delegation manager of each participating institution must ensure that all their delegates participating in this committee read this academic guide in its entirety. Likewise, if a participant enters as an individual delegate, he or she assumes said responsibility. By registering for MUNUR, you accept the terms and conditions of the conference, that is, all the policies and conditions described in the Handbook and in this academic guide.

Similarly, this document contains the information that the delegates of this committee must take into account during the days of MUNUR. Here are compiled the procedural rules that both the Boards of Directors and the delegates must follow to guarantee the proper development of the debate within the committee. Together, we create a space where the voice of each student is a fundamental piece to build a more promising future.



WELCOME LETTERS	8
Secretary General	8
Undersecretary General	
DSG's of Specialized	11
Presidents	
ABSTRACT	16
ABOUT THE COMMITTEE	17
Introduction to the Committee	
History of the Committee	22
Competence of the Committee	
ABOUT THE TOPIC	
CASE OF STUDY	39
Introduction	40
Historical Context.	
Current Situation of Basque Country	52
Stance Towards the Central Spanish Government	59
Relevant Actors	61



DOCUMENTS	
Q <i>ARMAS</i>	
GLOSSARY	
BIBLIOGRAPHY	
REFERENCE	





WELCOME LETTER

SECRETARY GENERAL

Dear young people,

I extend a cordial greeting to you.

If you stopped to read this letter, I would like to greet you pleasantly and introduce you to our model. Here you can find the way in which we make MUNUR a model that connects the old with the new. Welcome to the event of my loves, to which I gave my work and heart, welcome to MUNUR!

To begin, I introduce myself: I am Nicolás Amador, student of Political Science and History at the Universidad del Rosario and I have the honor of being the Secretary General of MUNUR. I am very happy to be part of this dream and, during these days, I want to provide you with the best possible experience, seeking to make this a committee, an SGA and an unforgettable model for you.

I have high expectations for this model. Therefore, I not only hope that you have the best attitude during these days, but also a vast academic preparation that can be your key tool to propose innovative, realistic ideas that allow you to achieve everything you propose. Remember that you will be the ones who will shape the course of your committees and the model with your decisions, so you must find a way to make the most of your qualities to achieve the objectives you set.

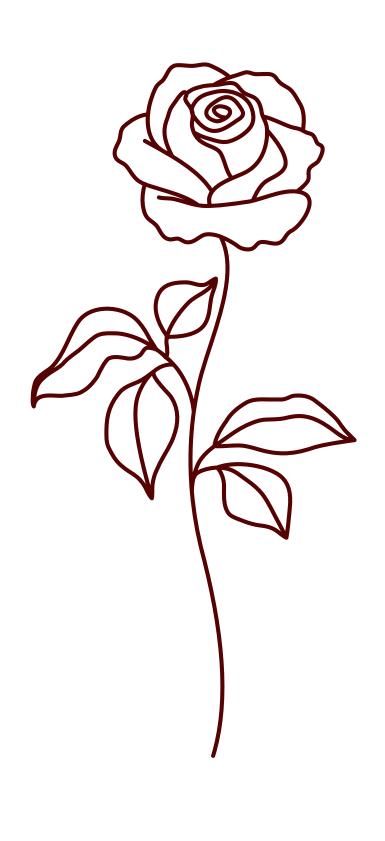
Something I have learned throughout my time on the circuit is that if a delegate wants to become "the best", he must seek to have integrity. An upright delegate is one who achieves a balance, one capable of managing a lobby, reaching agreements, giving memorable speeches, producing notable writing, masterfully personifying his character or his foreign policy and, above all, above, a delegate with values and who enjoys the committee in which he is participating.



Don't be afraid to take risks. After all, the point of participating in these types of events is to grow while learning and, therefore, I hope to see in the model delegates who are not afraid to defend what they believe in. Be intelligent, creative and strategic, find a way to convince others about the points you propose. Speak with confidence and self-assurance and, above all, enjoy MUNUR and make friends. Model United Nations are always excellent excuses to meet people with whom you can form great friendships.

Finally, I would like to tell you that if you have any questions, comments or suggestions, I will always be a message away.

I wish you much success and the best of luck in this great experience.



Nicolás Amador Peñaranda Secretary General



WELCOME LETTER

UNDERSECRETARY GENERAL

Hello everyone, Hola, Bom dia gente, Bonjour, 안녕하세요, my name is Julio Pitta and I will be your Undersecretary General for this 15th edition of MUNUR. I am an eighth semester student of International Relations and second semester of International Business Administration at my alma mater, the Colegio Mayor de Nuestra Señora del Rosario. Together with Nicolas, Antonia and Maria Camila we have prepared some fantastic days and with this letter I open the doors for you to challenge yourself, to give your best and show that the stars are not the limit.

If you want to know a little more about me, I am a person passionate about languages, international cinema, African and security studies and Millonarios FC. I hope that these coming days are the most incredible for you and you feel all the excitement, you have the strength to tear down the unbreakable walls of Ba Sing Se, the resilience to look for that yellow umbrella, the will to move forward with the power of strength and Above all things, may you never stop being yourself. Fight until the end and as a Colombian movie from the 2000s said "dreams are the only worthwhile investment in life", be willing to bet everything on them, because in the end, you are the only ones who can limit your path.

He loves and appreciates them:

Julio Pitta Urrea
Undersecretary General



WELCOME LETTER

SPECIALIZED DSG'S

Dear reader, we welcome you to the Deputy Undersecretary General of Specialized Committees and to MUNUR 2024, an experience from which we are sure you will learn and grow as people.

To begin, we would like to introduce ourselves, we are Natalia Rodríguez Romero and María Paula Álvarez, students of Jurisprudence, and International Relations and Anthropology, correspondingly, from the Universidad del Rosario, a University that will receive you these days with open arms for the challenge that the model of this study house. Likewise, we welcome you to this SGA which we have sought to make rewarding and something different from what could usually be found in this space, which we hope you like and meets your expectations.

In this way, MUNUR is a model that has been characterized over the years by its high academic demands, which is why this year does not seek to be the exception and therefore, this year we have sought to innovate with the things that are available. our disposition and include elements that we sometimes leave aside. So the committees that we bring to you this year explore various areas of knowledge and their conjugation; Therefore, committees and new themes will not be our greatest act of daring, but rather the procedure, which will be a game of knowledge and expertise in which only the best or those with the most guts will be able to perform it correctly or ideally.





Thus, we set out to build a space for challenging debate that for everyone represents a new way of seeing things and generating ideas from them, so we also invite you to make these spaces a challenge for yourselves. and for those around them.

In addition to this, we thank you for joining the dream and challenge that is MUNUR, helping to build the tradition and innovation that characterizes this space and that once again seeks to show the best of these spaces for dialogue and debate.

Without much further ado, we welcome you to the Model United Nations of the Universidad del Rosario in its fifteenth version.

Natalia Rodriguez

Specialized DSG nataliarodriguezromero333@gmail.com (+57 3212721648) **Maria Paula Alvarez**

Specialized DSG
mariapaulaalvareztorres@gmail.com
(+57 3125378175)





WELCOME LETTER

PRESIDENTS

Delegates,

For us it is a pleasure to welcome you to the Committee of the Stateless Nations at MUNUR 24. We hope that everything we prepared for you with love and dedication is able to satisfy you and surpass all your expectations.

My name is Juliana Andrea González Alfonso, I am a student of International Relations and Political Studies at Universidad Militar Nueva Granada, currently I am in my graduation process. On this occasion I have the opportunity and the honor of serving as your dais in the Conference of Stateless Nations. I've been participating on Models of the United Nations since 2019, which has meant to me infinite experiences, achieved challenges and wonderful friendships. I hope MUNUR will be to you a space that helps you grow on a personal level, that you enjoy the Model and that every single one of our delegates takes advantage of this experience. Without further ado, I'm at your disposal for anything that you may need, I welcome you and thank you infinitely for deciding on joining us and participating on our Committee.

It is a pleasure for me to introduce myself as your dais in this edition of MUNUR 2024, my name is Mariajosé Castro Vargas and I am in my 5th semester of Business and International Relations at Universidad de La Salle, I am very happy to be able to lead you in this space of debate during the four days of the model, I hope that each one of you will have complete capacity to face this international situation, to see how each one of you by means of arguments and debate will be able to reach practical solutions within the committee, you





must know that the proposals and actions that are carried out could totally change the global panorama on the stateless nations. I hope you will approach the subject in the most respectful and forceful way possible, but also that you will enjoy and learn from the days of debate.

If you have any questions or doubts about the committee don't hesitate to contact us by mail, we will be attentive to each of your concerns so that your development of the committee goes in the best possible way. We hope this committee can take you to a place that not many people manage to understand and discuss, but we trust that each of you will put everything into your delegation, so it can have benefits from each event that will be marked within the committee. Without further ado, this academic guide will be of total importance to know and manage to understand each of the points which will be key to the functioning of the committee.

Juliana González

President

juliana.gonzalez00@outlook.com

(+57 3215863076)

Mariajosé Castro

President

mariajosecastrovargas2@gmail.com
(+57 3115171187)







ABSTRACT

The guide emphasizes the need for meaningful engagement between states and stateless nations, the challenges of immigration, and the call for reform within international institutions. It also discusses the historical context of stateless nations, the stance of the Basque Country towards the central Spanish government, and the relevance of the Irish Free State and the partition of Ireland. The document aims to provide a platform for political, cultural, and civic organizations to advocate for collective rights and the right to self-determination of peoples, promoting a Europe that respects and includes its diverse national, linguistic, and cultural identities.

Keywords: Stateless Nations, Autonomy, Democratization, Diversity, Sovereign, Minorities, Terrorism, Repression.



ABOUT THE COMMITTEE

INTRODUCTION TO THE COMMITTEE

"The Conference of Stateless Nations of Europe (CONSEU) is a forum of debate and confluence between political, cultural and civic organizations with the common goal of advancing towards a Europe respectful of its national, linguistic and cultural diversity, and consequently, of the collective rights that form its basis." (CIEMEN, n.d.)

The Conference of Stateless Nations serves as a pivotal forum convened with the overarching aim of fostering a Europe that is wholly respectful and inclusive, leveraging its proximity and embracing the rich tapestry of national, linguistic, and cultural diversity. Attendees of this conference encompass a spectrum of political, cultural, and civic organizations, all unified by a steadfast commitment to safeguarding the collective rights of their respective communities.

Guided by the fundamental principle of the right to self-determination of peoples, as explicitly encapsulated in their nomenclature, these nations either lack a sovereign State apparatus or remain unrecognized by any existing sovereign entity, or alternatively, consciously opt to abstain from seeking recognition by the territorial State within which they are situated.

The conference is tasked with the imperative of inclusivity, inviting a wide

CONSEULogo

conferencia
de nacions
sense estat
d'europa

Source: ciemen.cat

spectrum of organizations to contribute to its deliberations. It stands as a platform that respects the fundamental right of participation, thereby fostering the establishment of a rich tapestry of groups representing diverse ideological, linguistic, and cultural viewpoints. This



approach not only amplifies the breadth of perspectives brought to the table, but also underscores the unity in purpose shared among these heterogeneous entities.

The issue of Stateless Nations has persisted for decades, stemming from the myriad ideological, territorial, and political transformations that have unfolded across Western Europe throughout its history. This complex phenomenon continues to exert a profound impact on thousands of individuals residing in this region today. Therefore, it is of paramount importance to extend the requisite support and attention to both the affected population and the organizations that advocate on their behalf. By acknowledging the historical underpinnings and contemporary ramifications of this issue, we can better appreciate the urgency of addressing the plight of Stateless Nations and working towards viable solutions that uphold their rights and dignity.

Currently, Europe presents several case studies concerning Stateless Nations, among which Ireland stands out prominently. Throughout its history, Ireland has endured subjugation by the United Kingdom, resulting in the marginalization of nations within its territory. The division with Northern Ireland has further complicated matters, leaving certain nations unrecognized or inadequately acknowledged by any of the involved states.

Similarly, Spain grapples with a complex situation characterized by the presence of four distinct entities, each with its own political organizations representing Stateless Nations. These entities find themselves at odds with the response mechanisms employed by the Spanish state. Compounding this challenge is the fact that one of these organizations has been labeled as terrorist by the Spanish government. This classification has engendered discomfort among other organizations, prompting them to navigate carefully to avoid being associated with terrorism and risking the loss of their status as legitimate representatives of Stateless Nations. The intricacies of these situations underscore the pressing need for nuanced approaches to address the grievances and aspirations of Stateless Nations across Europe.



The inaugural Conference of Stateless Nations (CONSEU) convened in Barcelona in the year 1986 marked a significant milestone in the pursuit of addressing the concerns of marginalized communities across Europe. Initially, the primary objective of the Conference was to draft and disseminate a resolution condemning the economic framework advanced by the European

PEUPLES MINORITAIRES EUROPÉENS linguistiques, des peuples autochtores, des groupes éthniques et des régions **EUROPEAN NATIVE PEOPLES** Hags and languages of national, regional, subseal and linguistic manorities, native peoples, ethnic groups and areas with strong identicies **EUROPÄISCHE VOLKSGRUPPEN** Haggen und Sprachen der nationalen, regionalen, kultigsellen und rprachlichen Minderheiten, der Ethnische Volkogruppen, Ureinwahner und REGIONS À PORTE IDENTITÉ / AREAS WITH STRONG IDENTITY PERFLEX DE L'EXERAL 3 PECOPLES OF THE WALLS PENELTRA DI CAUCANE / PEOPLES OF THE CAUCANIS / VOLKEGRIPPER DES KAURANIS VOLUMENTARY DESCRIPTION Pouplins, methors, indetermin-Propher, patient, constitue. MICED-PROPULE / MICEO FEORUS / PEUPLES DISPERSÉS / SCAFTERED PROPLES / NEISTREST L'EMERCE VOUS ERUPPER I

Image 2: Flags of the stateless nations of Europe

Source: reddit.com



Economic Community (EEC), the precursor to the European Union. Concurrently, the Conference embarked on the formulation of a "Declaration for the Collective Rights of Peoples," perceived by its members as an indispensable supplement to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights promulgated by the United Nations (Company, 1985). Notably, the proceedings of the Conference transpired despite resistance from some of the more moderate and conservative political factions in Europe, underscoring the contentious nature of the discourse from its inception.

The deliberations unfolded within the framework of ideological principles advocating for multiculturalism, multilingualism, and solidarity among nations. Furthermore, the Conference staunchly opposed the repression and marginalization of minority groups, firmly advocating for their visibility and recognition within the broader societal fabric. This steadfast commitment to principles of inclusivity and advocacy for the rights of Stateless Nations exemplifies the Conference's dedication to fostering dialogue and effecting positive change in the European landscape.

In subsequent years, the Conference convened in 1989, 1998, 2002, 2003, 2005, and 2007, marking continued efforts towards addressing the challenges faced by Stateless Nations in Europe. Throughout these iterations, discussions centered on the creation of a Permanent Assembly of European Stateless Nations, aimed at establishing a political entity capable of serving as a counterbalance to the European Parliament in Strasbourg. However, despite earnest deliberations, this aspiration remained unrealized (Sales, 1989).

Nevertheless, the Conference succeeded in delineating a set of objectives and priorities, a task made challenging by the divergent perspectives among its members. With this in mind, the overarching objectives of CONSEU are as follows (CONSEU, n.d.):

• Promote the principles of democracy, recognition of diversity, and respect for the collective rights of peoples within the European sphere.



- Facilitate the exchange of experiences and information concerning the diverse realities encountered by Stateless Nations across Europe.
- Foster collaboration among various organizations while upholding the autonomy of each entity, thereby nurturing principles of solidarity and cooperation.
- Serve as a lobbying entity within European, national, and local authorities, advocating for the interests and rights of Stateless Nations.
- Develop joint proposals aimed at realizing a Europe of Peoples and present them to various European institutions and bodies.
- Support initiatives aimed at preserving the unique identity of the diverse cultures and nations comprising contemporary Europe.
- Extend support to organizations facing discrimination or aggression due to their advocacy for collective rights.

Through the pursuit of these objectives, CONSEU endeavors to advance the interests and rights of Stateless Nations, promoting their visibility and advocating for their inclusion within the broader European framework.

Despite the absence of recent gatherings, the legacy of the Conference endures through its prior declarations and proposals, which continue to resonate. A notable manifestation of this enduring influence is the establishment of the European Network on Statelessness (ENS), a coalition of civil society entities comprising "organizations and individuals that brings together over 180 members in more than 40 countries and includes grassroots community organizations, national and international NGOs, legal advice agencies, think tanks, individuals with lived experience of statelessness, and other experts" (ENS, n.d.). This signifies that the collective



spirit driving CONSEU remains vibrant and active within the international and European spheres.

Against the backdrop of the current global landscape and the escalating discontent among populations across the European continent, the conditions are ripe for a revival of our Conference. It is evident that the prevailing geopolitical dynamics demand renewed efforts to address the grievances and aspirations of our nations. With this in mind, we remain steadfast in our belief that revitalizing CONSEU presents an opportunity to reshape the trajectory of our nations, ushering in a future characterized by empowerment, inclusion, and meaningful change.

HISTORY OF THE COMMITTEE

The concept of "stateless nations" in Western Europe can be traced back to various historical epochs, reflecting the complex interplay of political, cultural, and social dynamics across the region (Minahan, 2002). Central to this concept is the idea that certain regions or ethnic groups possess distinct identities and aspirations for self-governance yet lack formal recognition as independent sovereign entities on the global stage.

One pivotal period where the roots of nation-states without statehood can be discerned is the Middle Ages. During this era, Western Europe was characterized by a decentralized political landscape, with power fragmented among numerous kingdoms, principalities, and feudal domains. Within this mosaic of political entities, regions began to emerge with cohesive cultural and linguistic identities that distinguished them from neighboring territories. These proto-nations, such as Catalonia, Brittany, and Scotland, cultivated distinct traditions, languages, and forms of governance that laid the groundwork for future assertions of autonomy and statehood (Minahan, 2002).

The Middle Ages also witnessed the rise of supra-national institutions, such as the Holy Roman Empire and the Papacy, which exerted varying degrees of influence over the diverse patchwork of territories in Western Europe. While these entities provided a semblance of



overarching authority, they often coexisted with local power structures and did not necessarily align with the cultural or linguistic boundaries of emerging proto-nations. Consequently, many regions existed in a state of quasi-independence, with their distinct identities flourishing within the broader framework of medieval Europe (Minahan, 2002).

As the Middle Ages gave way to the Renaissance and the early modern period, the concept of nationhood underwent further evolution (Minahan, 2002). The rise of humanism and the spread of literacy fostered a burgeoning sense of cultural pride and identity among various ethnic groups in Western Europe. Intellectual movements, such as the Enlightenment, promoted ideas of individual rights and national self-determination, laying the ideological foundations for future nationalist movements.

Despite these cultural and intellectual developments, the consolidation of nation-states remained elusive for many regions in Western Europe. The Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, which marked the end of the Thirty Years' War, enshrined the principle of state sovereignty and established the modern nation-state system in Europe. However, this framework primarily benefited established powers and did not address the aspirations of marginalized or oppressed ethnic groups seeking recognition as independent nations (Minahan, 2002).

The 19th century witnessed the emergence of nationalism as a potent political force, galvanizing movements for self-determination and independence across Europe. The romanticization of national identity, coupled with the spread of liberal ideals, fueled demands for political autonomy among ethnic minorities and marginalized regions (Minahan, 2002). The unification of Italy and Germany served as paradigmatic examples of successful nation-building efforts, inspiring similar movements in regions such as Ireland, Catalonia, and Scotland.

However, the quest for nationhood was often fraught with challenges and setbacks. Ethnic tensions, geopolitical rivalries, and competing territorial claims complicated efforts to redraw



the map of Europe along national lines. The Concert of Europe, a system of diplomatic alliances established in the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars, sought to maintain stability and uphold the status quo, thereby impeding the aspirations of aspiring nation-states.

The 20th century brought both opportunities and obstacles for nation-states without statehood in Western Europe. The aftermath of World War I saw the disintegration of empires and the redrawing of borders, creating new opportunities for ethnic groups to assert their claims to self-determination. The Treaty of Versailles and the principle of national self-determination enshrined therein provided a legal basis for the establishment of new nation-states, such as Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

For example, the establishment of the Irish Free State in 1922 marked a significant milestone in Ireland's history and the struggle for national self-determination (Hachey & McCaffrey, 2021). After centuries of British rule and numerous attempts at rebellion, the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921 officially ended the Irish War of Independence and led to the partition of the island into two separate political entities.

The Irish Free State, known as Éire in Irish, was established as a dominion within the British Empire, with a self-governing administration headed by Michael Collins and the Sinn Féin party. This agreement granted Ireland a degree of self-government but also maintained formal ties with the United Kingdom, such as allegiance to the British monarch.

However, the partition of Ireland resulted in the creation of Northern Ireland, an autonomous entity within the United Kingdom comprising six majority-Protestant counties in the northeast of the island. This territorial division was deeply controversial and gave rise to sectarian and political tensions that persist to this day (Hachey & McCaffrey, 2021).

For many Irish nationalists, the partition of the island was unacceptable, as it left a significant portion of the Irish population under British rule. The exclusion of Northern Ireland from the Irish Free State was seen as a betrayal of the republican cause and a denial of the principle of



national self-determination (Hachey & McCaffrey, 2021). Since then, the issue of Northern Ireland has been a central theme in Irish and British politics. The ensuing decades were marked by sectarian conflicts, such as "The Troubles," a violent confrontation between Protestant unionists and Catholic nationalist/republicans in Northern Ireland.

Although the Good Friday Agreement of 1998 officially ended armed conflict in Northern Ireland and laid the groundwork for a peace process, the question of sovereignty and the political status of the region remains a subject of debate and controversy. While some continue to advocate for the unification of Ireland under a republican government, others argue for Northern Ireland's continued membership in the United Kingdom (Hachey & McCaffrey, 2021).

The Conference of Stateless Nations of Western Europe (CONSEU) has played a crucial role in advocating for the rights and interests of stateless nations throughout the region. Established in 1986, CONSEU has convened seven meetings to address the challenges faced by these communities. The first three meetings, held in 1986, 1989, and 1998, were particularly significant as they represented a milestone for stateless nations by providing a platform for dialogue and collaboration.

During these initial meetings, stateless nations recognized the importance of human rights as a fundamental starting point for their advocacy efforts. They sought to define a concrete understanding of human rights that would inform their approach to addressing the national question within their respective states. Central to their discussions was the need to reform policies that marginalized and disenfranchised minority communities, ensuring their rights to self-determination and territorial integrity within the framework of the European Union (CONSEU, n.d.).

CONSEU remained steadfast in its commitment to the vision of a unified Europe that embraces diversity and promotes inclusivity. The organization emphasized the importance of moving towards an open Europe of Peoples or Nations, rather than an exclusive Europe of



States. This motto reflected CONSEU's belief in the value of diversity and its commitment to fostering a Europe that respects the rights and identities of all its constituent peoples.

Throughout its meetings and advocacy efforts, CONSEU has worked to amplify the voices of stateless nations, advocating for their rights and interests on the international stage. By providing a platform for dialogue and collaboration, CONSEU has empowered stateless nations to assert their identities and pursue their aspirations for self-determination within the broader context of European integration.

The year 2001 marked a significant moment for the Conference of Stateless Nations of Western Europe (CONSEU) as it focused on the theme of the "European Constitution." This meeting served as a pivotal opportunity for stateless nations to engage with European approaches and demonstrate their participation in shaping the future of Europe. CONSEU recognized that this conference provided a unique space for them to raise awareness about their needs and concerns, and to offer valuable contributions towards ensuring active participation within the European system.

The participation of a majority of stateless nations in the 2001 conference marked a transformative moment, as it facilitated a diverse range of viewpoints and perspectives (CONSEU, n.d.). This diversity of input was crucial in generating new ideas and solutions to address the challenges faced by stateless nations within the framework of the European Constitution. The active engagement of participants allowed for a deeper understanding of the issues at hand and paved the way for more effective advocacy and representation.

One significant outcome of the 2001 conference was the establishment of CIEMEN (Centre Internacional Escarré per les Minories Ètniques i les Nacions), an organization tasked with documenting the decisions, regulations, issues, and interests discussed during the meeting. CIEMEN's role became instrumental in maintaining a record of the proceedings and ensuring that the concerns and contributions of stateless nations were documented and communicated effectively.



Furthermore, the participation of stateless nations in the 2001 conference served as a catalyst for greater engagement with institutions. European By actively contributing to the discussions surrounding the European Constitution, stateless nations sought to advocate for their rights and interests and to secure a space for within various political representation formations.

The 2003 conference held in Cagliari, Sardinia, shed light on a critical issue: the

Image 3: Cinquena assemblea de la CONSEU



Source: ciemen.cat

lack of recognition and regularization by states regarding the sovereignty of peoples within the European Union. During this meeting, participants emphasized the urgent need for institutions and regulations that would enable European peoples to exercise their sovereignty within the Union effectively. They condemned the absence of mechanisms that acknowledged the existence of stateless nations as legitimate subjects of law, highlighting that the current framework primarily favored established nation-states to the detriment of stateless nations.

The relationship between states and stateless nations had been characterized by limited interaction and virtually non-existent recognition. This glaring gap in acknowledgment and understanding of the plight faced by stateless nations was a pressing concern, exacerbated by the growing number of peoples without self-determination across Europe. As a result, the assembly at the conclusion of the meeting proposed the establishment of various chambers dedicated to addressing issues related to inclusion, participation, dialogue, languages, and regulations (CONSEU, n.d.). These proposed chambers aimed to facilitate the active involvement and recognition of stateless nations within the European Union.

The discussions in Cagliari underscored the urgent need for meaningful engagement and



dialogue between states and stateless nations. Participants recognized that without proper mechanisms in place to address the concerns of stateless nations, the gap between established states and marginalized communities would continue to widen. By advocating for the creation of specialized chambers within the EU framework, participants sought to address the systemic barriers that hindered the participation and recognition of stateless nations within European institutions.

The 2005 conference in Barcelona delved into the complex issue of immigration, which has long been a pressing concern for stateless nations (CONSEU, n.d.). Participants emphasized that immigration is not a new phenomenon but has been a persistent challenge throughout history, affecting stateless nations from their inception. However, they highlighted that in recent times, immigration has been exacerbated by three primary factors: economic inequalities, the overexploitation of resources in immigrants' countries of origin, and globalization and information.

Participants underscored that immigrants often face significant obstacles in their new territories, including a lack of cooperation for economic and social development that would enable them to lead decent lives. Despite being a universal process that anyone can undergo, immigrants often encounter difficulties in integrating into their new societies due to a lack of assistance in navigating administrative procedures and accessing essential services.

In response to these challenges, CONSEU demanded that universal human rights, including the right to nationality and the ability to change it freely, be respected and upheld. This right is particularly relevant for immigrants seeking recognition and support in their new communities. Participants stressed the importance of activating regular channels that would enable immigrants to access the benefits associated with their right to nationality, thus facilitating their integration and inclusion in society.

The discussions in Barcelona highlighted the need for a more humane and rights-based approach to immigration, one that recognizes the inherent dignity and worth of every



individual. By advocating for the implementation of universal human rights and the activation of regular channels for immigrants, CONSEU sought to address the systemic barriers that hindered the integration and well-being of immigrants within stateless nations and broader society.

The year 2007 witnessed a call for reform within international institutions, driven by the recognition of their stagnation in addressing the needs of stateless nations. Despite the dynamic nature of the international system, these organizations have remained static in their solutions and courses of action, failing to effectively address the concerns of stateless nations. This stagnation was attributed to the exclusionary nature of these institutions, which only allowed states to participate, thereby excluding other relevant actors that played significant roles in historical development, such as minorities and peoples involved in the stateless nations issue.

In response to these shortcomings, CONSEU underwent a significant transformation in 2007, positioning itself as a space where the voices of representatives from minorities and peoples of different nations could be heard. This shift aimed to provide a platform for each stakeholder involved in stateless nations to express their concerns and perspectives. Through reforms, CONSEU sought to hold international organizations accountable for fulfilling their duties regarding human rights, thereby strengthening multilateral dialogue and international cooperation.

By advocating for the inclusion of diverse voices in international decision-making processes, CONSEU aimed to address the economic, social, cultural, and humanitarian challenges facing stateless nations. The reforms proposed by CONSEU were intended to open pathways for collaborative solutions to these pressing issues, emphasizing the importance of solidarity, cooperation, and mutual respect among all actors involved.



COMPETENCE OF THE COMMITTEE

Knowing the trajectory of the Conference of Stateless Nations of Western Europe, it has the following faculties (CONSEU, n.d.):

- Promotion and Enforcement of Human Rights: CONSEU takes a proactive stance in promoting human rights within stateless nations and ensuring their enforcement. This involves not only advocating for the recognition of fundamental rights and freedoms, but also actively working towards their implementation and protection. Through campaigns, advocacy efforts, and engagement with international bodies, CONSEU seeks to raise awareness of human rights issues and hold stateless nations accountable for upholding these principles.
- Creation of Oversight Mechanisms: Recognizing the importance of monitoring the fulfillment of rights within stateless nations, CONSEU establishes specialized organisms and mechanisms dedicated to oversight. These bodies are tasked with monitoring human rights conditions, investigating abuses, and providing support and protection to vulnerable populations within stateless nations. By creating robust oversight mechanisms, CONSEU aims to ensure that the rights of all individuals, regardless of their citizenship status, are respected and upheld.
- Listening and Addressing Needs: Central to CONSEU's mission is its commitment to listening to and addressing the needs of stateless nations and their citizens. Through its meetings and conferences, CONSEU provides a platform for people and political parties to voice their concerns, share experiences, and propose solutions to the challenges they face. These gatherings serve as important forums for dialogue and collaboration, enabling CONSEU to develop targeted measures and policies that respond to the diverse needs of stateless nations.



- Organization of Meetings: CONSEU plays a key role in organizing regular meetings and conferences where stateless nations can come together to discuss common issues, share best practices, and coordinate their efforts. These gatherings serve as focal points for networking, information exchange, and strategic planning, helping to strengthen the cohesion and effectiveness of the stateless nation's movement. By organizing these events, CONSEU contributes to the consolidation of a unified voice for stateless nations on the international stage.
- Communication Bridge: As a bridge between stateless nations and other stakeholders, CONSEU facilitates communication and engagement between different actors involved in the stateless nations issue. This includes fostering dialogue between stateless nations and the states in which they reside, as well as engaging with regional and international organizations, such as the European Union. By promoting dialogue and understanding, CONSEU seeks to build constructive relationships and advance the interests of stateless nations within the broader political context.
- Establishment of Communication Spaces: CONSEU prioritizes the establishment of inclusive and accessible communication spaces where all stakeholders, including stateless nations and other actors, can participate and contribute. These spaces are designed to recognize the diversity of perspectives and experiences within the stateless nations movement and ensure that all voices are heard and valued. By creating opportunities for meaningful engagement and collaboration, CONSEU strengthens its capacity to develop informed and inclusive policies and initiatives that reflect the needs and aspirations of stateless nations.
- Capacity Building: CONSEU is committed to enhancing the capacity and resilience of stateless nations and their communities. This includes providing training, resources, and



support to strengthen the organizational and advocacy skills of stateless nations. By building capacity at the grassroots level, CONSEU empowers stateless nations to effectively engage in dialogue, decision-making, and advocacy processes.

- Research and Analysis: CONSEU conducts research and analysis on issues relevant to stateless nations, including human rights violations, legal frameworks, socio-economic conditions, and political developments. Through rigorous research and evidence-based analysis, CONSEU generates insights and recommendations to inform policymaking, advocacy campaigns, and strategic interventions on behalf of stateless nations.
- Legal Assistance: Recognizing the legal challenges faced by stateless nations, CONSEU provides legal assistance and support to individuals and communities seeking to assert their rights and address injustices. This may involve legal representation in cases of discrimination, persecution, or denial of citizenship, as well as advocacy for legal reforms to strengthen the legal status and protections of stateless populations.
- Public Awareness and Education: CONSEU undertakes public awareness and education campaigns to raise awareness about the rights, struggles, and contributions of stateless nations. Through outreach activities, media campaigns, and educational initiatives, CONSEU seeks to combat stigma, prejudice, and misinformation surrounding statelessness, fostering greater understanding and support for stateless communities.
- International Advocacy: CONSEU engages in international advocacy efforts to promote the rights and interests of stateless nations on the global stage. This may involve lobbying governments, participating in international forums and conferences, and collaborating with other civil society organizations and human rights defenders. By amplifying the voices of stateless nations and advocating for their rights at the international level, CONSEU seeks to mobilize support and solidarity from the international community.



- Policy Development: CONSEU contributes to the development of policies and strategies aimed at addressing the root causes of statelessness and promoting durable solutions for affected populations. This may include advocating for legal reforms, policy changes, and international agreements to prevent and reduce statelessness, as well as supporting initiatives to facilitate the acquisition of nationality and legal recognition for stateless individuals and communities.
- Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding: CONSEU plays a role in conflict resolution and peacebuilding efforts within stateless nations and their regions. By promoting dialogue, reconciliation, and peaceful coexistence among diverse communities, CONSEU contributes to the prevention and resolution of conflicts that may exacerbate statelessness and undermine the rights and well-being of affected populations.



ABOUT THE TOPIC

Mechanisms for institutionalization and democratic transition that guarantee human rights in the territories of Stateless Nations

The stateless countries of Western Europe have achieved political stability through various means, institutional, democratic, territorial management, territorial unity, and, above all, having the state capacity to be guarantors of human rights. These countries have achieved this stability through:

Democracy as a system of government: it provides political stability due to several factors that relate to the participatory and representative nature of this political regime. Below are some of the key reasons that contribute to this stability:

- Citizen participation: democracy is based on the active participation of citizens in the political process, either through elections, referendums, or through the representation of political parties. This participation allows citizens to have a voice in decision-making and to feel involved in the destiny of their country, which can generate a sense of belonging and commitment to the political system (Rosales & Bolaños, 2012).
- Separation of powers: modern democracy is characterized by the separation of powers between the executive, legislative and judicial. This separation prevents the concentration of power in a single person or group, which reduces the risk of abuse of authority and ensures that decisions are made in a more balanced and fair manner (Sistema Político Mixto: Tránsito A la Gobernabilidad. Colección INAP, s. f.).
- Control and balance: democracy establishes mechanisms of control and balance between the different powers of the State, which prevents any of them from becoming too powerful. This is achieved through institutions such as parliament, which can make the cabinet or president resign, and the judiciary, which can review executive and legislative decisions (Sistema Político Mixto: Tránsito A la Gobernabilidad. Colección INAP, s. f.).



- Representation and delegation of power: in a democracy, power is delegated to elected representatives of the people. This allows citizens to have a voice in government without having to participate directly in all decisions. Representatives, in turn, are held accountable to their constituents, which motivates them to act in the interests of the people (Rosales & Bolaños, 2012).
- Protection of rights: democracy is based on the protection of the fundamental rights of citizens, such as freedom of expression, association, and vote. This ensures that citizens have the opportunity to participate in the political process without fear of reprisals and that their rights are respected (Rosales & Bolaños, 2012).
- Flexibility and adaptability: democracy is a political system that can adapt to the changing needs of a society. Allows for revision of laws and public policies as needed, which helps maintain political stability by responding to the demands and needs of the population (Rosales & Bolaños, 2012).
- Legitimacy and acceptance: democracy is based on the legitimacy that arises from the popular election of representatives and leaders. This generates widespread acceptance of the political system and its institutions, contributing to political stability by reducing the possibility of conflict and destabilization (Rosales & Bolaños, 2012).

Governance mechanisms: the main mechanisms for citizen participation in democracy (Del Valle del Cauca, n.d.) are:

- Vote: it is the mechanism through which the people exercise the right to vote
- Referendum: the call to the people to approve or reject a draft legal norm or repeal an existing norm
- Plebiscite: it is the pronouncement of the people summoned by the President of the Republic, by which he supports or rejects a certain decision of the Executive
- Popular Consultation: it is the institution through which a general question on a matter of national, departmental, municipal, district or local significance is submitted for consideration by the people for their opinion



- Open Chapter: a public meeting of district, municipal, or local administrative councils, in which residents can participate directly to discuss issues of community interest
- Recall: it is a political right by which citizens terminate the mandate conferred on a governor or mayor
- Legislative Initiative: the right of a group of citizens to present draft legislative acts, laws, ordinances, or agreements to the respective public corporations for debate and approval

Institutionalization: provides political stability to the system by establishing clear and lasting rules governing the interaction between the organs of the executive, legislative and judicial branches. The following are the reasons why institutionalization contributes to political stability from the perspective of these bodies:

• Bodies of power:

- Executive power: The institutionalization of executive power implies the existence of clear rules and procedures that limit the arbitrary exercise of power by an individual or group. This ensures continuity and stability in government decision-making, avoiding abrupt changes that can generate political instability (ORCID, s. f.).
- Legislative power: The institutionalization of the legislative power refers to the existence of a solid legal framework that regulates the functioning of the parliament and the legislative process. This ensures transparency, accountability, and representativeness in law making, promoting stability by avoiding unilateral or arbitrary decisions (Inter-American Development Bank, s. f.).
- o Judicial power: The institutionalization of the judiciary implies the independence and impartiality of this body in the interpretation and application of the law. An institutionalized judicial system ensures the protection of individual rights, accountability, and stability by acting as a counterweight to other powers, ensuring that the limits of power are respected and that legality is respected (Daniela, n.d.).

Guarantee human rights: The protection of human rights is fundamental to the dignity and equality of all people, regardless of their political status. This implies that human rights must



be guaranteed even in contexts of crisis and conflict, where they may be at risk. Addressing and preventing the causes and effects of human rights violations is key to promoting peace, justice and inclusive governance in contexts of crisis and fragility.

This benefits all groups, including those seeking greater autonomy. This, for marginalized groups, is justified on the basis of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which establishes that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights, without any distinction. This implies that human rights must be respected regardless of the political status of a territory or population.

The Declaration on the Human Rights of Individuals Who Are Not Nationals of the Country in which They Live provides that foreigners legally residing in a State should enjoy the same human rights as nationals. This protects populations living in territories not recognized as States.

Guaranteeing human rights, including the right to self-determination of peoples, creates the conditions for groups seeking greater autonomy to advance their demands in a peaceful and legitimate manner.

Territorial planning: establishes the planning and organization of the territory, which is fundamental for the creation of efficient and effective governmental structures in areas that seek independence. Within these structures, balanced socio-economic development is facilitated, which can strengthen the economic and social base of territories in the process of independence, facilitating their viability as autonomous governments.

It also promotes citizen participation in planning and decision-making on the use of territory, which can empower the local population in the construction of its identity and in the search for autonomy. This implies the sustainable management of natural resources and the protection of the environment, crucial aspects for the viability and sustainable development of territories in the process of independence.



Territorial planning defines the geographical boundaries and competences of local authorities, which is essential for the delimitation of responsibilities and the autonomy of a forming government.

It is these mechanisms that have brought stability to different regions of the world and have generally allowed individual stateless countries to approach the parameters of international law for recognition and autonomy as States. Democracy is not the only type of political regime that applies, there are many more that can be functional according to the type of social, political, cultural and economic context. However, for this topic democracy is worked by the case study that will be presented below.



CASE OF STUDY

Basque Country, example of nationalism and terrorism to the transition

In contemporary Europe, several nation-states exist without statehood. Throughout their history, these nations have found themselves embroiled in situations where they were annexed by other dominant states. For instance, in Spain, one encounters the case of Catalonia or the Basque Country, while in territories such as the United Kingdom, issues pertaining to the Gaelic, Irish, and Scottish communities, among others, arise. These are just a couple of illustrative examples that underscore a broader reality across Western Europe, where numerous territories grapple with similar challenges regarding their autonomy and political recognition.

Nevertheless, within the list of territories lacking their own state, significant variability is observed in the levels of autonomy and freedoms achieved. A standout case is that of the Basque Country, which distinguishes itself in the Spanish context by having attained a notable breadth of concessions in terms of autonomy and recognition, a situation that can also be paralleled with the experience of Catalonia. However, it is important to note that this evolution towards greater autonomy and recognition has been marked by a tumultuous past, characterized by episodes of violence and political constraints. It is necessary to contextualize this quest for autonomy within a complex historical backdrop, where political and cultural tensions have played a central role in shaping the relationships between the territories and the central state.

In contemporary times, the Basque Country has transitioned away from the era of violence and terrorism. Nonetheless, the echoes of this turbulent past persist, shaping the political landscape of the region to this day. Despite the significant strides made in granting the Basque territory substantial freedoms and recognitions, the sentiment of Basque nationalism continues to drive aspirations for further acknowledgment, expanded liberties, and, to a certain extent,



referendum pursuit of for the a independence within the Basque territory. This multifaceted desire underscores a persistent tension with the Spanish central which staunchly government, opposes granting such recognition and independence to a constituent territory. This dynamic encapsulates a broader narrative of regional autonomy struggles within the framework of national unity, highlighting the complex interplay between regional identity, political sovereignty, and centralized governance.





Source: elpais.com

Within this committee, it is anticipated that delegates will delve into an in-depth analysis and discussion regarding multiple solutions to address the aspirations and demands for freedom expressed by Basque nationalists. This forum is conceived as a platform where the complexities of this issue will be thoroughly explored, and innovative approaches sought that may serve as a model not only for the Basque Country but also for other territories in Western Europe facing similar challenges in terms of autonomy and political-cultural recognition. The aim is for this discourse to generate a comprehensive and applicable roadmap that transcends the borders of the Basque Country, offering pertinent insights for managing cultural and political diversity throughout the region.

INTRODUCTION

The Basque Country has successfully navigated away from the shadow of terrorism for several years now; nonetheless, its legacy continues to cast a long shadow over the political landscape of this autonomous region within Spain. Despite the milestone agreements and the signing of peace accords, there remains a palpable apprehension that terrorist activities could resurface if certain liberties within this autonomous territory are curtailed. Moreover, there is a looming concern that should the demands of Basque nationalists escalate to an untenable degree, they



might reconsider resorting to violence as a means to achieve their objectives. This enduring specter underscores the importance of ongoing vigilance and proactive measures to safeguard against the resurgence of such destabilizing forces, while simultaneously addressing the legitimate grievances and aspirations of all stakeholders involved.

In contemporary times, a multitude of nationalist factions within the Basque Country are actively advocating for enhanced assurances, freedoms, and recognition from the Spanish central government. This movement reflects a deep-seated desire among Basque nationalists to assert their cultural and political identity within the framework of the Spanish state. However, despite these aspirations, the Spanish central government has maintained a firm stance, delineating clear boundaries regarding the extent of recognition and freedoms granted to the Basque region. This approach is not only aimed at addressing the immediate concerns of Basque nationalists but also serves as a preventive measure to forestall the emergence of situations akin to those experienced in Catalonia in recent years. By setting such parameters, the central government seeks to maintain stability and uphold the integrity of the Spanish state while simultaneously navigating the complexities of regional autonomy and identity within a broader national context.

Amidst the prevailing tension between the central government and Basque nationalists, the establishment of this committee emerges as a pivotal initiative. Its primary objective is to convene representatives from stateless nations, with the aim of fostering a comprehensive dialogue on potential avenues for addressing the demands articulated by Basque nationalists. The overarching goal is to forge solutions that strike a delicate balance between these demands and the constraints imposed by the Spanish central government.

This committee aspires to transcend immediate concerns, envisioning its role as not merely averting future conflicts or terrorist activities within the Basque territory, but also proactively addressing existing challenges. It endeavors to lay the groundwork for a sustainable and inclusive resolution, one that reflects a nuanced understanding of the complex dynamics at play



Furthermore, the committee envisions itself as a catalyst for broader regional stability and cohesion. It seeks to chart a clear and pragmatic path forward, not only for the Basque Country, but also for other stateless nations across Western Europe grappling with analogous predicaments. Delegates are expected to articulate robust proposals tailored to the Basque situation, while also fostering discussions that explore the applicability of these solutions to other territories seeking similar assurances, freedoms, and recognition within the European landscape.

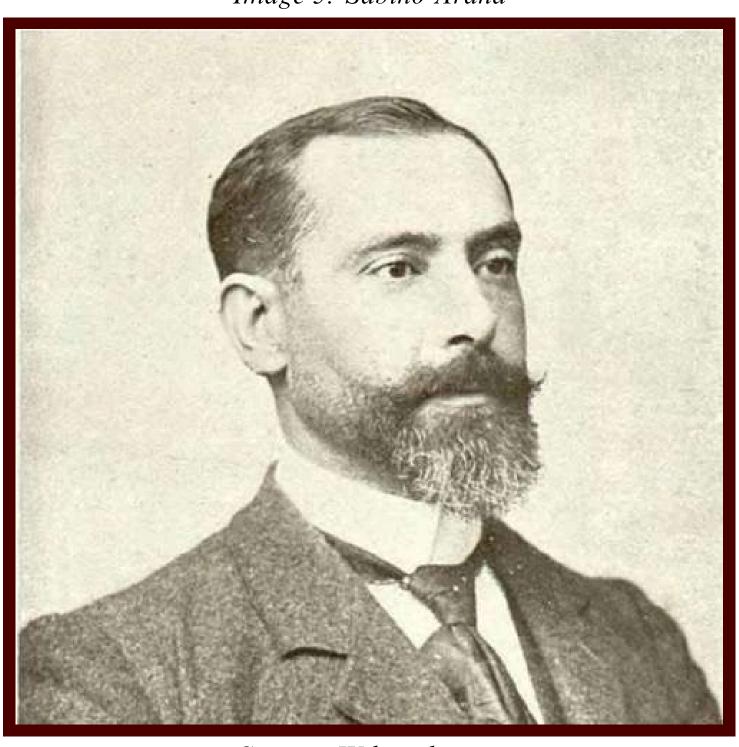
HISTORICAL CONTEXT

During the 19th century, Europe underwent a period of intense social and cultural changes, and the Basque Country was no exception. In this context, there was a resurgence of the Basque cultural identity, characterized by a renewed interest in preserving the Basque language (Euskara), history, and traditions.

Several key factors influenced this cultural resurgence. Firstly, the Romantic movement, which was flourishing across Europe during this time, extolled national identity, local culture, and folk traditions. This emphasis on the appreciation of local culture and national identity influenced the emergence of Basque nationalism.

Sabino Arana, regarded as the father of Basque nationalism, played a central role in cultural this awakening (NAZIONALISMOA — Auñamendi Eusko Entziklopedia, n. d.). Arana advocated for the preservation and promotion of Basque identity, including Euskara, which he considered a fundamental pillar of Basque identity. He founded the Basque Nationalist Party (PNV) in 1894, thus laying the groundwork for modern Basque nationalism.

Image 5: Sabino Arana



Source: Wikipedia.org



Alongside the renewed interest in the Basque language, there was also a revival of interest in Basque traditions and history. During this time, folk festivals were celebrated, popular songs were collected, and the ancestral customs of the Basque people were studied. This rediscovery of Basque cultural roots helped strengthen the sense of identity among the Basque population (NAZIONALISMOA — Auñamendi Eusko Entziklopedia, n. d.).

One of the core principles of the PNV was the pursuit of greater autonomy for the Basque Country within the Spanish state. Arana and his followers advocated for the recognition of Basque self-governance and the devolution of political power to Basque institutions. They sought to establish a political framework that would enable the Basque people to govern their own affairs and shape their own destiny.

At the heart of the PNV's platform was the preservation and promotion of Basque identity. Arana viewed the Basque language (Euskara) as a central element of Basque national identity and made its preservation a cornerstone of the party's agenda (NAZIONALISMOA — Auñamendi Eusko Entziklopedia, n. d.). The PNV championed the revitalization of Euskara and worked to promote its use in education, administration, and public life.

Furthermore, the PNV emphasized the importance of preserving Basque cultural traditions and heritage. The party sought to protect and promote Basque customs, folklore, and historical heritage as integral parts of the Basque national identity. In doing so, the PNV aimed to safeguard the unique cultural heritage of the Basque people from the forces of assimilation and homogenization.

The Spanish Civil War, which raged from 1936 to 1939, was a pivotal moment in the history of the Basque Country and its nationalist movement (Unzué et al., 1995). During this conflict, Basque nationalism played a significant role, both in terms of political leadership and military engagement. One of the most notable aspects of the Basque Country's involvement in the Spanish Civil War was the brief period of autonomy it experienced under the leadership of José Antonio Aguirre, who served as the lehendakari, or president, of the Basque government.



Following the outbreak of the war, the Basque Nationalist Party (PNV) declared its support for the Spanish Republic and sought to defend the autonomy and interests of the Basque Country within the context of the Republican government.

In October 1936, Aguirre proclaimed the Statute of Autonomy of the Basque Country, which established a self-governing Basque government with its capital in Bilbao (Unzué et al., 1995). This marked a achievement significant for Basque nationalism, as it granted the Basque Country a degree of political autonomy unprecedented in its history. Under Aguirre's leadership, the Basque government sought to implement social and economic reforms, promote Basque culture and



Image 6: José Antonio Aguirre

Source: Wikipedia.org

language, and defend the Basque Country's interests within the Republican cause.

However, the autonomy of the Basque Country was short-lived. In June 1937, the Basque Country came under attack from the forces of General Francisco Franco, who led the Nationalist faction in the Spanish Civil War (Unzué et al., 1995). The bombing of Guernica on April 26, 1937, by the German Luftwaffe in support of Franco's forces, became a symbol of the brutality of the conflict and the suffering endured by the Basque people.

Despite fierce resistance from Basque Republican forces, including the Basque Army and the Basque militias, the Basque Country ultimately fell to Franco's forces in June 1937. The fall of Bilbao marked the end of Basque autonomy and the imposition of Franco's authoritarian regime throughout Spain.



Image 7: Guernica by Pablo Picasso



Source: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía

The formation of ETA (Euskadi Ta Askatasuna) in 1959 marked a significant turning point in the history of Basque nationalism and the struggle for independence in the Basque Country and Navarre. ETA emerged as an armed separatist group, committed to achieving the independence of the Basque Country and Navarre from Spain and France (Bruni, 1993).

ETA's origins can be traced back to the dissatisfaction among a group of Basque nationalist students at the University of Deusto in Bilbao, who were disillusioned with the perceived lack of progress in the pursuit of Basque autonomy and the suppression of Basque cultural identity under the Franco regime. On July 31, 1959, ETA was formally established at a clandestine meeting in the town of León (Bruni, 1993).

From its inception, ETA adopted a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist ideology, viewing armed struggle as the means to achieve its goals of Basque independence and socialism (Bruni, 1993). The organization's name, Euskadi Ta Askatasuna, translates to "Basque Homeland and Freedom," reflecting its commitment to liberating the Basque people from what it saw as the oppression of Spanish and French colonialism.



ETA's campaign of armed struggle began in the early 1960s with acts of sabotage and violence targeting symbols of Spanish and French authority in the Basque Country and Navarre, including government buildings, police stations, and infrastructure (Bruni, 1993). Over the following decades, ETA carried out a series of bombings, assassinations, and kidnappings, inflicting casualties on both security forces and civilians, as well as causing significant damage to property and infrastructure.

The period of ETA's armed conflict, often referred to as the "Basque conflict," had profound consequences for the Basque Country and Navarre, as well as for Spain and France more broadly (Bruni, 1993). The violence and instability fueled by ETA's activities created a climate of fear and polarization, exacerbating tensions between Basque nationalists and Spanish/French authorities, as well as between Basque nationalist factions themselves.

Despite ETA's professed goals of Basque independence and socialism, its tactics and actions were controversial and divisive within Basque society. While some segments of the population supported ETA's struggle as a legitimate expression of Basque nationalism and resistance against oppression, others condemned its use of violence and terrorism as counterproductive and morally indefensible (Bruni, 1993).

The year 1978 marks a significant milestone in the history of the Basque Country with the approval of the Statute of Autonomy, a crucial moment reflecting Spain's transition to democracy following the death of Francisco Franco (Unzué et al., 1995). This statute represented a significant change in the political status of the Basque Country by granting it a considerable degree of self-government within the Spanish framework.

After Franco's death in 1975, Spain embarked on a process of political transition towards democracy. One of the main objectives of this transition was to address the autonomy demands of the regions within the country, including the Basque Country. In this context, negotiations took place between Basque political leaders and the central government to establish a statute



that would recognize and guarantee a greater degree of self-government for the Basque Country.

The Statute of Autonomy of the Basque Country, approved in 1978, established the legal basis for the political and administrative organization of the Basque Country within Spain (Unzué et al., 1995). The statute recognized the Basque national identity and the right to autonomy, as well as the preservation and promotion of Basque language and culture. Additionally, it established the self-government institutions of the Basque Country, such as the Basque Parliament and the Basque Government, with competencies in areas such as education, healthcare, culture, and fiscal policy.

One of the most notable features of the Statute of Autonomy of the Basque Country was the establishment of the Economic Agreement, which granted the Basque Country a wide degree of fiscal autonomy. This meant that the Basque Country had the ability to collect and manage its own taxes, as well as to manage its own budget, with a contribution to the central government for certain competencies.

The approval of the Statute of Autonomy of the Basque Country marked a significant step towards recognizing the identity and political aspirations of the Basque people within the Spanish democratic framework. However, the statute also generated debates and tensions in Basque society, especially regarding the scope and nature of self-government, as well as the issue of independence.

During the 1980s, a significant shift occurred within the Basque nationalist movement, marked by the consolidation of moderate Basque nationalism, primarily embodied by the Basque Nationalist Party (PNV). This period was characterized by the PNV's ascendancy as the dominant political force in the Basque Country and its advocacy for autonomy within Spain, contrasting sharply with the radical approach of the armed separatist group ETA (Bruni, 1993).



The PNV, founded in 1894 by Sabino Arana, had historically been committed to the preservation of Basque culture, language, and identity, as well as the pursuit of greater autonomy for the Basque Country. However, during the 1980s, the PNV emerged as the main political representative of moderate Basque nationalism, focusing on achieving these goals through peaceful and democratic means within the framework of the Spanish state.

One of the key factors contributing to the consolidation of moderate Basque nationalism was the transition to democracy in Spain following the death of Francisco Franco in 1975. With the establishment of democratic institutions and the adoption of a new constitution in 1978, opportunities for political participation and dialogue opened up for Basque nationalist parties like the PNV.

Unlike ETA, which resorted to violence and terrorism in pursuit of Basque independence, the PNV embraced a strategy of political engagement and negotiation (Bruni, 1993). The party participated actively in democratic elections, winning seats in the Basque Parliament and local councils, and engaging in dialogue with the Spanish government to advance the cause of Basque autonomy.

The PNV's moderate stance resonated with many Basque voters, who were disillusioned with ETA's violent tactics and sought a peaceful path towards autonomy and self-determination (Bruni, 1993). The party's emphasis on democracy, dialogue, and institutional politics helped it consolidate its support base and establish itself as the leading political force in the Basque Country.

Throughout the 1980s, the PNV played a central role in shaping the political landscape of the Basque Country and advocating for the interests of the Basque people within the Spanish state. Its commitment to autonomy within Spain provided a viable alternative to the radical separatism espoused by ETA, and its pragmatic approach contributed to the gradual normalization of politics in the region.



The Lizarra-Garazi Agreement, signed in 1998, stands as a pivotal moment in the history of the Basque Country, representing an ambitious attempt to broker peace and address the longstanding conflict in the region (Unzué et al., 1995). The agreement brought together various Basque political parties, including the Basque Nationalist Party (PNV) and the coalition left-wing pro-independence known as the abertzale left, in an effort to establish a pathway towards peace and reconciliation in the Basque Country and Navarre.

Image 8: The Lizarra-Garazi Agreements



Source: argia.eus

At its core, the Lizarra-Garazi Agreement aimed to address the root causes of the conflict in the Basque Country, including issues related to political representation, cultural identity, and the demand for self-determination. The agreement sought to create a framework for dialogue and negotiation between the Spanish government and Basque nationalist forces, with the goal of finding a peaceful and democratic resolution to the conflict.

One of the key components of the Lizarra-Garazi Agreement was its emphasis on inclusive dialogue and political participation. By bringing together a diverse array of Basque political parties, including those advocating for independence as well as those supporting autonomy within Spain, the agreement sought to foster a spirit of cooperation and consensus-building among different ideological factions within the Basque nationalist movement.

Additionally, the Lizarra-Garazi Agreement recognized the need for a comprehensive approach to peace-building, encompassing not only political negotiations but also efforts to address social and economic inequalities, promote human rights, and foster cultural understanding and reconciliation among Basque society.



Despite its ambitious goals and initial optimism, the Lizarra-Garazi Agreement ultimately fell short of achieving a lasting solution to the conflict in the Basque Country. While the agreement succeeded in opening up channels for dialogue and negotiation between the Spanish government and Basque nationalist forces, it faced significant challenges and obstacles along the way.

One of the main challenges to the implementation of the Lizarra-Garazi Agreement was the lack of consensus and trust among the parties involved, compounded by the continued violence perpetrated by ETA, which remained active despite the agreement. The persistence of ETA's terrorist activities undermined confidence in the peace process and complicated efforts to reach a negotiated settlement (Bruni, 1993).

Furthermore, the shifting political dynamics within Spain, including changes in government and shifts in public opinion, also had an impact on the implementation of the agreement. While some progress was made in terms of political dialogue and engagement, deep-seated divisions and unresolved grievances continued to hamper efforts to achieve a comprehensive and sustainable peace settlement.

The end of violence by the Basque separatist group ETA in 2011 marked a historic moment not only for the Basque Country but also for Spain as a whole. For decades, ETA's campaign of violence and terrorism had inflicted profound suffering on both its victims and society, shaping the political landscape of the Basque Country and leaving a legacy of division and mistrust.

AGUR ETA OHOREBORROKAN TINKO
IRABAZI ARTE

ATRONO, GAURNO HA
GUDARIEN

Image 9: Support banner for ETA

C III:1: 1:

Source: Wikipedia



ETA's announcement of a permanent ceasefire and definitive cessation of armed activity in 2011 was the culmination of a long and complex process that involved various factors and actors (RTVE.es, n. d.). The decision to abandon violence was the result of a combination of internal and external pressures, as well as shifts in the broader political context.

Internally, ETA had been significantly weakened by a sustained campaign of law enforcement operations and arrests targeting its leadership and infrastructure. The group faced mounting public condemnation and disillusionment, both within the Basque Country and internationally, as its violent tactics increasingly came to be seen as futile and counterproductive (RTVE.es, n. d.). Externally, ETA's decision to end violence was influenced by changes in the political landscape of Spain and the Basque Country (RTVE.es, n. d.). The transition to democracy in Spain, following the death of Francisco Franco in 1975, created new opportunities for political participation and dialogue, which gradually marginalized ETA and its radical agenda.

Moreover, the emergence of moderate Basque nationalism, represented by parties like the Basque Nationalist Party (PNV), provided a viable alternative to ETA's violent approach. The PNV's emphasis on peaceful and democratic means of achieving Basque autonomy resonated with many Basque voters, undercutting ETA's support base and isolating the group politically (RTVE.es, n. d.).

ETA's declaration of a permanent ceasefire in 2011 was met with cautious optimism and skepticism by both the Spanish government and Basque society (RTVE.es, n. d.). While it represented a significant step towards ending the cycle of violence, there were lingering doubts about ETA's sincerity and commitment to a peaceful resolution of the conflict.

In the years following ETA's ceasefire, efforts were made to consolidate the peace process and address the root causes of the conflict. This included initiatives aimed at promoting reconciliation, supporting victims of terrorism, and fostering dialogue and understanding among different sectors of Basque society.



CURRENT SITUATION OF BASQUE COUNTRY

Due to the different factors of the development of the Basque Country, its current policy is directed towards Basque nationalism. This political direction originates from the democratic transition, that is, process of change from a dictatorial regime to a democratic one, and for the case of the Basque Country The transition, as a process of change from a dictatorial regime to a democratic one, It affected Spain as a whole, but in the Basque Country it was experienced in a very special way since the transition was mainly conceived as a process of rupture with Franco. The consensual transition was not, therefore, a real transition. It was unfinished and has since been embedded in the political debate. In this way, the transition in the Basque Country is more than a historical issue that only historians are concerned with (Montero, 2005).

It should be noted that this nationalist position does not have a majority, there are both moderate and radical parts in the matter. However, there is a political faction that represents these nationalist interests; and it is the Basque Nationalist Party (PNV), which is characterized by its Basque nationalism and its objective of strengthening the Basque Country as a political entity. The PNV has shown a capacity for ideological adaptation, from pro-independence positions to autonomizes, always in defense of the interests of the Basque Country. Throughout its history, the PNV has advocated for the defense of the historical rights of the Basque people, reflected in the Constitution, and has sought autonomy and recognition of the Basque identity in the Spanish framework.

The party has actively participated in Basque politics, defending its positions both in the autonomous sphere and in the Congress of Deputies (together with the Senate it exercises the legislative power of the nation). The PNV has distinguished itself by its negotiating capacity and its relevance in Spanish politics, being a key actor in the search for agreements and political alliances. And among its principles stands out its defense of the historical rights of the foral territories, the promotion of Basque and Ikurriña, as well as for its commitment to democracy and political participation in a legal framework The party has demonstrated a firm position in defending its democratic principles, beyond party or electoral interests.



The Basque Country is configured, according to the Spanish territorial order, as an "Autonomous Community" within the Spanish State under the name of Euskadi or Basque Country, in accordance with the Constitution and the "Statute of Autonomy, the Basic Institutional Norm of the Basque Country" which is the basic institutional norm.

Thus begins the preliminary title of the Statute of Autonomy of the Basque Country (known as the Statute of Gernika) which was approved by Organic Law on 18 December 1979. According to this Organic Law, the Basque Autonomous Community is composed of the Historical Territories of Alava, Gipuzkoa and Bizkaia, while leaving open the possibility of incorporating Navarre if this territory so decides. Its own language, Basque, has official Spanish.

The institutional norm states that the powers of the Basque Country are exercised through its Parliament, the Government

(Bilbao)
Vizcaya
(San Sebastián)
Guipúzcoa

(Vitoria-Gasteiz)
Alava

Source: Red2000.com

Image 11: Municipalities of Basque Country



Source: Eke.eus

and its Lehendakari (president). The Basque Parliament, composed of an equal number of representatives of each Historical Territory (75, who are elected for a period of four years) is the institution exercising legislative power, promotes and controls the action of the Government and approves the budgets presented by the latter. The parliamentarians themselves elect the Lehendakari (which holds the highest representation of the Basque



Country and the ordinary representation of the State in this Community) from among the members of this collective of public representation who, in turn, appoints the advisers responsible for the various departments, thus forming the autonomous executive.

In addition, the Parliament is responsible for the appointment of Basque senators in the second Spanish Chamber, the Senate, in accordance with its own laws in which adequate representation is guaranteed. The Administration of Justice of the Basque Country is structured in accordance with the Organic Law of the Judicial Power and culminates in a High Court with jurisdiction throughout the territory of the Autonomous Community and before which successive procedural instances will be exhausted. Magistrates, judges, and secretaries are appointed in the manner provided for in the Organic Law of the Judiciary and its General Council, and knowledge of Basque Foral Law and the Euskera is a priority merit.

As a significant element, the Gernika Statute states that for the proper exercise and financing of its competences, the Basque Country will have its own Treasury. The tax relations between the State and the Basque Country are regulated by the traditional foral system of Economic Concert, in accordance with the competences of the institutions of the Historical Territories to maintain, establish and regulate the tax system according to the general tax structure of the State, the rules of the Economic Agreement and those dictated by Parliament. It is also established that the contribution of the Basque Country to the Spanish State consists of a quota or economic contribution to the burdens of the State not assumed by the Autonomous Community.

The Statute defines all the competences of the Basque Country, both those that are exclusive to it and those pertaining to the implementation of the basic legislation of the State. In addition, the exclusive powers of the exclusive regimes of each of the Historical Territories are recorded.

However, even though they are expressly stated in the Statute, a good number of competences remain to be transferred to the Basque Administration. This is the case of INEM, the



management of ports and the three airports of the Autonomous Community, or the organization and operation of prisons (Vasco, n.d.).

All of the above is the political and administrative system of the Basque Country, also known as the Basque Country, which operates (according to the Gernika Statute) as follows:

Autonomous Government:

The main characteristic of the Basque Country is that it is recognized as an Autonomous Community, so it exercises a political institution of self-government. It is this high degree of autonomy within the Spanish State that allows the Basque Country to have competences in key areas such as education, health, security, and taxation.

- Education: Law 17/2023 on education in the Basque Country promotes the use of Basque among teachers and provides support to groups at risk of exclusion. The Basque education system covers general and special education, with different types of educational institutions according to their ownership and funding (Legal, 2024).
- Health: The health system in the Basque Country is managed by Osakidetza Basque Health Service, which is universal and free. Important general hospitals stand out in each province of the Basque Country
- Security: The Ertzaintza is the autonomous police of the Basque Country, created in 1982 in development of the Gernika Statute, with the aim of guaranteeing security in the region. It is a police force with competences in citizen security, traffic, environmental protection, among other areas. Ertzaintza is recognized for its work in the prevention and fight against crime, as well as for its presence in emergency and disaster situations. In addition, the Ertzaintza plays a fundamental role in protecting the rights and security of citizens of the Basque Country (Home Ertzaintza Segurtasun Saila Eusko Jaurlaritza, n.d.).



• **Taxation:** The Basque Government coordinates educational actions to raise tax awareness and address tax issues from an ethical and citizen perspective. Civic-tax education is promoted in schools as part of the Joint Plan to Combat Tax Fraud (Vasco, n.d.).

Basque Parliament:

The Basque Parliament is the supreme body of popular representation of the Basque Country, composed of 75 parliamentarians representing the citizens of the three historical territories that make up the autonomous community of the Basque Country: Álava, Guipuzcoa and Vizcaya. Its main functions include:

- Exercise legislative power.
- Approve the Budgets.
- Control the action of the Government.
- Ensure standardized use of both official languages.
- Arbitrate and regulate the measures and means necessary to ensure the knowledge and use of both languages.
- To make available to local parliamentary groups and material and personal resources for the exercise of their functions and shall allocate to them, from their budget, an identical fixed subsidy for each group and a variable one depending on the number of parliamentarians and members of parliament in each group.

The Basque Parliament exercises legislative power and has the capacity to appoint the senators representing the Basque Country, request draft laws from the State Government, submit legislative proposals to Congress and submit constitutional appeals. Members of Parliament have the ability to ask questions, propose motions, and raise issues both in plenary and committees, where they operate. The call for elections to the Basque Parliament is made by decree of the Lehendakari, and voting takes place on the fifty-fourth day since the publication of the call. During the electoral campaign, the use of free spaces in the public media is



Institutional organization:

In the Basque Country, powers are exercised through the Basque Parliament, the Basque Government and the Lehendakaritza or Presidency. The Parliament exercises legislative power and controls the action of the Government, while the Basque Government has executive and administrative functions, answerable to Parliament through the Lehendakari. The Autonomous Community of the Basque Country has exclusive competence in various areas, such as the organization, regime, and operation of its institutions of self-government, economic activity planning, internal electoral legislation, the local regime, the preservation of Foral and special civil law, among other aspects.

•

With regard to the planning of economic activity, the Basque Government is responsible for drawing up general economic policy guidelines and for monitoring and analyzing the economic and financial activity of the Basque Public Sector. It highlights the Economic Concert, which allows applying its own fiscal policy in the Basque Country, providing competitive advantages.

.

The Autonomous Community of the Basque Country is responsible for regulating the local system and the Staff Regulations of the Basque Country and its local administration. It is also responsible for the conservation, modification, and development of the Foral and Special Civil Law of the Historical Territories that make up the Basque Country.

For its proper self-government, the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country has defined an Administrative Structure, in which different Autonomous Bodies and Public Entities participate, and which is organized in the following Departments:

• Public Administration and Justice: Among its functions are the organization and coordination of the Basque Public Administrations, work in which the Basque Institute of Public Administration — IVAP collaborates, the legal defense of the Statute of Autonomy and Basque Government, as well as ensuring the exercise of the rights granted to citizens.



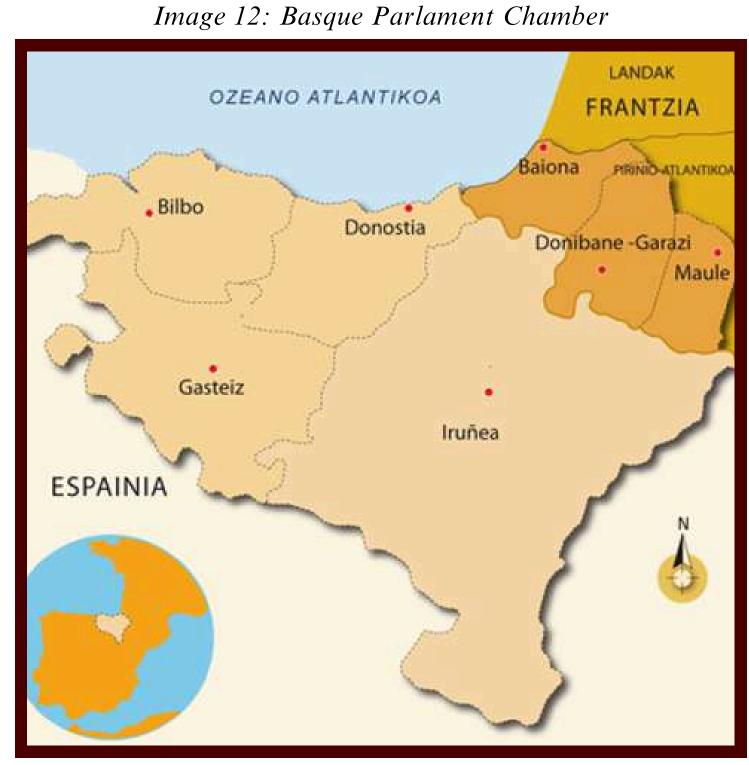
- Economic Development and Competitiveness: Its main mission is to stimulate economic growth in the Basque Country. To this end, this department implements different strategic plans aimed at strengthening the Basque business fabric and its internationalization and promoting entrepreneurship and innovation in search of a competitive production system. The Basque Energy Agency (EVE) or the Basque Agency for Business Development (SPRI) are some of the agencies that help in this area.
- Employment and Social Policies: It is responsible for the implementation of labor legislation, as well as the development of employment and vocational training policies, in collaboration with bodies such as Lanbide-Basque Employment Service. It also has competence in the areas of social economy, housing, social services, work and family reconciliation, childhood, volunteering, etc.
- Treasury and Finance: Its work focuses on developing the general economic policy guidelines of the Basque Government. It is also responsible for the monitoring and analysis of the economic and financial activity of the whole Basque Public Sector, Public Administrations and Public Business Sector. Here it is worth highlighting a characteristic of the economic and fiscal system of the Basque Country, the so-called Economic Concert, which allows applying a fiscal policy that provides competitive advantages.
- Education, Language Policy and Culture: This department is responsible for all stages of education and has the task of seeking excellence at all levels, especially in higher education (UNIBASQ) and vocational training (TKNIKA). It also undertakes the task of promoting scientific research, the promotion of the Basque language, Basque (HABE, Etxepare Euskal Institutua), the management and protection of the historic artistic heritage or the dissemination of artistic, cultural and sporting activities, among others.
- Security: Its main areas of action are limited to the security of people and property, the coordination of local police, the Basque police (Ertzaintza), civil protection and emergencies, traffic and road safety, as well as controlling gambling and entertainment and recreational activities.



- **Health:** It is responsible for establishing and implementing the strategic lines of social and health care, whose main objective is to "preserve the Basque Health System (Osakidetza) as a public, universal, and quality" (Strategic Lines of the Health Department 2013-2016).
- Environment and Territorial Policy: It is responsible for spatial planning, coastal and natural resources, nature conservation, land, sea, river and cable transport, among other areas of action. The Public Society of Environmental Management (IHOBE, the Basque Water Agency/Uraren Euskal Agentzia, the Basque Society Kirol Portuao the Basque Railway Network) Euskal Trenbide Sarea are some of the agencies that are attached to this department.

STANCE TOWARDS THE CENTRAL SPANISH GOVERNMENT

So, if the transition of the Basque Country from terrorism has changed and nationalism to the implementation of mechanisms of institutionalization and democratic transition that guarantee human rights, why is it not an independent country? First, the issue of independence has lost relevance in the political and social agenda of the region, with a decrease in independence sentiment among the electoral base of parties such as the PNV and EH Bildu. In addition, the issue of independence has ceased to be central in the



Source: media.eitb.eus

political conversation, reflecting a tendency contrary to the search for independence by the Basque population. Secondly, it should be noted that the Basque Country enjoys a high degree of autonomy in its relations with the Spanish central government, exercising its powers through its own institutions of self-government and a system of economic cooperation that grants it a differentiated tax regime. These factors contribute to the fact that independence is not a priority in the current political agenda of the Basque Country (Conde, 2024).



The independence arguments of the Basque Country focus on identity, cultural and economic arguments are the main ones used by the Basque independence movements, although its real support among the citizenry seems to have diminished in recent times compared to Catalonia. The arguments of the Basque Nationalist Party focus on:

- Spain is a plurinational state, so the Basque Country should have the right to self-determination (Evaluating the Arguments of Independentistas. . ., n.d.).
- Basque nationalist sentiment is based on its own language, culture and traditions, which the nationalist parties masterfully manage to wrap their desire for secession (Redondo, 2012).
- The Economic Concert and the differentiated tax system of the Basque Country are key arguments to justify independence, promising that alone there will be more money for all (Redondo, 2012).
- Most Basques who feel only Basques or more Basques than Spaniards are in favor of independence, although this support has diminished in recent years (Alkorta & Leonisio, 2024).
- Support for independence parties such as the PNV and Bildu in the Basque elections does not necessarily translate into majority support for independence among the population (Alkorta & Leonisio, 2024).

The position of the Spanish government on these issues of autonomy of other regions of the country is characterized by recognizing and respecting the territorial diversity and autonomy of the autonomous communities. Spain recognizes that it is a plurinational State with a multi-level system of government, where the regions have a high degree of autonomy in areas such as taxation, administration, and decision-making (already discussed above). Despite regional differences and internal nationalism, the Spanish government has promoted a decentralized model that has allowed the development of autonomous communities and the recognition of their identities. Decentralization in Spain has generated mechanisms of collaboration and inter-institutional connection between the different levels of government, although the degree



of legitimacy and agreement of society with this autonomous configuration can vary between regions.

RELEVANT ACTORS

Scotland (United Kingdom): as part of the United Kingdom, it has a decentralized system of government that combines elements of a constitutional monarchy and a parliamentary democracy. Although the United Kingdom is a unitary state, Scotland enjoys limited self-government, with its own parliament and government having competence in specific areas.

The type of government in Scotland is based on a constitutional monarchy, where the British monarch (now Charles III) is the head of state but does not make political decisions. Executive power is vested in the Scottish Government, led by a Prime Minister, who is the head of government and is normally the leader of the party that obtains the majority of votes in the Scottish Parliament.

The Scottish Parliament, based in Edinburgh, is responsible for most aspects of Scottish life, while the UK Parliament in London is responsible for areas such as defense, foreign affairs and taxation. The Scottish Parliament passes laws on transferred matters and controls the work of the Scottish Government, similar to the relationship between the British Government and the British Parliament of Westminster.

Members of the Scottish Government are elected from the party or parties with the highest number of seats in Parliament, and the Prime Minister appoints a team of ministers and decides on their responsibilities. Scotland's relevance to the issue of institutionalization and democratic transition mechanisms to guarantee human rights in territories of stateless nations lies in its experience in managing internal conflicts and finding political solutions inclusive. Scottish policy is a distinctive part of the United Kingdom's broad policy, and its relationship with the British central government is an example of how mechanisms of institutionalization and democratic transition can help ensure human rights in territories with aspirations for independence.



In addition, Scotland has adopted a broader approach to international affairs, with a network of offices called Scotland House in several cities around the world, bringing together business, educational and cultural development initiatives under one roof. This demonstrates Scotland's ability to operate more openly with international partners in many areas, even though matters of pure "foreign policy" are reserved for Westminster.

Scotland is a relevant example of how a territory aspiring to independence can function within a unitary state, with a decentralized system of government combining elements of a constitutional monarchy and a parliamentary democracy. Its experience in managing internal conflicts and seeking inclusive political solutions, as well as its broader approach to international affairs, make it an interesting case study to understand how mechanisms of institutionalization and democratic transition can contribute to guaranteeing human rights in territories of stateless nations.

Flanders (Belgium): as a region of Belgium, it has a decentralized political system within the federal structure of the country. In Belgium, executive power is exercised by the king and the federal government, where the king plays a symbolic and diplomatic role, while the prime minister is responsible for forming coalitions to govern. Flanders, together with Wallonia and Brussels-Capital, constitute the three regions of Belgium, each with specific competences and responsibilities in different fields.

The relevance of Flanders in the context of the institutionalization and democratic transition to guarantee human rights in territories of stateless nations lies in its experience as a region with aspirations for autonomy and in its participation in international agreements, such as the recent agreement with the International Labor Organization (ILO), which demonstrates its commitment to international cooperation and the strengthening of labor policies.

Its decentralized political structure, its participation in international agreements and its role in the management of labor and social policies, aspects that can provide valuable lessons for the institutionalization and democratic transition in territories of stateless nations, such as the



Basque Country and other countries mentioned in the list.

Corsica (France): a French island, has undergone a significant process of political autonomy in recent years. With the victory of the autonomic and independence parties in the regional elections, the search for greater autonomy for the region has been encouraged, stressing the importance of preserving Corsican cultural identity and addressing issues such as Corsican language and property speculation.

As for its type of government, Corsica has a regional assembly that is currently led by a majority of autonomic and independence parties. This assembly seeks greater autonomy for the region and aims to strengthen local cultural and economic aspects, such as the Corsican language and policies against real estate speculation.

Corsica's relevance in the issue of institutionalization and democratic transition to guarantee human rights in territories of stateless nations lies in its process of seeking autonomy within the French Republic. This case exemplifies how managing cultural and political diversity, as well as negotiating greater self-government, can be fundamental to political stability and respect for human rights in territories with aspirations for independence.

Sicily (Italy): is a region with a special status that grants it broad political, administrative and financial autonomy. Its legislative body is the Sicilian Regional Assembly, its executive body is headed by the president of the Sicilian Region and the Regional Council. This special statute, enacted in 1946, has given Sicily a sovereign entity linked to Italy by a pactual and potentially egalitarian relationship. Despite being part of Italy, Sicily is considered a primary source of law at the same level as the rest of the country, reflecting its political autonomy.

Sicily's relevance to the issue of institutionalization and democratic transition lies in its experience as a region with a special status that has managed its autonomy effectively. Sicily has been an example of how a region with its own identity can coexist within a larger country, maintaining its autonomy and actively participating in national politics. Its model of



government and its ability to maintain an institutional relationship with Italy, despite its particularities, are relevant examples for the study of mechanisms of institutionalization and democratic transition in territories with aspirations for independence or autonomy.

Faroe Islands (Denmark): The Faroese Constitution is based on the Danish Constitution of 1953, the Home Rule Act of 1948 and the Transfer Act of 2005. The Faroese government is headed by a Prime Minister, who is the head of the government, and a parliament of his own. The Prime Minister is responsible for appointing the cabinet, which is approved by parliament. The head of state is Queen Margaret II of Denmark, represented by a High Commissioner in the Faroe Islands.

The Faroe Islands have autonomous competences in a wide range of areas, including the conservation and management of marine living resources, environmental protection, subsurface resources, trade, taxation, labor relations, energy, transport, communications, social security, culture, education, and research.

Although Denmark is a member of the European Union, the Faroe Islands have chosen to remain outside the Union. Instead, they negotiate their own trade and fisheries agreements with the EU and other countries, and participate actively in international fisheries management organizations (About the Faroe Islands, n.d.).

The experience of the Faroe Islands is relevant to the democratic transition in territories with aspirations for independence due to its ability to combine autonomy with kingdom membership. Its model of self-government within a constitutional monarchy can serve as an example for other territories seeking greater autonomy without the need for total independence. Moreover, their ability to manage their own internal affairs and maintain autonomous international relations can inspire other territories in their quest for greater autonomy and participation in international decision-making.



Vojvodina (Serbia): Vojvodina has an autonomous status within Serbia, with its own regional government and parliament. This autonomy is recognized in the Serbian Constitution, which gives it competences in areas such as education, culture, media and economic development. The government of Vojvodina is headed by a President of the Regional Government, elected by the Provincial Parliament. The Parliament has 120 seats and is directly elected.

This self-government allows Vojvodina to have some degree of control over its internal affairs. This autonomy gives it competences in areas such as education, culture, media, economic development and social affairs, allowing it to manage key aspects of its administration and public policies internally.

In addition, the existence of the Ministry of Labor, Employment and Gender Equality within the Government of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina demonstrates its ability to address sensitive and locally relevant issues such as gender equality and employment. This internal governmental structure reflects Vojvodina's control and management of its internal affairs, enabling it to adapt policies and programs to the specific needs of its people.

Unlike the Basque Country, which has experienced episodes of violence and terrorism in its transition, Vojvodina has managed to manage its demands for autonomy peacefully and within the Serbian constitutional framework. This shows that it is possible to find institutional and democratic ways to guarantee the rights of national minorities without resorting to violence.

Vojvodina's experience shows that it is possible to combine autonomy with statehood, provided there are mechanisms for institutionalization and democratic transition that respect human rights and minority demands.

Lapland (Finland, Norway, Sweden, Russia): a geographical region covering parts of Finland, Norway, Sweden and Russia, has no unified government of its own. Instead, it is divided between the governments of the above-mentioned countries, each with its own political system.



- Finland: Finnish Lapland is an autonomous region with its own parliament, the Sámediggi, which represents the Sami population. Finland is a democratic republic with a parliamentary system. The Finnish government has worked to protect the rights of Sami indigenous peoples, including their language and culture
- Norway: The Norwegian part of Lapland does not have a special status of self-government.

 Norway is a constitutional monarchy with a parliamentary system. The Norwegian government has recognized the rights of the Sami and established the Norwegian Sami Parliament.
- Sweden: The Swedish region of Lapland lacks political autonomy. Sweden is a constitutional monarchy with a parliamentary system. The Swedish government has recognized the rights of the Sami and established the Swedish Sami Parliament.
- Russia: The Russian part of Lapland, known as Sápmi, has no special status of self-government. Russia is a federation with a presidential system. The Russian government has had a mixed record of recognizing the rights of indigenous peoples.

The Lapland experience shows how indigenous peoples can obtain a degree of autonomy within larger democratic states, through parliaments and other institutions, illustrates the challenges of ensuring human rights and the political participation of minorities in regions divided between several countries with different political systems. Stresses the importance of governments recognizing and protecting the rights of indigenous peoples, including their language, culture and traditional ways of life.

He stressed the need for countries to work together to address common challenges facing stateless nations and indigenous peoples, such as the preservation of cultural identity and sustainable development. The progress can be made in protecting the rights of stateless nations and indigenous peoples within democratic frameworks, but that significant challenges remain. This can offer useful lessons for the Basque Country and other territories in their transition to greater autonomy and political participation.



Åland Islands (Finland): is an autonomous archipelago in Finland, they have a self-government based on an autonomous status dating from 1921, when a dispute between Finland and Sweden over the islands was settled. This status gives them a high degree of autonomy in areas such as legislation, regional citizenship and international cooperation, despite being part of Finland.

The Åland Islands have an autonomous government with its own parliament and a Prime Minister. Regional citizenship is a prerequisite for land ownership and the right to vote in local elections. In addition, the Åland delegation acts as an intermediary between the central government and that of Åland, and has influence on international agreements.

The experience of the Åland Islands in managing their autonomy and preserving their cultural and linguistic identity, despite being part of Finland, is relevant to talk about mechanisms of institutionalization and democratic transition in territories of stateless nations. Its ability to manage its internal affairs, maintain its Swedish language as an official and participate in Nordic cooperation demonstrates how autonomy can guarantee human rights and political stability in territories with aspirations for independence.

Western Sahara: Western Sahara is a territory that faces a complex process of democratic transition and demands for self-determination. Western Sahara was a Spanish colony until 1975, when Spain withdrew without holding the promised self-determination referendum. Morocco then annexed the territory, starting a conflict with the Polisario Front, the Sahrawi independence movement.

Western Sahara was currently divided: one part was under Moroccan occupation, while the other was controlled by the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR), which was recognized as an African Union member State. However, Morocco has not allowed the referendum on self-determination to be held.

The SADR has a provisional government with a president, a prime minister and a parliament, but faces difficulties in consolidating democratic institutions due to territorial conflict. For its



part, Morocco had proposed an autonomy plan for Western Sahara, which had been rejected by the Frente Polisario for not including the option of independence

Like the Basque Country, Western Sahara is a territory with aspirations for self-determination that has faced conflicts and violence in its political transition. However, unlike the Basque Country, Western Sahara has failed to consolidate a process of democratic institutionalization that fully

Image 13: Greetings to the flag



Source: ecsaharaui.com

guarantees the human rights of its people. This highlights the importance of finding formulas for self-government and peaceful transition, such as those experienced by other stateless territories in Western Europe.

Kurdistan (Turkey, Syria, Iraq, Iran): Covering parts of Turkey, Syria, Iraq and Iran, Kurdistan is a stateless territory that has historically fought for its autonomy and recognition. His experience is relevant to analyze the mechanisms of institutionalization and democratic transition that guarantee human rights in territories of nations without a state, such as the Basque Country.

Kurdistan is a mountainous region of the Middle East that has been inhabited by the Kurdish people since the Middle Ages. After the fall of the Ottoman Empire after World War I, the Kurds sought to establish a state of their own, but their aspirations were frustrated by the Treaties of Sèvres and Lausanne, which divided the Kurdish territory between Turkey, Syria, Iraq, and Iran.

Throughout the 20th century, the Kurds in these countries have staged numerous rebellions and uprisings in search of greater autonomy, such as the Mahabad Republic in Iran in 1946 or



the open war of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) against Turkey since 1984. These conflicts have been marked by repression and violence by the central States.

Due to the lack of a unified Kurdish state, Kurdistan lacks a central government and its political organization varies in each country where the Kurdish population settles. In general, the Kurds have sought forms of self-government and autonomy within their host states, with mixed results. For example, in Iraq, after the fall of Saddam Hussein in 2003, the Kurdistan Autonomous Region was created, with its own government and parliament. However, in Turkey, Syria, and Iran, the Kurds' attempts to gain greater autonomy have been violently suppressed by the central states.

This experience contrasts with that of the Basque Country, where there was also a period of violence and terrorism, finally a democratic transition was achieved that allowed a greater degree of self-government within the Spanish State. This shows that it is possible to find formulas for institutionalization and democratic transition that respect human rights and the aspirations of stateless peoples for autonomy.

The struggle of the Kurdish people for their recognition and rights is an example of the challenges faced by stateless nations in their search for mechanisms for institutionalization and democratic transition. Their experience, together with that of the Basque Country, can provide valuable lessons to find inclusive and peaceful political solutions in other similar contexts.

Abkhazia (Georgia): is a self-proclaimed republic located in northwestern Georgia, which has been in conflict with the Georgian central government since the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991. Its political status is complex and has been an obstacle to the democratic transition in the region.

Abkhazia has a presidential system with a president as head of state and government. Parliament, called the People's Assembly, is the legislative body. However, Abkhazia is not internationally recognized as an independent state, so its government lacks global legitimacy.



The human rights situation in Abkhazia has been problematic, with reports of ethnic discrimination against Georgians and other non-abkhaz groups. The armed conflict between Abkhazia and Georgia in the 1990s caused forced displacement and rights violations.

Abkhazia depends economically and politically on Russia, which supports its de facto independence. Georgia considers Abkhazia an integral part of its territory and has tried to regain control over the region. This frozen conflict has prevented the development of strong democratic institutions in Abkhazia.

Unlike the Basque Country, which has achieved a degree of autonomy within Spain through peaceful means, Abkhazia has opted for the armed route in its conflict with Georgia. Both cases show the complexity of ethnic and territorial conflicts in Europe, but solutions must be based on dialogue, respect for human rights and the building of inclusive democratic institutions. Abkhazia illustrates the challenges facing the territories in conflict to achieve an effective democratic transition that guarantees the rights of all ethnic groups. The case of the Basque Country, with its own challenges but also advances in institutionalization, can offer some lessons on how to deal with these conflicts in a peaceful and human rights-friendly manner.



DOCUMENTS

The document will be the Act of the Conférence des Nations sans État d'Europe (CONSEU), it must have the predetermined format of a Draft Resolution, which includes: perambulator phrases and operative phrases. The number of Bloc Heads countries, perambulator phrases and operative phrases are available to the table, remembering first of all the minimum numbers established by the MUNUR Handbook 2024.

Delegates should illustrate in the document the ways in which Stateless Nations can establish mechanisms for institutionalization and democratic transition, that in turn guarantee human rights in the territories of the countries invited to the conference and that still do not enjoy state stability or are marked by violent conflicts.

It should be noted that this document must be as specific as possible, that is, if any financing mechanism is to be proposed, it must establish what it will be, how it will work, what percentages are involved, if there are currency changes and to whom this funding reaches. Delegates must be very specific with the information they are going to provide and with the parameters proposed to other states to achieve state stability.

The document may propose other regimes of government (apart from democracy) that are adapted to the economic, political, social and cultural context of the countries it seeks to guide, as long as it does not undermine the identity of the country or its purpose as a guest of the Conférence des Nations sans État d'Europe (CONSEU).



QARMAS

- How do you think States should perceive Stateless Nations?
- What special terms should Stateless Nations have for a healthier coexistence with the States in which they are located?
- What do you think is the greatest challenge that Stateless Nations must face so that their needs begin to be taken into account within an international system?
- How should the participation of Stateless Nations in Western European decision-making function?
- What kind of implications does the infringement of peoples' rights have for Stateless Nations, and what systems would you establish so that they begin to be respected immediately?
- Which international organization could be approached to establish support and achieve the objectives set out as a conference?
- What is the impact of the fact that Stateless Nations continue to be an issue that States do not take as a priority?
- What measures could be taken so that the States can reach a negotiation and recognize each of the Stateless Nations?
- What terms would you use so that the States begin to worry about the Stateless Nations, which points could be flexible and which others could not?
- What mechanisms and structure should the conference have in order to be as effective as possible?



GLOSSARY

Autonomy: The right or condition of self-government, especially in a particular sphere.

Central government: The primary governing body of a nation or state that holds authority over a centralized system.

Centralized bodies: Organizations or institutions that have a concentrated decision-making structure.

Democratization process: The transition of a government or organization towards a more democratic system.

Democratic restoration: The reestablishment or strengthening of democratic principles and practices in a society or government.

Democratic transition: The process of moving from an authoritarian regime to a democratic form of government.

Democracy: A system of government where power is vested in the people, who rule either directly or through elected representatives.

Diversity: The presence of a wide range of different social and cultural groups within a society.

Geopolitical rivalries: Competitions and conflicts between nations or regions over strategic interests and resources.

Human rights: Fundamental rights and freedoms that every person is entitled to, regardless of nationality, ethnicity, or other status.

Human rights guarantee: Legal assurances and protections of the rights and freedoms of individuals.



Immigrants: People who have moved to a different country or region to settle there permanently.

Independent sovereign: A state or entity that possesses full authority over its own affairs without external interference.

Institutional Organization: The structured arrangement and functioning of institutions within a society or system.

Institutionalization: The process of establishing something as a norm or standard within an organization or society.

Marginalization: The social process of relegating a specific group or community to a lower social standing or position.

Minorities: Groups within a society that are smaller or have less power compared to the dominant group.

Multiculturalism: The coexistence of diverse cultural groups within a society.

Political identity: The characteristics and affiliations that define an individual or group in relation to political beliefs and values.

Political organization: Any group involved in political activities aimed at achieving specific goals, such as political parties, NGOs, or advocacy groups.

Political representation: The act of standing for, acting on behalf of, or representing a group or constituency in political decision-making.

Repression: The act of using force or authority to control, suppress, or restrain individuals or groups.



Self-determination: The right of a group to govern itself and make decisions about its own affairs.

Self-government: The ability of a community or group to govern itself independently.

State capacity: The ability of a government to effectively implement policies and provide public goods and services.

Status quo: The existing state of affairs or the current condition of a system.

Terrorism: The use of violence and intimidation for political or ideological purposes.

Territorial management: The administration and control of geographic areas within a political entity.

Transitional justice: The process of addressing past human rights abuses and promoting reconciliation during transitions from conflict or authoritarian rule.

Violence: Behavior involving physical force intended to cause harm, damage, or death.



BIBLIOGRAPHY

Don Juan, Carlos I. (1980). Boletín oficial del Consejo General del País Vasco. https://www.euskadi.eus/contenidos/informacion/estatuto de gernika/es def/adjuntos/estatuto https://www.euskadi.eus/contenidos/informacion/estatuto de gernika/es def/adjuntos/estatuto

Gobierno Vasco. (1979). Estatuto de Gernika. En Lehendakaritza. https://www.euskadi.eus/contenidos/informacion/estatuto de gernika/es def/adjuntos/compete ncias euskadi.pdf

Torres Murillo, J. L. (2003). QUÉ HACER CON LAS NACIONES SIN ESTADO QUE HAY EN EUROPA. II Seminario de Doctrina Social de la Iglesia, Madrid, España. https://www.fpablovi.org/images/InstitutoSocial/materiales/seminarioDSI/ii seminario 02 sesi on murillo.pdf



REFERENCE

Alkorta, E., & Leonisio, R. (2024). No solo identidad claves del independentismo en Euskadi. Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas, 165, 25-44.

https://doi.org/10.5477/cis/reis.165.25

Bloom, T., Tonkiss, K., & Cole, P. (2017). Understanding statelessness. Taylor & Francis. Bonilla, H. (2000, 1 mayo). Cómo España gobernó y perdió al mundo. https://journals.openedition.org/revestudsoc/29317

Bruni, L. (1993). ETA: historia política de una lucha armada. Txalaparta.

Colaboradores de Wikipedia. (2024a, marzo 16). Historia del Partido Nacionalista Vasco. Wikipedia, la Enciclopedia Libre.

https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Historia del Partido Nacionalista Vasco

Colaboradores de Wikipedia. (2024b, abril 17). Democracia. Wikipedia, la Enciclopedia Libre. https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democracia

Colaboradores de Wikipedia. (2024c, abril 22). Gobierno de España. Wikipedia, la Enciclopedia Libre. https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gobierno de Espa%C3%B1a

Colaboradores de Wikipedia. (2024d, mayo 3). País Vasco. Wikipedia, la Enciclopedia Libre. https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pa%C3%ADs-Vasco

Conde, P. A. (2024, 20 abril). ¿La independencia del País Vasco ha pasado de moda? El tema queda fuera de los debates y las propuestas electorales. Infobae.

https://www.infobae.com/espana/2024/04/20/la-independencia-del-pais-vasco-ha-pasado-de-moda-el-tema-queda-fuera-de-los-debates-y-las-propuestas-electorales/



Daniela, P. o. A. (s. f.). La institucionalización de los sistemas de partidos políticos:: ¿qué es y cómo se mide? http://www.scielo.org.bo/scielo.php?pid=S2071-
081X2016000100008&script=sci arttext

Del Valle del Cauca, C. D. (s. f.). Mecanismos de participación ciudadana. Controloría Departamental del Valle del Cauca.

https://www.contraloriavalledelcauca.gov.co/publicaciones/32717/mecanismos-de-participacion-ciudadana/

Don Juan Carlos I. (1980). Boletín oficial del Consejo General del País Vasco.

https://www.euskadi.eus/contenidos/informacion/estatuto de gernika/es def/adjuntos/estatuto

ley.pdf

Eaj-Pnv. (s.f.). Principios e intereses. EAJ PNV. https://www.eaj-pnv.eus/es/documentos/4441/principios-e-intereses

Estructura del Gobierno Vasco - Educación tributaria - Bizkaia.eus. (s. f.). https://www.bizkaia.eus/es/web/educacion-tributaria/estructura-del-gobierno-vasco

Evaluando los argumentos de los independentistas. . . (s. f.). Espacio Público. https://espacio-publico.com/intervencion/evaluando-los-argumentos-de-los-independentistas

García-Abadillo, C. (2021, 10 junio). ¿Por qué la independencia tiene mucho más apoyo en Cataluña que en el País Vasco? Por Casimiro García-Abadillo. El Independiente. https://www.elindependiente.com/opinion/2021/06/10/por-que-la-independencia-tiene-mucho-mas-apoyo-en-cataluna-que-en-el-pais-vasco/

Gobernanza Pública y Autogobierno - Economía e impuestos - Diputación Foral de Gipuzkoa. (s. f.). ORAIN Gipuzkoa. https://www.gipuzkoa.eus/es/web/ekonomiaetazergak/gobernanza-publica-y-autogobierno



Gobierno Vasco. (1979). Estatuto de Gernika. En Lehendakaritza.

https://www.euskadi.eus/contenidos/informacion/estatuto de gernika/es def/adjuntos/compete ncias euskadi.pdf

Hachey, T. E., & McCaffrey, L. J. (2021). Perspectives on Irish nationalism. University Press of Kentucky.

Home. (n. d.). CIEMEN. https://www.ciemen.cat/

Inicio - Ertzaintza - Segurtasun Saila - Eusko Jaurlaritza. (s. f.). Ertzaintza. https://www.ertzaintza.euskadi.eus/lfr/web/ertzaintza

Inter-American Development Bank. (s. f.). Inter-American Development Bank. http://www.iadb.org/

Jurídicas, N. (2024, 4 enero). Ley 17/2023 de educación en Euskadi: impulso del vasco entre los profesores y apoyo a colectivos en riesgos de exclusión. Noticias Jurídicas.

https://noticias.juridicas.com/actualidad/noticias/18643-ley-17-2023-de-educacion-en-euskadi:-impulso-del-vasco-entre-los-profesores-y-apoyo-a-colectivos-en-riesgos-de-exclusion/

La història. (n. d.). CIEMEN. https://www.ciemen.cat/entitat/la-historia/

La Presidencia española del Consejo refuerza el papel de la UE en el mundo. (s. f.). La Presidencia Española del Consejo Refuerza el Papel de la UE En el Mundo. https://spanish-presidencia-espanola-consejo-ue/

Maneiro, G. (2020, 29 junio). El PNV, ¿de derechas o de izquierdas? elDiario.es. https://www.eldiario.es/euskadi/blogs/viento-del-norte/pnv-derechas-izquierdas 132 6050922.html



Minahan, J. (2002). Encyclopedia of the Stateless Nations: Ethnic and National Groups Around the World. D-K. Vol. II.

Montero, M. (2005, diciembre). El concepto de transición en el País Vasco. Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca.

NAZIONALISMOA (SABINO ARANATIK GERRA ZIBILERA) - Auñamendi Eusko Entziklopedia. (s. f.). https://aunamendi.eusko-ikaskuntza.eus/eu/nazionalismoa-sabino-aranatik-gerra-zibilera/ar-99631-58689/

ORCID. (s. f.). https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3248-126X

Ormazabal, M. (2023, 5 noviembre). El nacionalismo vasco se moviliza contra las resoluciones judiciales sobre el euskera. El País. https://elpais.com/espana/2023-11-05/el-nacionalismo-vasco-se-moviliza-contra-las-resoluciones-judiciales-sobre-el-euskera.html

País Vasco. (s. f.). EKE. https://www.eke.eus/es/cultura-vasca/pais-vasco

Ppll. (2008, 1 febrero). El PNV ve confluencia de intereses entre «quien ilegaliza y quien es ilegalizado». El Diario Vasco. https://www.diariovasco.com/20080201/politica/confluencia-intereses-entre-quien-20080201.html?

<u>ref=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.diariovasco.com%2F20080201%2Fpolitica%2Fconfluencia-intereses-entre-quien-20080201.html</u>

Provincias de País Vasco. (s. f.). Todo Sobre España. https://www.red2000.com/spain/images/m-r-pais-vasco.gif

Redondo, J. L. (2012, 30 agosto). Las regiones ricas quieren independizarse. HayDerecho. https://www.hayderecho.com/2012/08/30/las-regiones-ricas-quieren-independizarse/



Rosales, R., & Bolaños, M. R. (2012). Poder, política y democracia. RTVE.es. (s.f.). Historia de ETA - Crónicas - RTVE.es. https://www.rtve.es/noticias/cronicas/reportajes/historia-eta/

Sistema político mixto: tránsito a la gobernabilidad. Colección INAP. (s. f.). https://tinyurl.com/y2nlxpt5

Subirats, J. (s. f.). España como sistema multinivel de gobierno: Logros y frustraciones. Notas para un balance de 25 años. http://www.scielo.org.ar/scielo.php?pid=S1851-96012007000100002&script=sci-arttext

Tapia, A. R. (2016). El gobierno español detrás de una impugnación a la independencia de las Provincias Unidas del Río de la Plata, 1816-1818.

https://www.redalyc.org/journal/3870/387052694013/html/

Unzué, J. L. O., Estévez, X., & Espinosa, J. M. L. (1995). Historia de Euskal Herria: El nacimiento de una nación. Txalaparta.

Vale, H. F. D. (2024). Cuatro décadas de distribución del poder territorial en España: una medición de la autonomía subnacional (1974-2018) / Four Decades of Territorial Distribution of Power in Spain: A Measurement of Subnational Autonomy (1974-2018). Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas, 173, 3-26. https://doi.org/10.5477/cis/reis.173.3

Vasco, E. J.-. G. (s. f.-a). Educación tributaria - Sistema Tributario y Financiero - Gobierno Vasco - Euskadi.eus. Basque Administration Web Portal. https://www.euskadi.eus/principales-tributos/-/informacion/educacion-tributaria/

Vasco, E. J.-. G. (s. f.-b). El Estatuto de Autonomía - Gobierno Vasco - Euskadi.eus. Basque Administration Web Portal. https://www.euskadi.eus/gobierno-vasco/-/el-estatuto-de-autonomia-la-norma-institucional-basica-del-pais-vasco/



Vasco, E. J.-. G. (s. f.-c). El Estatuto de Autonomía, la Norma Institucional Básica Del País Vasco - Conoce Lehendakaritza - Gobierno Vasco - Euskadi.eus. Basque Administration Web Portal. https://www.euskadi.eus/estatuto-de-autonomia-del-pais-vasco/web01-s1ezaleh/es/

Vasco, E. J.-. G. (s. f.-d). Parlamento Vasco - Conoce Lehendakaritza - Gobierno Vasco - Euskadi.eus. Basque Administration Web Portal. https://www.euskadi.eus/parlamento-vasco/web01-s1ezaleh/es/

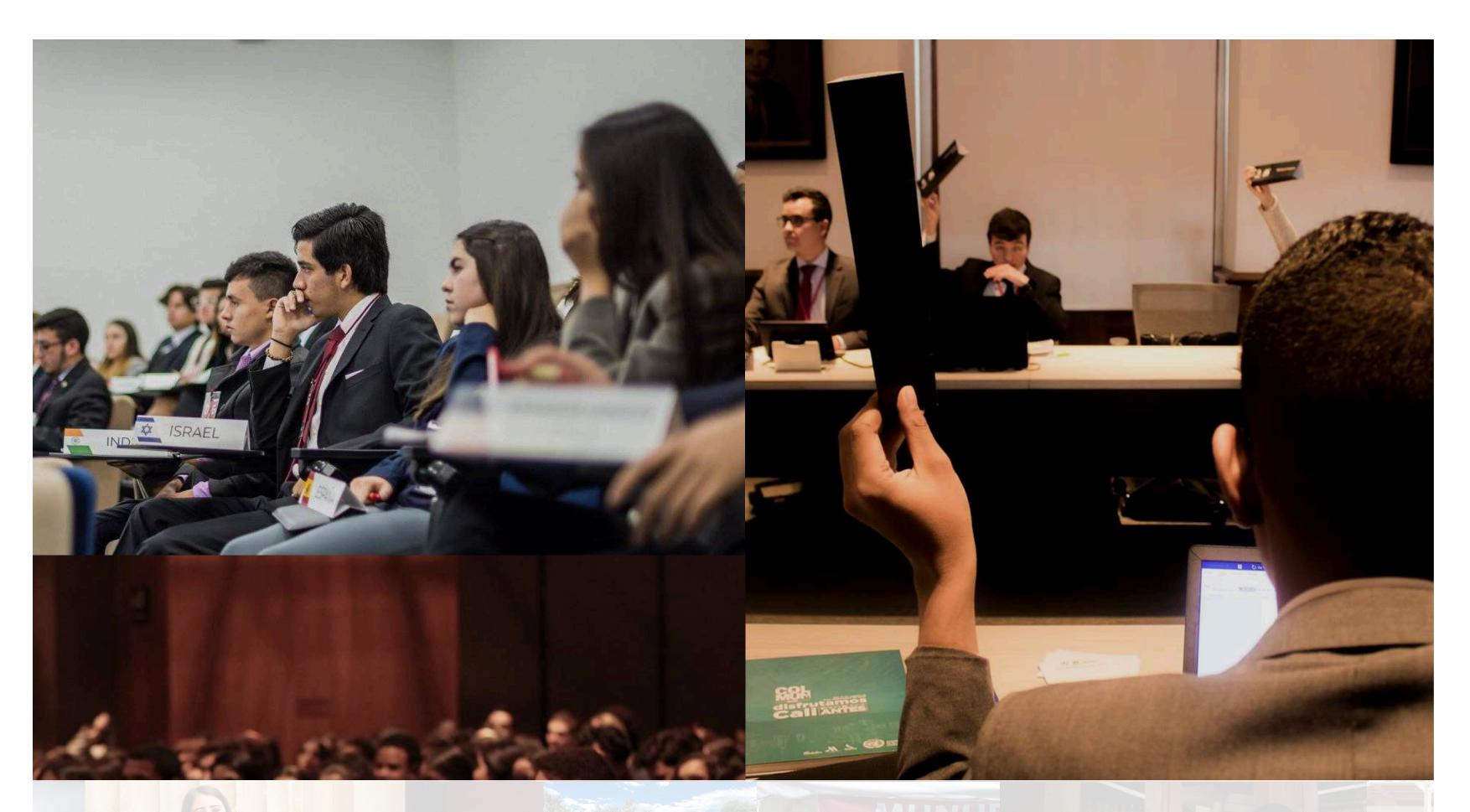
Vélez, A. M. (2021, 30 agosto). Codere lamenta en Estados Unidos la «postura negativa» del Gobierno español contra las casas de apuestas. elDiario.es.

https://www.eldiario.es/economia/codere-lamenta-estados-unidos-postura-negativa-gobierno-espanol-casas-apuestas 1 8232131.html

Vista de Organización territorial en España y en Colombia. "Informe sobre España. Repensar el Estado o destruirlo". Santiago Muñoz Machado. (s. f.).

https://revistas.uexternado.edu.co/index.php/Deradm/article/view/3690/3872

Vista de Terrorismo y violencia política en el País Vasco | Ayer. Revista de Historia Contemporánea. (s. f.). https://www.revistasmarcialpons.es/revistaayer/article/view/774/870



15 YEARS OF TRADITION

