

Accommodating Secession Within the EU Constitutional Order of States

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The Article provides a holistic account of the legal mechanisms that allow the EU to accommodate all three forms of secession that may take place within its borders: internal secession, external secession and withdrawal from the EU itself. Despite conventional wisdom, this Article suggests that, provided that such secessionist processes conform with the foundational values of the Union enshrined in Article 2 of the Treaty on European Union (TEU), the EU legal order is flexible enough to accommodate them. Such a deferential and accommodating approach that respects the constitutional identity of the EU member states and their regions is in conformity with the composite nature of the European constitution, whose component parts—the EU Treaties and the national constitutional orders—cannot function without the other. For a multi-level constitutional order of states whose very raison d'être has been the promotion of peace between its members, this nuanced position is of critical importance.

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I. INTRODUCTION

The European Union “constitutes a new legal order of international law for the benefit of which the states have limited their sovereign rights.”¹ Within this legal order, governmental and legislative powers can be largely apportioned vertically at three tiers moving from regional to supranational: (i) substate-regional (e.g., Catalonia, Flanders, and Lombardy); (ii) (member) state-national (e.g., Spain, Belgium, and Italy); and (iii) supranational, i.e., the European Union itself. These units of legislative autonomy—regions, member states and the EU—may all potentially experience secession, i.e., the “formal withdrawal from a central political authority by a member unit.”² For instance, part of a region may be carved out of an existing one

1. Case 26/62, *van Gend & Loos v. Netherlands Inland Revenue Admin.*, 1963 E.C.R. 1, 12.

2. This Article follows Wood’s definition of secession as the “formal withdrawal from a central political authority by a member unit.” John R. Wood, *Secession: A Comparative Analytical Framework*, 14 CAN. J. POL. SCI. 107, 110 (1981). This definition has also been used in legal scholarship. See Tom

and given distinctive substate status within a federal or quasi-federal EU member state (internal secession).³ A “subunit of a [member] state [may also break off], usually to form a new state, but sometimes to join an existing neighbour”⁴ (external secession). Finally, an EU member state may withdraw from the European Union as a whole—a “unilateral decision[] to separate territory and citizenry from the Union,”⁵ aptly characterised as “functionally akin to secession.”⁶

By definition, secessionist processes that take place at any of the three aforementioned levels dramatically alter the respective legal and political order(s) as they either lead to the establishment of new subjects of (inter)national law and/or change the legal relations between existing ones. Within the EU multi-level constitutional order of states, however, such “voluntary withdrawal of a political territory from a larger one in which it was previously incorporated”⁷ may also be seen “as a move to change the status or affiliation of a territory within a wider constellation of politics.”⁸ Seen that way, secession within the EU “is really just another form of subsidiarity—a claim about the right level for governance within a multilayered system extending from the personal through the local, regional, [state,] and transnational.”⁹ It triggers the repositioning of the relevant subject of EU law within the European constitutional landscape. In the case of internal secession, a newly formed substate entity within a territorially plural EU member state would be able to effectively use the channels of regional participation in the Union policy-making processes both at the national and at the EU levels.¹⁰ As to external secession, its proponents, such as the mainstream Catalan and Flemish independentist parties, prioritise the “upgrade” of their region from a subnational authority to a fully functional member state within the EU legal order, enjoying all relevant rights and obligations. Finally, the withdrawal of a whole member state from the EU, such as in the case of Brexit, inescapably leads to the recalibration of its relations with the EU and its remaining member states.

Ginsburg & Mila Versteeg, *From Catalonia to California: Secession in Constitutional Law*, 70 ALA. L. REV. 923, 925 (2019).

3. Ferran Requejo & Klaus-Jürgen Nagel, *Democracy and Borders: External and Internal Secession in the EU* 9 (Euborders Working Paper 14, 2017).

4. TOM GINSBURG, SECESSION 1 (INST. FOR DEMOCRACY & ELECTORAL ASSISTANCE, 2018).

5. Pekka Pohjankoski, ‘Secession’ and ‘Withdrawal’ from the European Union as Constitutional Expressions, 14 EUR. CONST. L. REV. 845, 849 (2018).

6. Jure Vidmar, *Unilateral Revocability in Wightman: Fixing Article 50 with Constitutional Tools*, 15 EUR. CONST. L. REV. 359, 371 (2019).

7. Rainer Bauböck, *A Multilevel Theory of Democratic Secession*, 18 ETHNOPOLITICS 227, 227–28 (2019).

8. *Id.* at 229.

9. TIMOTHY WILLIAM WATERS, BOXING PANDORA: RETHINKING BORDERS, STATES, AND SECESSION IN A DEMOCRATIC WORLD 227 (2020).

10. MICHÈLE FINCK, SUBNATIONAL AUTHORITIES IN EU LAW 25 (2017).

Because any secessionist process raises questions about the relationship of the relevant entity with the Union, there has always been an inquiry about how the EU may treat such constitutional events.¹¹ For instance, Weiler famously suggested that the EU should not and/or would not admit independent states that have been created even out of consensual and democratic secession as members.¹² Instead, the Union should “wish them a Bon Voyage in their separatist destiny.”¹³

Contrary to this view, this Article argues that, provided that secessionist processes (at any level) conform with the foundational values of the Union enshrined in Article 2 TEU, the EU legal order is flexible enough to accommodate them.¹⁴ Concerning internal secession, the EU is not prescriptive as to the territorial (re)organisation of its member states, provided that the effective application of EU law is secured throughout its territory. Even if an internal secession process somehow challenges the application of the four fundamental freedoms, the member states as “Masters of the Treaties” could accommodate such derogations through treaty amendments provided that they do not affect the EU core

11. Before the 2014 Scottish independence referendum, there was a debate about whether an independent Scotland would enjoy the right of continuous EU membership. To access differing views on this debate, see *Scotland's EU Membership*, VERFASSUNGSBLOG (2014), <http://verfassungsblog.de/category/focus/scotlands-eu-membership/>.

12. Joseph H.H. Weiler, *Slouching Towards the Cool War; Catalanian Independence and the European Union*, 23 EUR. J. INT'L. L. 909, 911 (2012).

13. *Id.* at 912.

14. A number of authors have argued that a newly independent state formerly part of an EU Member State should only accede to the EU if the relevant secessionist process is in compliance with the Article 2 TEU values. See, e.g., Cristina Fasone, *Secession and the Ambiguous Place of Regions Under EU Law*, in SECESSION FROM A MEMBER STATE AND WITHDRAWAL FROM THE EUROPEAN UNION 48, 61 (Carlos Closa ed., 2017) (explaining that “[t]he EU’s response to such an outcome . . . should depend on how the secession is achieved, in particular if it is pursued in compliance with the fundamental values of the EU, such as democracy and the Rule of Law (Article 2 TEU)”; Dmitry Kochenov & Martijn van den Brink, *Secessions from EU Member States: The Imperative of Union’s Neutrality*, 1 EUR. PAPERS 67, 80 (2016) (“We should expect the EU . . . to take into account the other values laid down in Art. 2 TEU as well when deciding whether a newly formed State formerly part of a Member State is eligible for EU membership; a secession reflecting the will of the majority but following from or resulting in the breaches of the EU’s foundational values should not result in legitimate membership claims.”); Richard Caplan & Zachary Vermeer, *The European Union and Unilateral Secession: The Case of Catalonia*, 73 ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR ÖFFENTLICHES RECHT 747, 764 (2018) (“Article 2, alongside democracy and human rights, recognizes ‘the rule of law’ as a fundamental value of the EU. This suggests that referenda and other attempted expressions of popular will must be in conformity with domestic legal requirements.”) This Article takes into account those views but goes a step further by arguing that the EU legal order is flexible enough to accommodate secessionist processes (at any level) to the extent that they are in conformity with the Article 2 TEU values. In a way, the Article’s thesis is the flipside of an argument put forward by Carlos Closa. According to him, “[a] unilateral [secessionist] process which did not respect the existing framework of the rule of law in a given member state might be perceived as violating Article 2 of the TEU, and could be considered illegitimate.” Carlos Closa, *Secession from a Member State and EU Membership: The View from the Union*, 12 EUR. CONST. L. REV. 240, 250 (2016) (emphasis omitted).

foundational values.¹⁵ When it comes to the most contested of these modes, external secession, this Article accepts that the EU constitutional order of states does not accord a universal and unilateral right of secession to the sub-state entities of its member states.¹⁶ However, it also shows that the EU constitutional order of states possesses the necessary flexibility to respect and accommodate the outcome of a process of consensual secession, provided that Article 2 TEU is respected.¹⁷ Finally, even when in the exercise of external self-determination and sovereignty, the people of a member state decide to withdraw and functionally secede from the EU as a whole, the Union legal order may accommodate their expressed will to the extent that the aforementioned core values are not threatened.¹⁸

The accommodating and flexible approach to secessionist processes that this article suggests is dictated by three fundamental aspects of the EU constitutional order of states. First is the composite,¹⁹ intertwined²⁰ and multi-level²¹ character of the European constitution. Pernice explains that the constitution of Europe is “made up of the constitutions of the Member States bound together by a complementary constitutional body consisting of the European Treaties.”²² However, “the relation between the EU and national constitutions should not be viewed as a conglomerate of autonomous, more or less detached systems, which relate to each other at different ‘levels’.”²³ Instead, it should be viewed as a “mutually assumed relationship” where “one part cannot function without the other.”²⁴ At the very core of this composite constitution is the idea of constitutional tolerance.²⁵ This is *par excellence* depicted in Article 4(2) TEU, which provides that the “Union shall respect . . . [member states’] national identities,

15. See *infra* Part II.

16. See *infra* Part III.

17. See *infra* Part III C.

18. See *infra* Part IV.

19. See generally LEONARD F. M. BESSELINK, A COMPOSITE EUROPEAN CONSTITUTION 6 (2007) (“The idea of a composite constitution suggests that in many respects the relation between the EU and the national constitutions should *not* be viewed as a conglomerate of autonomous, more or less detached systems.”); MONICA CLAES, THE NATIONAL COURTS’ MANDATE IN THE EUROPEAN CONSTITUTION (2006).

20. See generally Jacques Ziller, *National Constitutional Concepts in the New Constitution for Europe*, 1 EUR. CONST. L. REV. 452, 480 (2005) (arguing that the European Convention recognized the concept of “intertwined constitutionalism through the construction and innovations of the Constitution for Europe”).

21. See generally Ingolf Pernice, *Multilevel Constitutionalism and the Treaty of Amsterdam: European Constitution Making Revisited?*, 36 COMMON MKT. L. REV. 703, 706 (1999) (arguing that the EU has a “coherent institutional system, within which competence for action, public authority or, . . . the power to exercise sovereign rights is divided among two or more levels”).

22. *Id.* at 707.

23. See BESSELINK, *supra* note 19, at 6 (emphasis omitted).

24. *Id.*

25. Joseph H.H. Weiler, *In Defence of the Status Quo: Europe’s Constitutional Sonderweg*, in EUROPEAN CONSTITUTIONALISM BEYOND THE STATE 7 (Marlene Wind & Joseph H.H. Weiler eds., 2003).

inherent in their fundamental structures, political and constitutional, inclusive of regional and local self-government.” Also, the Union “shall respect [member states’] essential State functions, including ensuring the territorial integrity of the State.”²⁶ This means that the starting point of how the EU accommodates secessionist processes that take place at any tier of the multi-level order is and should be the respect to the relevant member state’s position, the processes that take place within it and their outcomes, as Peers convincingly argued.²⁷

There is a limit to such relative heteronomy and to the EU’s deference to these “internal situations.”²⁸ This can be found in the foundational values enshrined in Article 2 TEU.²⁹ The latter provides that “[t]he Union is founded on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities.”³⁰ These are common values to the member states; more importantly, however, they are set as the “prerequisite for the accession to the European Union of any European State applying to become a member of the European Union.”³¹ A breach of those values may lead to triggering Article 7 TEU’s sanction procedure. As the Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU) pointed out, “compliance . . . with the values contained in Article 2 TEU is a condition for the enjoyment of all the rights deriving from the application of the Treaties” and “cannot be reduced to an obligation which a candidate State must meet in order to accede to the European Union and which it may disregard after its accession.”³² Because the values highlighted in Article 2 TEU “define the

26. Treaty of Lisbon Amending the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty Establishing the European Community, art. 4, ¶ 2, Dec. 13, 2007, 2007 O.J. (C 306) 1 [hereinafter TEU].

27. Steve Peers, *The Future of EU Treaty Amendments*, 31 Y.B. EUR. L. 17, 59 (2012).

28. See generally Sara Iglesias Sánchez, *Purely Internal Situations and the Limits of EU Law: A Consolidated Case Law or a Notion to be Abandoned?*, 14 EUR. CONST. L. REV. 7 (2018) (discussing internal situations).

29. Pernice was one of the first to highlight that the duty to comply with the Article 2 TEU principles sets a limit to the constitutional heteronomy afforded by TEU art. 4, ¶ 2. Ingolf Pernice, *European v. National Constitutions*, 1 EUR. CONST. L. REV. 99, 101 (2005) (“On the one hand, Member States’ national identities ‘inherent in their fundamental structures, political and constitutional, inclusive of regional and local self-government’ are protected by [now TEU art. 4(2)] The Member States are deprived, on the other hand, of part of their constitutional autonomy insofar as they are subject to the common principles and values of the Union under [now TEU art. 2].”) In the context of the debate on secession within the EU, Closa also underlined that “national constitutional identity within the terms of Article 4(2) TEU is not to be interpreted as the absolute protection of the norms of Member State constitutions.” Carlos Closa, *Troubled Membership: Dealing with Secession from a Member State and Withdrawal from the EU* 10 (Eur. Univ. Inst. Working Papers, 2014). “Indeed, Article 4(2) TEU is to be read in the light of the values of the Union in Article 2 TEU.” *Id.*

30. TEU, *supra* note 26, art. 2.

31. Case C-156/21, Hungary v. Parliament and Council, ECLI:EU:C:2022:97, ¶ 124 (Feb. 16, 2022).

32. *Id.* ¶ 126.

very identity of the European Union as a common legal order,”³³ respect to them is a *conditio sine qua non* for the accommodation of any secessionist process that may take place at any of the three tiers of the multi-level legal order. The fact that Article 2 TEU applies equally to every level strongly suggests that the post-modern and somehow fragmented constitutional mosaic³⁴ of the EU is built on a “solid” core which includes those non-derogable principles of democracy, rule of law, respect for human rights, and so on.

Second, the EU, as a subject of international law, has committed itself to “the strict observance and the development of international law.”³⁵ In fact, the Union “has traditionally played an active and constructive part on the international stage,” aiming “to honour its international commitments.”³⁶ This is particularly relevant, as the three aforementioned modes of secession consist of different expressions of the right to self-determination as provided by common Article 1 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.³⁷

In a recent judgment, the CJEU endorsed the *erga omnes* character of that right and recognised it as “one of the essential principles of international law.”³⁸ Having said that, what the international law of self-determination (and thus the right to secession) means outside the colonial context is unclear.³⁹ Indeed, the right to external secession and independence for peoples under colonial domination is undisputed.⁴⁰ Given that the period of classical colonialism has largely passed, this principle applies to a rather limited number of peoples, such as those of Gibraltar and New Caledonia.⁴¹

33. *Id.* ¶ 127.

34. *See generally* EUROPE’S CONSTITUTIONAL MOSAIC (Neil Walker, Jo Shaw & Stephen Tierney eds., 2011) (discussing how the complex constitutional arrangements of the European legal space is an interconnected mosaic).

35. TEU, *supra* note 26, art. 3, ¶ 5.

36. Case C-402/05 P, Yassin Abdullah Kadi v. Council and Comm’n, ECLI:EU:C:2008:11, ¶ 22 (Sept. 3, 2008).

37. International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, art. 1, Dec. 16, 1966, 999 U.N.T.S. 171 [hereinafter ICPR]; International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, art. 1, Dec. 16, 1966, 993 U.N.T.S. 3.

38. Case C-104/16 P, Council v. Front Polisario, ECLI:EU:C:2016:973, ¶ 88 (Dec. 21, 2016).

39. James R. Crawford, *The Right of Self-Determination in International Law: Its Developments and Future*, in PEOPLES’ RIGHTS 7 (Philip Alston ed., 2001).

40. *See* Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) Notwithstanding Security Council Resolution, Advisory Opinion, 1971 I.C.J. 16 (June 21); Advisory Opinion on Western Sahara, Advisory Opinion, 1975 I.C.J. 12 (Oct. 16); Legal Consequences of the Separation of the Chagos Archipelago from Mauritius in 1965, Advisory Opinion, 2019 I.C.J. 95 (Feb. 25).

41. *See* Non-Self-Governing Territories, UNITED NATIONS, <https://www.un.org/dppa/decolonization/en/nsqt#:~:text=Under%20Chapter%20XI%20of%20the,measure%20of%20self%20government.>

In 1995, however, the International Court of Justice (ICJ) proclaimed that the right to self-determination “has an *erga omnes* character.”⁴² This does not mean, though, that all peoples have the right to external secession and independence. In metropolitan territories such as Flanders, Scotland, Euskadi (Basque Country) and Catalonia, “peoples are expected to achieve self-determination within the framework of their existing state.”⁴³ As the Canadian Supreme Court in *Reference re Secession of Quebec* held, outside the colonial context, the right is “normally fulfilled through internal self-determination—a people’s pursuit of its political, economic, social and cultural development within the framework of an existing state.”⁴⁴ At its most extreme, this right to internal self-determination includes a right to internal secession—the possibility to create a new autonomous sub-state unit within the borders of the same metropolitan State. Having said that, the ICJ famously held in its *Advisory Opinion on Kosovo* that there is no prohibition on unilateral declarations of independence in international law,⁴⁵ let alone independence that has been reached via a consensual and democratic process (external secession). At the same time, the people’s pursuit to “freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development”⁴⁶ clearly encompasses the sovereign choice of a nation to withdraw from an international organisation (withdrawal). As the CJEU stressed no less than five times in *Wightman*, withdrawal from the EU concerns a sovereign right or choice.⁴⁷ Therefore, overall, an EU approach that accommodates secessionist processes that do not breach Article 2 TEU is also compatible with and respectful of international law on the right to self-determination and its legitimate forms of expression: internal secession, (consensual) external secession and withdrawal from an international agreement.

The fact that such a deferential attitude is compatible with the composite, intertwined and multi-level character of the European constitution and its approach towards international law does not mean that the actual discourse that the EU institutions have adopted, especially with

42. Case Concerning East Timor (Portugal v. Australia), Judgment, 1995 I.C.J. 90, ¶ 29 (June 30).

43. JAMES R. CRAWFORD & ALAN BOYLE, OPINION: REFERENDUM ON THE INDEPENDENCE OF SCOTLAND—INTERNATIONAL LAW ASPECTS ¶ 175 (2012).

44. Reference re Secession of Quebec, [1998] 2 S.C.R. 217, para. 126 (Can.).

45. Accordance with International Law of the Unilateral Declaration of Independence in Respect of Kosovo, Advisory Opinion, 2010 I.C.J. 403, ¶ 119 (July 26) [hereinafter *Advisory Opinion on Kosovo*].

46. ICPR, *supra* note 37, art. 1; International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, art. 1, Dec. 16, 1966, 993 U.N.T.S. 3.

47. Case C-621/18, *Wightman and Others v. Sec’y of State for Exiting the Eur. Union*, ECLI:EU:C:2018:999, ¶¶ 50, 56, 57, 59, 72; see also Armin Cuyvers, *Wightman, Brexit, and the Sovereign Right to Remain*, 56 COMMON MKTL. REV. 1303 (2019) (analyzing the decision in *Wightman*).

regard to external secession, follows such a paradigm. In fact, it has been convincingly argued that because several member states politically oppose such phenomena, the stance of the EU towards them is influenced accordingly.⁴⁸ Still, the paper highlights the flexibility of the EU legal order that could allow the EU to explicitly adopt such deference towards secessionist processes that are in respect of the EU foundational values.

This strategic choice is justified from a normative point of view as well. It is in conformity with the EU's *raison d'être* as a peace plan—the third aspect of the EU constitutional order of states—that dictates such an approach.⁴⁹ Rather than actively fighting to eradicate nationalism, the EU, since its inception, has provided for a pragmatic legal, political and economic framework in which competing nationalisms co-exist and even cooperate. Furthermore, it has designed political and legal institutions in which competing nationalisms can continue to be negotiated.⁵⁰ It is precisely the historical success of this pragmatic framework that has transformed foes of the past, such as France and Germany, into reliable partners of today. In that sense, an emphasis on the procedural requirements of consensual secession and the subsequent normalisation of relations with the Union can have transformative effects on those constitutional conflicts. A clear message that the EU is able to accommodate secessions that respect its core constitutional values “is likely to encourage subunits to cooperate and compromise, while making [secession within the EU] a legal impossibility is more likely to result in a tug of war between separatist subunits and the central government and, thus, to encourage the resort to violence.”⁵¹

Such “domestication” of secession that puts a strong emphasis on the respect of the Article 2 TEU values is based on “the perceived advantages of handling secessionist politics and secessionist contests within the rule of law rather than as ‘political’ issues that lie outside of, or are presumed (by the secessionists) to supersede, the law.”⁵² It follows the logic of the Canadian Supreme Court in *Reference re Secession of Quebec*, in which the Court

48. Emanuele Massetti, *The European Union and the Challenge of 'Independence in Europe': Straddling Between (Formal) Neutrality and (Actual) Support for Member States' Territorial Integrity*, 32 REG'L & FED. STUD. 307, 307–30 (2022); Neil Walker, *Internal Enlargement in the European Union: Beyond Legalism and Political Expediency*, in TROUBLED MEMBERSHIP: SECESSION FROM A MEMBER STATE AND WITHDRAWAL FROM THE UNION 32, 40 (Carlos Closa ed., 2017) (describing the EU's approach as “conservative neutrality,” the product of political cowardice and complacency, resulting from deflected responsibility).

49. TEU, *supra* note 26, art. 3, ¶ 1.

50. See CHRISTINE BELL, ON THE LAW OF PEACE: PEACE AGREEMENTS AND THE LEX PACIFICATORIA 200 (2008).

51. Susanna Mancini, *Rethinking the Boundaries of Democratic Secession: Liberalism, Nationalism, and the Right of Minorities to Self-determination*, 6 INT'L J. CONST. L. 553, 583 (2008).

52. WAYNE NORMAN, NEGOTIATING NATIONALISM: NATION-BUILDING, FEDERALISM, AND SECESSION IN THE MULTINATIONAL STATE 188–89 (2006).

constructed a procedural framework, “a normative due process”⁵³ that made the secession of Quebec conditional upon compliance with certain fundamental principles such as democracy, constitutionalism and the rule of law and the protection of minorities.⁵⁴ Somewhat paradoxically, this approach transforms the potential formation and/or disappearance of a state from a pure fact—a political matter remaining outside the realm of law⁵⁵—to a smoother transitional process in which both sides should respect certain values that secure their peaceful and democratic co-existence. *Mutatis mutandis*, a strong emphasis on respect for the EU foundational values as a prerequisite for normalised relations with the Union, would mean that the constituent phase of the respective seceding entity would be influenced by them, easing its transition to a new subject of EU and (inter)national law. Potentially, this could decrease the tensions that the “revolutionary” character of secession often triggers and thus contribute to the peaceful co-existence of European peoples.

The present Article is situated precisely within the political and legal debates that relate to secessionist movements within the EU and seeks to determine how the EU may accommodate such processes. This is not merely an academic question as the 2014 and 2017 independence referendums in Scotland and Catalonia respectively prove. In addition, the never-ending debate on the constitutional future of Belgium and the ever-increasing probability of a *de jure* partition in Cyprus point to the same direction.⁵⁶ At the same time, Brexit has reopened the question of Irish unification following the potential secession of Northern Ireland from the United Kingdom.⁵⁷ In the immediate vicinity, a possible independence referendum in Republika Srpska may influence the accession prospects of Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁵⁸ Finally, the question of secession has appeared even in legal orders in which support for such a political aim is rather minimal. Both the Italian Constitutional Court and the German Federal

53. Antonello Tancredi, *A Normative 'Due Process' in the Creation of States Through Secession*, in SECESSION: INTERNATIONAL LAW PERSPECTIVES 171 (Marcello G. Kohen ed., 2006).

54. See Reference re Secession of Quebec, [1998] 2 S.C.R. 217, para. 90 (Can.).

55. See Tancredi, *supra* note 53, at 171.

56. See Patrick Wintour, *Cyprus Needs Two-State Solution, Claims Head of Turkish-Occupied North*, GUARDIAN (Jan. 28, 2023), <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/jan/28/cyprus-two-state-solution-ersin-tatar-head-of-turkish-occupied-north>.

57. See Megan K. Stack, *Is Ireland Headed for a Merger*, N.Y. TIMES (Nov. 21, 2023), <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/11/21/opinion/united-ireland.html>.

58. See Zoran Radosavljevic, *Secessionist Bosnian Serb Leader Ups Ante, Talks of Referendum*, EURACTIV (July 3, 2023), <https://www.euractiv.com/section/politics/news/secessionist-bosnian-serb-leader-ups-ante-talks-of-referendum/>.

Constitutional Court have declared as unconstitutional the organisation of regional referendums on independence.⁵⁹

Overall, the argument that this Article develops is that the remarkable flexibility of the EU legal order allows it to accommodate secessionist processes that take place at any tier, provided that they do not violate Article 2 TEU's foundational values. This finding does not question the fact that a number of member states may be politically opposed to such phenomena and, as such, may influence the stance of the EU institutions towards them. Rather, it emphasises that the EU legal toolkit is so broad that it may absorb the frictions that such developments may create. The remainder of this Article is organised as follows. It highlights the mechanisms that allow the EU constitutional order to accommodate secessionist processes that take place at the substate-regional (Part II), the (member) state-national (Part III), and the supranational levels (Part IV), provided that they are in conformity with the principles of Article 2 TEU.

II. INTERNAL SECESSION

Internal secession is a procedure available in some federal systems “where new States are carved out of the existing ones and given member state status.”⁶⁰ “There are precedent cases . . . that have happened inside liberal democratic federations.”⁶¹ The most cited example is the one of Jura⁶² in Switzerland, while others include Nunavut in Canada⁶³ and the Indian states of Chhattisgarh, Uttaranchal (renamed Uttarakhand), Jharkhand, and Telangana.⁶⁴ None of the aforementioned examples relate to an EU member state. However, internal secession involving an EU legislative region is a possible eventuality. Legally speaking, Article 29 of the German Basic Law and Article 3 of the Austrian Constitution provide for certain procedural requirements that may regulate such a process.⁶⁵ Politically speaking, in Spain, it was reported that there was a political

59. Corte cost., 29 aprile 2015, n. 118, Racc. uff. corte cost. 2015 (It.); Bundesverfassungsgericht [BVerfG] [Federal Constitutional Court] Dec. 16, 2016, BVerfGE, 2 BvR 349/16 (Ger.).

60. See Requejo & Nagel, *supra* note 3.

61. *Id.* at 12.

62. See Maurizio Maggetti & Alexandra Fang-Bär, *The Birth of a New Canton: An Example for the Implementation of the Right to Self-Determination*, in STATES FALLING APART?: SECESSIONIST AND AUTONOMY MOVEMENTS IN EUROPE 337 (Eva Maria Belser et al. eds., 2015); Sean Mueller, *Conflicting Cantonalisms: Disputed Sub-National Territorial Identities in Switzerland*, 3 L'EUROPE EN FORMATION 86 (2013).

63. See Requejo & Nagel, *supra* note 3, at 12.

64. *Id.*

65. See Grundgesetz [GG] [Basic Law], art. 29, translation at https://www.gesetze-im-internet.de/englisch_gg/index.html; BUNDES-VERFASSUNGSGESETZ [B-VG] [CONSTITUTION] BGBL No. 1/1930, art. 3, https://www.ris.bka.gv.at/Dokumente/ErV/ERV_1930_1/ERV_1930_1.html (Austria).

movement supporting the secession of the province of León from the Spanish Autonomous Community of Castilla y León.⁶⁶ Nearby, there have been discussions concerning the creation of a separate “third Croat entity” that would secede from the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁶⁷ This part of the Article highlights that the EU constitutional order of states may accommodate cases of internal secession like the aforementioned ones provided that they conform with the foundational values of Article 2 TEU.

The EU legal order is largely agnostic in terms of the internal organisation of its member states.⁶⁸ By allowing for the modest participation of the regional tier in its decision-making processes,⁶⁹ the EU has moved on from the early days of the integration process in which the academic literature highlighted its regional blindness.⁷⁰ Notwithstanding, “it is not for the [EU] to rule on the division of competences by the institutional rules proper to each Member State.”⁷¹ In fact, Article 4(2) TEU goes a step further when it proclaims that the EU respects the “national identities [of member states], inherent in their fundamental structures, political and constitutional, inclusive of regional and local self-government.”⁷² Indeed, the broad variety of systems of territorial pluralism that exist within the European constitutional landscape highlights that the EU is not prescriptive as to whether or through which processes (including internal secession) its member states may grant their regions legislative autonomy.

The autonomy that member states enjoy with regard to internal organisation, however, is not unfettered. The potential territorial reconfiguration of a state does not absolve it from the obligations stemming from its EU membership. Article 4(3) TEU provides that an EU member state should “take any appropriate measure, general or particular, to ensure fulfilment of the obligations arising out of the [EU] Treaties or resulting from the acts of the institutions of the Union.”⁷³ In particular, since *Costa*,⁷⁴ EU law has enjoyed supremacy over national law, including constitutional law.⁷⁵ Member states, however, are free to decide how to integrate this

66. See Juan Navarro, *León aprueba una moción para separarse de Castilla junto a Salamanca y Zamora*, EL PAÍS (Dec. 28, 2019), https://elpais.com/politica/2019/12/27/actualidad/1577460024_317304.html.

67. International Crisis Group, *Bosnia's Gordian Knot: Constitutional Reform*, EUROPE BRIEFING N°68 (2012).

68. Case C-8/88, *Germany v. Comm'n*, 1990 E.C.R. I-02321.

69. Nikos Skoutaris, *The Role of Sub-State Entities in the EU Decision-Making Processes: A Comparative Constitutional Law Approach*, in *FEDERALISM IN THE EU* 210 (Elke Cloots et al. eds., 2012).

70. See Fasone, *supra* note 14, at 48–51.

71. Case C-8/88, *Germany v. Comm'n*, 1990 E.C.R. I-02321, ¶ 13.

72. TEU, *supra* note 26, art. 4, ¶ 2.

73. TEU, *supra* note 26, art. 4, ¶ 3.

74. See Case 6/64, *Costa v. ENEL*, 1964 E.C.R. 585.

75. *Internationale Handelsgesellschaft mbH v. Einfuhr- und Vorratsstelle für Getreide und Futtermittel*, 1970 E.C.R. 1125; Case C-473/93, *Comm'n v. Luxembourg*, 1996 E.C.R. I-03207.

principle into their national law.⁷⁶ In this sense, it is important that any internal secession process does not challenge the effective application of EU law within the territory of the member state and with respect to its primacy. To this effect, any redrawing of the internal boundaries of a member state should not affect its mechanisms for ensuring compliance with Union law. This applies especially with regard to regional “blocking” (i.e., the inability of a region to comply with a certain piece of EU legislation). The CJEU has repeatedly held that “a Member State cannot plead provisions, practices or situations prevailing in its domestic legal order, including those resulting from the constitutional organisation of that State, to justify the failure to observe obligations arising under [EU] law.”⁷⁷ Therefore, the requirement for effective application of EU law may pose certain limits to the constitutional autonomy of a member state and its respective legislative region(s) that engage(s) in a process of internal secession.

However, even in the rather improbable case that the by-product of an internal secession process raises questions regarding the application of the treaties, the member states as “Masters of the Treaties” can amend them as they wish. Despite functioning as a European constitution,⁷⁸ the treaties are still subject to the intergovernmental method of treaty-making and the will of member states to accommodate specific interests has not, thus far, been subject to legal limitations. In fact, member states have even occasionally restricted the four freedoms permanently, as in the case of the Danish prohibition for secondary residences⁷⁹ or with the special regime of the Åland Islands.⁸⁰

Having said that, the freedom of the member states to amend the treaties may not be completely unfettered. It has been suggested that derogations from primary law may not touch on the very core of Union

76. Germany and Italy have interpreted their respective constitutional provisions relating to the EU or international relations as embodying the supremacy of EU law by a “material change” of the constitution. See Grundgesetz [GG] [Basic Law], art. 23 (Ger.); Art. 11 COSTITUZIONE [COST.] (It.). See generally Marco Goldoni & Tarik Olcay, *The Material Study of Constitutional Change*, in ROUTLEDGE HANDBOOK OF COMPARATIVE CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE 261 (Xenophon Contiades & Alkmene Fotiadou eds., 2021) (discussing “material change”).

France requires that specific constitutional provisions be formally changed before ratifying a treaty that would otherwise entail obligations that are incompatible with those provisions. 1958 CONST. arts. 54, 55 (Fr.). Art. 29(5) of the Irish Constitution has expressly incorporated the principle of supremacy to the constitution. CONSTITUTION OF IRELAND 1937 art. 29(5).

77. Case C-212/06, *Government of the French Community and Walloon Government v. Flemish Government*, 2008 E.C.R. I-1730, ¶ 58; see also Case C-107/96 *Comm’n v. Spain*, 1997 E.C.R. I-3196; Case C-323/97, *Comm’n v. Belgium*, 1998 E.C.R. I-4286.

78. Case C-294/83, *The Greens (Les Verts) v. Parliament*, 1986 E.C.R. 1357, ¶ 23.

79. Protocol (No. 32) on the Acquisition of Property in Denmark, 2008 O.J. (C 115) 318.

80. Act 94/C, concerning the conditions of accession of the Kingdom of Norway, the Republic of Austria, the Republic of Finland and the Kingdom of Sweden and the adjustments to the Treaties on which the European Union is founded, 1994 O.J. (C 241) 352.

principles.⁸¹ The idea of “untouchable” core issues is present in the constitutions of member states⁸² and in the notion of *jus cogens* in international law.⁸³ In *Opinion 1/91*, the CJEU provided a small hint about the existence of such a “hard core.” It held that the establishment of the judicial organ of dispute settlement in the envisaged European Economic Area (EEA) agreement would threaten the role of the CJEU under then Article 164 TEC⁸⁴ and thereby the “foundations of the Community” to such a degree that it could not have been removed even if the member states had decided to amend current Article 217 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU) (which defines “association”).⁸⁵ This could be read as limiting the treaty-making power of member states.

At the same time, even the supposed freedom to negotiate a new treaty is bound by the procedural requirements of Article 48 TEU and by the requirement that a condition of Union membership is a commitment to human rights, democracy and the rule of law in accordance with Articles 2 and 49 TEU. Therefore, even if one accepts that a certain “hard core” of Union law exists and could not be modified, even by way of a new treaty, such “hardcore rules” would be found foremost in the characteristics of the institutional system of the EU as a quasi-constitution and, more importantly, in the foundational principles of the Union as defined in Article 2 TEU. These principles are to be regarded as part of the non-derogable Union *acquis* inasmuch as they are a prerequisite for membership of the Union and a serious breach of these principles attracts the possibility of sanctions under Article 7 TEU. In this sense, any constitutional settlement that entails an internal secession should be endowed with democratic institutions, respect

81. Andrea Ott, *The “Principle” of Differentiation in an Enlarged European Union: Unity in Diversity?*, in *THE CONSTITUTION FOR EUROPE AND AN ENLARGING UNION: UNITY IN DIVERSITY?* 104, 122 (Kirsty Inglis & Andrea Ott eds., 2005); see also Christophe Hillion, *Negotiating Turkey’s Membership to the European Union: Can the Member States Do as They Please?*, 3 *EUR. CONST. L. REV.* 269 (2007); Nikolaos Lavranos, *Revisiting Article 307: The Untouchable Core of Fundamental European Constitutional Law Values and Principles*, in *SHAPING RULE OF LAW THROUGH DIALOGUE* 119 (Filippo Fontanelli et al. eds., 2009).

82. Grundgesetz [GG] [Basic Law], art 79(3) (providing that the principles contained in Arts. 1–20 of the German Basic Law may never be modified). In France, the republican principle may not be modified according to Art. 89(5) of the French Constitution. 1958 CONST. art. 89(5).

83. See Jochen A. Frowein, *Jus Cogens*, in *MAX PLANCK ENCYCLOPEDIA OF PUBLIC INTERNATIONAL LAW* (2013).

84. Ex Article 164 TEC (ex Article 220 TEC after the Treaty of Amsterdam) replaced in substance by Article 19 TEU.

85. *Opinion 1/91*, Draft Agreement Between the Community, on the One Hand, and the Countries of the European Free Trade Association, on the Other, Relating to the Creation of the European Economic Area, 1991 E.C.R. I-06079, ¶ 72.

the rule of law and effectively protect human rights and fundamental freedoms.⁸⁶

To sum up this section, by and large, EU law respects the constitutional autonomy of member states by not being prescriptive as to the form and the content of processes of territorial re-organisation, including internal secession. To the extent that they respect the foundational values of the Union constitutional order and do not pose hurdles to the effective application of EU law, the Union may accommodate them.

III. EXTERNAL SECESSION

Within the Union legal order, the issue of external secession (i.e., the right to external self-determination and independence) is more challenging than internal secession. As previously mentioned, Crawford explained that “no one is very clear as to what [this right] means, at least outside the colonial context.”⁸⁷ Indeed, the right to external secession for peoples under colonial domination was enshrined in the UN Charter⁸⁸ and further crystallised in UN General Assembly Resolutions 1514 (XV) 1960⁸⁹ and 1541 (XV) 1960.⁹⁰ As time went by, the legal right of the non-self-governing territories to become independent from their metropolitan State became well-established. The ICJ endorsed the respective decolonisation processes based on the right of external self-determination in its opinions on *Namibia*,⁹¹ *Western Sahara*⁹² and, more recently, *Chagos*.⁹³

Outside the colonial context, however, it should be noted that Joint Article 1 of the two covenants in the International Bill of Rights provides

86. See Case 222/84, *Johnston v. Chief Constable of the Royal Ulster Constabulary*, 1984 E.C.R. 01651 (discussing the rule of law); Case C-192/18, *Comm’n v. Poland*, ECLI:EU:C:2019:924 (Nov. 5, 2019); Case C-791/19 R, *Comm’n v. Poland*, ECLI:EU:C:2020:277 (Apr. 8, 2020).

87. Crawford, *supra* note 39, at 10.

88. U.N. Charter art. 55 (referring to “the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples”); *id.* art. 73 (regarding colonial/non-self-governing territories, provides that “Members of the United Nations which have or assume responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government recognize the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount, and accept as a sacred trust the obligation to promote to the utmost, within the system of international peace and security established by the present Charter, the well-being of the inhabitants of these territories”).

89. G.A. Res. 1514, at 66 (Dec. 14, 1960).

90. G.A. Res. 1541, at 29 (Dec. 15, 1960).

91. *Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) Notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970)*, Advisory Opinion, 1971 I.C.J. Rep. 16.

92. *Western Sahara*, Advisory Opinion, 1975 I.C.J. Rep. 12 (Oct. 16).

93. *Legal Consequences of the Separation of the Chagos Archipelago from Mauritius in 1965*, Advisory Opinion, 2019 I.C.J. Rep. 95 (Feb. 25).

that “[a]ll peoples have the right of self-determination.”⁹⁴ This does not mean, however, that all peoples have the right to external secession and independence. In fact, a state that respects the principles of self-determination in its internal arrangements “is entitled to maintain its territorial integrity under international law.”⁹⁵ As the Canadian Supreme Court held, “international law does not specifically grant component parts of sovereign states the legal right to secede unilaterally from their ‘parent’ state.”⁹⁶

Having said that, the Canadian Supreme Court did not rule out the possibility of *de facto* secession as a result of a unilateral and unconstitutional declaration of independence.⁹⁷ The ultimate success of such secession would depend on effective control of a territory and recognition by the international community.⁹⁸ The ICJ reaffirmed this finding in its *Advisory Opinion on Kosovo* in 2010.⁹⁹ There, the Court confirmed that there was no prohibition on declarations of independence in international law and that the legal obligation to respect territorial integrity is imposed only on states, not on non-state actors.¹⁰⁰ More importantly, for the purposes of the present Article, both of these judgments accept the possibility of a consensual process of secession that would follow rules established within a given constitutional order.

In a nutshell, while the right to external secession and independence for peoples under colonial domination is undisputed, international law does not specifically grant constituent units of sovereign states the legal right to secede from their parent state. However, the judicial decisions of the Canadian Supreme Court and the ICJ underline the pragmatic approach that international law has traditionally taken regarding secessionism. Cassese summed it up as follows:

[I]nternational law does not ban secessionism: the breaking away of a nation or ethnic group is neither authorized nor prohibited by legal rules; it is simply regarded as a fact of life, outside the realm of law,

94. See ICPR, *supra* note 37, art. 1.

95. See Reference re Secession of Quebec, [1998] 2 S.C.R. 217, para. 154 (Can.).

96. *Id.* ¶ 111.

97. *Id.* ¶ 106.

98. *Id.* ¶ 142. See also Kevin Mgwanga Gunme et al. v. Cameroon, Communication 266/2003, African Commission on Human and Peoples’ Rights [Afr. Comm’n H.P.R.] (May 27, 2009) (finding Southern Cameroonian grievances unresolvable through secession from the Republic of Cameroon).

99. See *Advisory Opinion on Kosovo*, *supra* note 45.

100. *Id.* ¶¶ 79–84.

and to which law can attach legal consequences depending on the circumstances of the case.¹⁰¹

The EU has largely followed this pragmatism. It is not a mere coincidence that the Union has already accommodated within its legal order the results of secessions that have taken place through consensual processes. For instance, the Czech Republic and Slovakia became independent in a consensual manner.¹⁰² This was never considered a hurdle to their accession to the EU. Even as to the heated debate on the continuing membership of a region that has consensually seceded from a member state—as was discussed before the 2014 Scottish referendum—the main question centred on the appropriate process for Scotland to become an EU member state rather than the eligibility and/or the legitimacy of its potential candidacy.¹⁰³

To understand how the EU can accommodate the potential external secession of component parts of its member states, this section incorporates the distinction that international law adopts with regard to this phenomenon by analysing three scenarios: secession of non-self-governing territories, non-consensual secession and consensual secession in the non-colonial context. Part *A* relates to the processes of unfinished decolonisation and is the most unproblematic. The right of external secession in the colonial context is undisputed and as such, the EU has adapted to the relevant international law requirements. The subsequent two parts discuss the less straightforward scenario of external secession in the non-colonial context. Part *B* points to the fact that the EU in principle cannot and should not endorse the outcomes of non-consensual external secession, as this would undermine the territorial integrity of its member states and the foundational values of Article 2 TEU. It also points to the limits of such prohibitions by briefly referring to the issue of remedial secession and the concept of engagement without recognition. Finally, Part *C* sheds light on the flexibility of the EU legal toolkit, which allows for the accommodation of the results of consensual secession as long as it does not breach Article 2 TEU. Whether such a process could lead to the creation of a new (member) state, the dissolution of an old one or the enlargement of another, the EU's constitutional order of states possesses the necessary legal mechanisms to achieve a smooth transition to the new reality. Overall, as in the case of internal secession, the Article highlights that the Union may accommodate processes of external secession provided that they are in conformity with the foundational values of Article 2 TEU.

101. ANTONIO CASSESE, SELF-DETERMINATION OF PEOPLES: A LEGAL REAPPRAISAL 340 (1995).

102. Christopher K. Connolly, *Independence in Europe: Secession, Sovereignty, and the European Union*, 24 DUKE J. COMPAR. & INT'L L. 51, 90 (2013).

103. See *Scotland's EU Membership*, *supra* note 11.

A. *Secession of Non-Self-Governing Territories*

The right to external secession in the colonial context is undisputed. As an international organisation that has vowed to strictly observe and develop “international law, including respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter,”¹⁰⁴ it is hardly surprising that the EU has recognised and accepted the occurrence of moving borders regarding such territories. The CJEU has acknowledged the importance of the right of self-determination for non-self-governing territories:

[T]he customary principle of self-determination referred to in particular in Article 1 of the Charter of the United Nations is, as the International Court of Justice stated in paragraphs 54 to 56 of its Advisory Opinion on Western Sahara, a principle of international law applicable to all non-self-governing territories and to all peoples who have not yet achieved independence.¹⁰⁵

The most often cited example of the EU’s attitude towards decolonisation involving one of its member states relates to Algeria’s independence. Interestingly, Algeria was not initially listed as a non-self-governing territory in Chapter XI of the UN Charter. However, the General Assembly later affirmed the right of its people to external secession and independence.¹⁰⁶ Prior to its independence, Algeria enjoyed a status under the then Article 277(2) EEC that was similar to the one currently linked with the Outermost Regions.¹⁰⁷ When it gained its independence from France in 1962, Algeria faced the prospect of an immediate rupture of its relations with the then European Economic Community (EEC). This is why the Algerian President requested from the Council the “maintenance” (or retention) of the application of certain treaty provisions “pending future

104. TEU, *supra* note 26, art. 3, ¶ 5.

105. *See Front Polisario*, ECLI:EU:C:2016:973, ¶ 88.

106. G.A. Res. 1573 (XV), ¶ 1 (Dec. 19, 1960); G.A. Res. 1724 (XVI) (Dec. 20, 1961).

107. The current Outermost Regions are French Guadeloupe, French Guiana, Martinique and Réunion, Saint-Barthélemy, Saint-Martin, the Spanish Canary Islands and the Portuguese Azores and Madeira. Mayotte became an outermost region of the European Union on January 1, 2014, following a 2009 referendum with an overwhelming result in favour of the department’s status. By virtue of TFEU art. 355(1) the EU *acquis*, generally speaking, applies to them. *See* Consolidated Version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union art. 355(1), Oct. 26, 2012, 2012 O.J. (C 326) 47 [hereinafter TFEU]. However, in accordance with TFEU art. 349, the Council, “[t]aking account of the structural social and economic situation” of these regions and “their remoteness, insularity, small size, difficult topography and climate, economic dependence on a few products, the permanence and combination of which severely restrain their development,” has adopted “specific measures aimed, in particular, at laying down the conditions of application of the Treaties to those regions, including common policies.” *Id.* art. 349.

definition of EEC-Algeria relations.”¹⁰⁸ “While receipt of the request was acknowledged by the Council in January 1963, and was assessed positively by the Commission, it is unclear whether the relevant Treaty provisions continued to apply until the conclusion of the first EC-Algeria bilateral agreement in 1976.”¹⁰⁹

The unclear status of the application of EU law in Algeria from the moment of its independence until the signing of the bilateral agreement does not mean that, in the current state of integration of the EU legal order, such “soft” tools will be considered sufficient for its continuing application in a former non-self-governing territory that has since become independent. Expressed differently, as a matter of legal certainty, it is only an express and legally binding agreement between the EU and the newly independent state that would secure the continuous relationship between the two, if the parties so desire. In contrast, the independence of a non-self-governing territory would trigger the end of its constitutional relationship with a member state and, as such, their automatic expulsion from the EU’s legal and regulatory orbit.

This is important if one takes into account the political developments in certain non-self-governing territories that have a constitutional relationship with an EU member state.¹¹⁰ For instance, the Nouméa Accord¹¹¹—signed in 1998 following a period of secessionist unrest in the 1980s—permitted referendum votes for the independence of New Caledonia. The first was held in 2018¹¹² and the second in 2020.¹¹³ In both

108. Allan F. Tatham, *Don’t Mention Divorce at the Wedding, Darling!?: EU Accession and Withdrawal After Lisbon*, in *EU LAW AFTER LISBON* 128, 144 (Andrea Biondi et al. eds., 2012).

109. Phoebus Athanassiou & Stéphanie Laulhé Shaelou, *EU Accession from Within?—An Introduction*, 33 *Y.B. EUR. L.* 335, 351 (2014).

110. Following the United Kingdom’s withdrawal from the EU, there are eight remaining Overseas Countries and Territories—five with France: New Caledonia and Dependencies, French Polynesia, French Southern and Antarctic Territories, Wallis and Futuna Islands (known collectively as “*Territoires d’outre mer*”) and Saint Pierre and Miquelon; two with the Netherlands: Aruba and the Netherlands Antilles (Bonaire, Curaçao Saba, Sint Eustatius and Sint Maarten); and one with Denmark: Greenland. See Annex II Overseas Countries and Territories to which the Provisions of Part Four of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union Apply, June 7, 2016, 2007 O.J. (C 202) 334.

111. Loi 121 du 5 mai 1998 accord sur la Nouvelle-Calédonie [Law 121 of May 5, 1998 accord on New Caledonia], *JOURNAL OFFICIEL DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE [J.O.] [OFFICIAL GAZETTE OF FRANCE]*, May 5, 1998.

112. See generally Denise Fisher, *New Caledonia’s Independence Referendum: Local and Regional Implications*, *LOWY INST.* (May 8, 2019), <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/publications/new-caledonia-s-independence-referendum-local-regional-implications#heading-1649> (summarizing the social unrest in New Caledonia propelled by the November 2018 referendum that kickstarted the self-determination process).

113. See generally Elisabeth Alber, *New Caledonia Rejects Once Again Full Independence, but the Die is Not Yet Entirely Cast*, *IACL-AICL BLOG* (Oct. 6, 2020), <https://blog-iacl-aicd.org/2020-posts/2020/10/6/new-caledonia-rejects-once-again-full-independence-but-the-die-is-not-yet-entirely-cast> (describing the narrow margins with which New Caledonia decided to stay with France in the 2018 and 2020 referenda).

votes, the majority chose not to become independent. The Nouméa Accord permitted a final referendum to be organised. It was held in December 2021 and widely rejected independence amid boycotts by the independence movement.¹¹⁴

Similar constitutional and political debates are currently taking place in other self-governing territories as well. This is a result of international law obligations that EU member states have undertaken and the relevant constitutional law provisions.¹¹⁵ In this sense, it is by no means unthinkable that the EU and at least one of its member states might face in the years to come a similar situation to the one relating to Algeria in the 1960s. In any case, the EU will respect and accommodate the outcome of such decolonisation process by terminating its current contractual relationship with the relevant entity and/or by building a new legal framework with the newly independent state, as it did in the case of Algeria. The last section of this part of the Article puts forward a proposal about how the EU may engage with the newly independent state to secure an orderly transition to the new state of affairs.

B. *Non-Colonial Context: Non-Consensual Secession*

While the right to unilateral secession is undisputed in the case of non-self-governing territories, in the non-colonial context, unilateralism is arguably allowed only in the context of remedial secession. In this sense, the distinction between consensual and non-consensual secession is crucial to the legality of such processes. In fact, “[t]he compatibility of secessions with EU law depends decisively on whether they are unilateral (i.e. non-consensual) or consensual/agreed processes.”¹¹⁶ This section explains why the EU cannot endorse non-consensual secessions, as this would threaten the territorial integrity of its member states and breach Article 2 TEU’s foundational values. This confirms the Article’s thesis that the EU legal order may only accommodate external secessions that conform with the EU’s core constitutional principles. Conversely, EU law’s position when it is the metropolitan state that flagrantly and persistently violates the

114. See generally Ethan Smith, *The Future of New Caledonia Following the Third Independence Referendum: A French Balancing Act*, EURAC RSCH. BLOG (July 26, 2022), <https://www.eurac.edu/en/blogs/eureka/the-future-of-new-caledonia-following-the-third-independence-referendum-a-french> (outlining New Caledonia’s decision not to become independent).

115. The Preamble of the French Constitution provides that “[b]y virtue of these principles and that of the self-determination of peoples, the Republic offers to the overseas territories which have expressed the will to adhere to them new institutions founded on the common ideal of liberty, equality and fraternity and conceived for the purpose of their democratic development.” 1958 CONST. preamble (Fr.).

116. See Closa, *supra* note 14, at 247.

principles of Article 2 TEU in its effort to deal with a secessionist movement should also be analysed; therefore, this section also explores whether the EU legal order allows for an exception concerning remedial non-consensual secessions. Finally, despite the fact that respect to Article 2 TEU is a *conditio sine qua non* for the accommodation of a secession, this section highlights that the Union does not deal with non-consensual secessions in a purist and monolithic way, as conventional wisdom suggests. The case of Cyprus highlights the flexibility of the EU legal order—the Union has managed to engage with the respective unrecognised entity without formally recognising it.

1. *Non-Consensual Secession and EU Law*

At its inception, the United Nations General Assembly had fifty-one member states. Today, it has 193 members. Out of those states created during the second half of the twentieth century, almost three-quarters were born out of secession.¹¹⁷ The vast majority of these secessions were non-consensual and sometimes even violent. Still, they led to the creation of functioning, internationally recognised states. This historic reality, *inter alia*, led to the ICJ recognising that there was no prohibition on declarations of independence in international law.¹¹⁸ The Court went a step further with its pragmatist view by highlighting that the legal obligation to respect the territorial integrity of states is imposed only on other states, not on non-state actors.¹¹⁹ In that sense, an independentist movement of a sub-state entity cannot be found *per se* as breaching this principle in international law unless it is actively supported by another state.

And yet, secession and/or a political movement supporting it may be found as breaching national constitutional law by threatening the integrity of the state and its law and order. In fact, most Constitutions are generally hostile to secession by affirming either explicitly or implicitly the primacy of the state's territorial integrity.¹²⁰ Even when they are silent on the matter, they often adopt tools and strategies to prevent secession for “existential—and not so existential—needs, rather than democratic reasons alone.”¹²¹ These strategies include the use of “eternity clauses” and bans on either partition/secession or secessionist political parties.¹²² For instance, Article 2

117. See RYAN D. GRIFFITHS, *AGE OF SECESSION: THE INTERNATIONAL AND DOMESTIC DETERMINANTS OF STATE BIRTH* 2 (2016).

118. See Advisory Opinion on Kosovo, *supra* note 45, ¶¶ 79–84.

119. *Id.* ¶ 80.

120. Patrick Monahan, Michael J. Bryant & Nancy C. Coté, *Coming to Terms with Plan B: Ten Principles Governing Secession*, 83 C.D. HOWE INST. COMMENT. 7–8 (1996).

121. Rivka Weill, *Secession and the Prevalence of Both Militant Democracy and Eternity Clauses Worldwide*, 40 CARDOZO L. REV. 905, 913 (2018).

122. *Id.*

of the Bulgarian Constitution proclaims the inviolability of Bulgaria's territorial integrity.¹²³ The indivisibility of the Republics of France and Romania is enshrined in Article 1 of their respective constitutions, while Article 2 of the Spanish Constitution speaks of the indissoluble unity of the Spanish nation.¹²⁴ Similarly, Article 185 of the Cypriot Constitution prohibits the integral or partial union of the island with another state and separatist independence.¹²⁵

Due to the composite nature of the EU constitution, the secessionist-restraining attitude that national constitutions often adopt has a knock-on effect on the legal stance of the EU towards cases of non-consensual secession. In particular, Article 4(2) TEU provides that “[t]he Union shall respect . . . Member States[] [] national identities, inherent in their fundamental structures, political and constitutional, inclusive of regional and local self-government.”¹²⁶ In addition, the EU “shall respect [member states] essential State functions, including ensuring the territorial integrity of the State.”¹²⁷ As Peers noted, the “obvious consequence to be drawn from this provision is that in the event of a purported secession from a Member State, the Union must respect that Member State’s position as regards whether the secession is valid and the date upon which the secession takes place.”¹²⁸ Therefore, a non-consensual secession that breaches national constitutional law and undermines the territorial integrity of a member state ought to be condemned by the EU institutions pursuant to Article 4(2) TEU that lies at the centre of the Union’s constitutional order of States.¹²⁹

In addition, the duty of loyal cooperation enshrined in Article 4(3) TEU imposes a legal obligation on the EU institutions and the member states not to undermine the position that the respective metropolitan State adopts with regard to the relevant non-consensual secession.¹³⁰ In *Ireland v.*

123. See KONSTITUTSIYA NA REPUBLIKA BĂLGARIYA [CONSTITUTION], art. 2 (Bulg.).

124. See 1958 CONST. art. 1 (Fr.); CONSTITUȚIA ROMÂNIEI [CONSTITUTION], art. 1 (Rom.); C.E., B.O.E. n. 2, Dec. 29, 1978 (Spain).

125. See TO SYNTAGMA TIS KIPRIAKÍS DIMOKRATÍAS [CONSTITUTION], art. 185 (Cyprus).

126. TEU, *supra* note 26, art. 4, ¶ 2.

127. *Id.*

128. Peers, *supra* note 27, at 59–60.

129. In an open letter to the Spanish Member of the European Parliament, Beatriz Becerra Basterrechea, then President of the European Parliament Antonio Tajani underlined that “[T]he constitutional framework of individual Member states are part of the legal framework of the European Union. Their respect must be guaranteed at all times Any action against the constitution of a Member State is an action against the European Union’s legal framework.” Letter from Antonio Tajani, President, Eur. Parl., to Beatriz Becerra Basterrechea, MEP, Eur. Parl. (Sept. 7, 2017), <https://beatrizbecerra.eu/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/Respuesta-Tajani-Cataluña.pdf>.

130. TEU, *supra* note 26, art. 4, ¶ 3.

Commission,¹³¹ the Court of Justice held that “the duty to cooperate in good faith governs relations between the Member States and the institutions”¹³² and emphasised that this obligation “imposes on Member States and the [Union] institutions mutual duties to cooperate in good faith.”¹³³ This means that the member states and the EU should not, for instance, build economic and political relations with a breakaway entity without the explicit consent of the relevant member state. If they acted in such a way, they would be *de facto* challenging and questioning the legal stance that the metropolitan state would have adopted. As such, they would be breaching the duty of loyal cooperation. This is one of the arguments that the Republic of Cyprus has put forward to block the proposal for a Regulation that would establish direct trade relations between the Union and the unrecognised Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus.¹³⁴ In particular, they emphasised that due to the duty of loyal cooperation, the EU and its member states should respect the closure of the ports in northern Cyprus and not build direct economic relations between the breakaway state and the rest of the EU without the explicit consent of the Republic.¹³⁵

Finally, pursuant to Article 2 TEU, the EU emphasises a richer conception of democracy that “inserts other values, such as respect for fundamental human rights and observance of the rule of law.”¹³⁶ In fact, the Commission has stressed that “respect for the rule of law is intrinsically linked to respect for democracy and for fundamental rights: there can be no democracy and respect for fundamental rights without respect for the rule of law and vice versa.”¹³⁷ However, proponents of non-consensual secession rarely claim that their actions conform with the constitution of the given metropolitan state. In fact, the aim of independence referendums and unilateral declarations of independence, like the ones that took place in Catalonia in 2017, is precisely to mark the rupture with the old constitutional order and to create a new one without necessarily respecting the rules of the national constitution.¹³⁸ This disregard for the norms of the national

131. Case C-339/00, *Ireland v. Comm’n*, 2003 E.C.R. I-11757.

132. *Id.* ¶ 71.

133. *Id.*

134. *Commission Proposal for a Council Regulation on Special Conditions for Trade with Those Areas of the Republic of Cyprus in Which the Government of the Republic of Cyprus Does not Exercise Effective Control*, COM (2004) 466 final (July 7, 2004).

135. NIKOS SKOUTARIS, *THE CYPRUS ISSUE: THE FOUR FREEDOMS IN A MEMBER STATE UNDER SIEGE* 151–53 (2011).

136. See Closa, *supra* note 14, at 249–50.

137. *Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council, A New EU Framework to Strengthen the Rule of Law*, at 4, COM (2014) 158 final (Nov. 3, 2014).

138. See generally Nikos Skoutaris, *Homage to Catalonia: How to Lift the Gridlock of Constitutional Crisis in Spain*, VERFASSUNGSBLOG (Oct. 6, 2017), <https://verfassungsblog.de/homage-to-catalonia-how-to-lift-the-gridlock-of-constitutional-crisis-in-spain/> (analysing the constitutional issues raised by the October 2017 independence referendum in Catalonia).

constitutional order raises—at a minimum—questions as to whether non-consensual secession adheres to values such as democracy and the rule of law enshrined in Article 2 TEU. Respect for those values, however, is a prerequisite for EU membership under Article 49 TEU. Therefore, a non-consensual secession that does not respect those foundational principles, including the observance to the rule of law, would be deemed antithetical to the EU's constitutional ethos. Even if it should lead to the creation of a functioning state, its membership to the EU would be questioned, at least in the short term, as the member states and the EU institutions examine its respect for these values. This confirms the overall argument of the Article that compatibility with Article 2 TEU is a necessary condition for a secession to be accommodated within the Union's constitutional order of states.

2. *Non-Consensual Remedial Secession*

Article 4(2) TEU dictates that the EU and its member states should respect the position of the relevant state towards a purported secession that takes place within its borders.¹³⁹ In this sense, a non-consensual secession that breaches the principles of the EU, including democracy and rule of law, cannot be accommodated by the Union. Such deference and reliance, however, on the member states' domestic orders creates a legal and political space in which metropolitan states may potentially suppress secession. This raises the question of whether there is a limit to this deferential attitude. What should be the stance of the EU if, for instance, a constituent unit of a member state fully adheres to Article 2 TEU in its effort to gain independence, but it is the metropolitan state that breaches it by using excessive coercion and brutal force to deter this event from happening? Does EU law recognise the possibility of remedial secession?

The right to external secession arises only in “the most extreme of cases and, even then, under carefully defined circumstances.”¹⁴⁰ Outside the colonial context, a right to unilateral secession may be recognised to people “subject to alien subjugation, domination or exploitation.”¹⁴¹ This understanding is very much based on the Saving Clause of the Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation Among States in Accordance with the Charter of the United Nations (Friendly Relations Declaration) of 1970.¹⁴² UN General Assembly Resolution 2625 appears to qualify the guarantee of territorial integrity by restricting it to states “possessed of a government representing the whole

139. Peers, *supra* note 27, at 59–60

140. *See* Reference re Secession of Quebec, [1998] 2 S.C.R. 217, para. 126 (Can.).

141. *Id.* para. 133.

142. *Id.*

people belonging to the territory without distinction as to race, creed or colour.”¹⁴³ As a special rapporteur of the former UN Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities summed up this point:

The right of secession unquestionably exists, however, in a special, but very important case: that of peoples, territories and entities subjugated in violation of international law. In such cases, the peoples concerned have the right to regain their freedom and constitute themselves independent sovereign States.¹⁴⁴

Having said that, the Canadian Supreme Court went a step further by suggesting that a people is also entitled to secession when it “is blocked from the meaningful exercise of its right to self-determination internally.”¹⁴⁵ In other words, it “is denied meaningful access to government to pursue their political, economic, social and cultural development.”¹⁴⁶ Interestingly, in its judgment annulling the Catalan Law on the organisation of the October 2017 independence referendum, the Spanish Constitutional Court also found that a right of remedial secession exists.¹⁴⁷ Obviously, in neither of the two cases did the relevant highest court of the land hold that the ethnic group in question—the Quebecers and Catalans, respectively—satisfied the conditions to lawfully claim such right.

Despite these proclamations, the status of remedial secession in international law remains unclear. In its *Advisory Opinion on Kosovo*, the ICJ noted that:

Whether . . . self-determination confers upon part of the population of an existing State a right to separate from that State is, however, a subject on which radically different views were expressed . . . Similar differences existed regarding whether international law provides for a right of “remedial secession” and, if so, in what circumstances.¹⁴⁸

Given this, it is not unsurprising that the EU legal order does not appear to have a clear position on the matter. In fact, during the proceedings of the

143. Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation Among States in Accordance with the Charter of the United Nations (A/8082), G.A. Res. 2625 (XXV), at 124 (Oct. 24, 1970).

144. Aureliu Cristescu (Special Rapporteur of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities), *The Right to Self-Determination: Historical and Current Development on the Basis of United Nations Instruments*, ¶ 173, U.N. DOC. E/CN.4/SUB.2/404/REV.1 (1981).

145. *See* Reference re Secession of Quebec, [1998] 2 S.C.R. 217, para. 134 (Can.).

146. *Id.* para. 138.

147. S.T.C., Oct. 9, 2017 (B.O.E., No. 254), ¶ I.1 (Spain).

148. *See* Advisory Opinion on Kosovo, *supra* note 45, ¶ 82.

Kosovo Advisory Opinion, the differences between the member states became evident. On one hand, Finland accepted remedial secession in a range of circumstances, including “abnormality, or rupture, situations of revolution, war, alien subjugation or the absence of a meaningful prospect for a functioning internal self-determination regime.”¹⁴⁹ On the other hand, Spain, Slovakia and Cyprus rejected this understanding of international law.¹⁵⁰ This difference of opinion between member states alludes to the very real possibility that the Union may not accommodate a case of non-consensual secession even if in response to flagrant violations of the foundational principles of Article 2 TEU.

That being said, these values are a prerequisite for accession to the EU, and compliance with them is a *sine qua non* for the continuous enjoyment of EU membership. The CJEU recently held:

[O]nce a candidate State becomes a Member State, it joins a legal structure that is based on the fundamental premiss that each Member State shares with all the other Member States, and recognises that they share with it, the common values contained in Article 2 TEU, on which the European Union is founded.¹⁵¹

A persistent breach of those values may lead to the triggering of the procedure outlined in Article 7 TEU. Thus, if a member state, in its effort to counter a secessionist movement, flagrantly violates Article 2, it may face sanctions under Article 7 TEU as well as financial repercussions under Regulation 2020/2092, which provides for “the rules necessary for the protection of the Union budget in the case of breaches of the principles of the rule of law in the Member States.”¹⁵²

3. *Engagement Without Recognition*

The two previous sub-sections explain why the EU legal order is unable to accommodate non-consensual secession. However, this does not mean that the EU refuses to interact with entities that have been established as a

149. *Accordance with International Law of the Unilateral Declaration of Independence by the Provisional Institutions of Self-Government of Kosovo (Request for Advisory Opinion) Statement of Finland*, ¶ 9 (Apr. 2009).

150. *Accordance with International Law of the Unilateral Declaration of Independence by the Provisional Institutions of Self-Government of Kosovo (Request for Advisory Opinion) Statement of Cyprus*, ¶¶ 140–48 (April 3, 2009); *Accordance with International Law of the Unilateral Declaration of Independence by the Provisional Institutions of Self-Government of Kosovo (Request for Advisory Opinion) Statement of Slovakia*, ¶ 28; *Accordance with International Law of the Unilateral Declaration of Independence by the Provisional Institutions of Self-Government of Kosovo (Request for Advisory Opinion) Statement of Spain*, ¶ 15.

151. *See* Case C-156/21, *Hungary v. Parliament and Council*, ECLI:EU:C:2022:97, ¶ 125 (Feb. 16, 2022).

152. Regulation 2020/2092 of Dec. 16, 2020, General Regime of Conditionality for the Protection of the Union Budget, art. 1, 2020 O.J. (L 433) 1.

result of these processes. Instead of adopting a purist and monolithic approach towards unrecognised entities, the Union often legally, politically and economically engages with them without being understood to have recognised them as full and equal sovereign actors in the international system.¹⁵³ The most obvious example of such flexibility is evident in how the EU has interacted with the *status quo* in northern Cyprus.

The Republic of Cyprus (RoC) gained its independence from the United Kingdom in 1960. The international legal framework that established the new State¹⁵⁴ set out a complicated power-sharing arrangement between the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot communities on the island. This sophisticated institutional regime collapsed just four years later,¹⁵⁵ while the territorial division of the two communities was consolidated and took its current form in 1974, when Turkey militarily intervened. Almost a decade later, on 15 November 1983, the Turkish Cypriot community proclaimed its independence as the so-called Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC).¹⁵⁶ The UN Security Council deplored “the purported secession of part of the Republic of Cyprus” and called upon all States “not to recognize any Cypriot State other than the Republic of Cyprus.”¹⁵⁷ This was reiterated in Security Council Resolution 550 (1984), which called on States “not to recognize the purported State of the ‘Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus’ set up by secessionist acts.”¹⁵⁸ In other words, the UN Security Council condemned the Turkish Cypriot non-consensual secession.

On 24 April 2004, the Greek Cypriot community rejected in a referendum the UN-sponsored plan for the Comprehensive Settlement of the Cyprus Problem—commonly known as the Annan Plan.¹⁵⁹ Despite this, a week later, Cyprus as a whole became an EU member state. More importantly, for the purposes of this Article, the EU legal order proved to be flexible enough to engage with the regime in northern Cyprus, despite

153. On the concept of “engagement without recognition,” see Dimitris Bouris & George Kyrus, *Europeanisation, Sovereignty and Contested States: The EU in Northern Cyprus and Palestine*, 19 BRIT. J. POL. & INT’L RELS. 755 (2017); Nina Caspersen, *The Pursuit of International Recognition After Kosovo*, 21 GLOB. GOVERNANCE 393 (2015); James Ker-Lindsay, *Engagement Without Recognition: The Limits of Diplomatic Interaction with Contested States*, 91 INT’L AFFS. 267 (2015).

154. *Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus, Introduction, Cmd. 1093*, KYPROS, www.kypros.org/Constitution/English/Introduction/html (last visited Jan. 5, 2024).

155. See SKOUTARIS, *supra* note 135, at 22–25.

156. *Id.* at 28–29.

157. S.C. Res. 541, ¶ 1, 7 (Nov. 18, 1983).

158. S.C. Res. 550, ¶ 3 (May 11, 1984).

159. Susan Sachs, *Greek Cypriots Reject a U.N. Peace Plan*, N.Y. TIMES (Apr. 25, 2004), <https://www.nytimes.com/2004/04/25/world/greek-cypriots-reject-a-un-peace-plan.html>. See generally *The Comprehensive Settlement of the Cyprus Problem* (Mar. 31, 2004), https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/Annan_Plan_MARCH_30_2004.pdf (providing for an overview of the plan).

TRNC being the outcome of a non-consensual secession resulting from an act of aggression.

At the very centre of the EU pragmatic approach lies Protocol No. 10 on Cyprus of the Act of Accession 2003, which describes the terms of RoC's accession.¹⁶⁰ It highlights the remarkable flexibility of the Union's legal order to manage the unprecedented (for an EU member state) situation of not controlling part of its territory without recognising the breakaway entity. In the preamble of the Protocol, the EU member states and the acceding states considered that in the absence of a comprehensive settlement, it was necessary to provide for the terms under which EU law would apply to northern Cyprus.¹⁶¹ Thus, according to Article 1(1) of this Protocol, the application of EU law is suspended in the north—an area where RoC's internationally recognised government does not exercise effective control.¹⁶² Despite this, Article 2 of the Protocol allowed the Council, acting unanimously, to adopt the Green Line Regulation.¹⁶³ This legislative device provides rules for the free crossing of persons and goods of the “border” between the north and south of the island.¹⁶⁴ In other words, it provides for the partial application of the EU *acquis* in northern Cyprus despite the fact that an unrecognised state lies there. In addition, Article 3 allows for measures that promote the economic development of this part of the world.¹⁶⁵ Indeed, in 2006, the Council adopted the Financial Aid Regulation, which established an instrument for encouraging the economic development of the Turkish Cypriot community.¹⁶⁶

The existence of this legal framework highlights the fact that the EU constitutional order is more flexible on secessionism than conventional wisdom suggests. The Union can engage with unrecognised entities that have been established as a result of a non-consensual secession, even when they are the outcomes of acts of aggression condemned by the UN Security Council. Of course, this accommodation was made possible through the

160. Act Concerning the Conditions of Accession of the Czech Republic, the Republic of Estonia, the Republic of Cyprus, the Republic of Latvia, the Republic of Lithuania, the Republic of Hungary, the Republic of Malta, the Republic of Poland, the Republic of Slovenia and the Slovak Republic and the Adjustments to the Treaties on Which the European Union is founded—Protocol No 10 on Cyprus, 2003 O.J. (L 236) 46 [hereinafter Protocol No 10 on Cyprus].

161. *Id.*

162. *Id.*

163. Council Regulation 866/2004 of Apr. 29, 2004, Regime under Article 2 of Protocol 10 to the Act of Accession, art. 2, 2004 O.J. (L 206) 51.

164. *Id.*

165. *See* Protocol No 10 on Cyprus, *supra* note 160.

166. Council Regulation 389/2006 of Feb. 27, 2006, Establishing an Instrument of Financial Support for Encouraging the Economic Development of the Turkish Cypriot Community and Amending Council Regulation 2667/2000 on the European Agency for Reconstruction, 2006 O.J. (L 65) 5.

consent of the metropolitan state and primary legislation in the form of an Accession Treaty. If the Republic of Cyprus had not consented to it, it would not have been possible for the EU legal order to engage with the regime in northern Cyprus to such an extent. The pragmatic approach towards this unprecedented situation, however, did not lead to the complete normalisation of the relations between the EU and northern Cyprus. It merely eased the frictions created by the territorial division of the island. Still, it is important to highlight that without formally recognising the breakaway entity that lies within its borders, the EU engages with it regarding trade, free movement of people and economic assistance.

Cyprus is not the only case of non-consensual secession with which the EU interacts. A similar kind of pragmatism and flexibility are evident in the EU's stance towards Kosovo. To this day, five EU member states have not recognised Kosovo because they condemn the fact that it unilaterally declared its independence.¹⁶⁷ This has not stopped the EU from successfully engaging with Kosovo—the EU always emphasises that such engagement is in line with the UN Security Council Resolution 1244/1999 and the ICJ Opinion. In 2015, for instance, they signed the Stabilisation and Association Agreement.¹⁶⁸

More importantly, in a recent judgment, the CJEU held that:

[A] territorial entity situated outside the European Union which the European Union has not recognised as an independent State must be capable of being treated in the same way as a “third country” within the meaning of [a provision of an EU regulation], while not infringing international law.¹⁶⁹

So, according to the CJEU, Kosovo can be considered a “third country” despite it not being recognised by some member states, given that the ICJ did not find any illegality under international law in terms of its declaration of independence. This judgment underlines the fact that the EU's constitutional order of states is pragmatic and flexible enough to engage even with unrecognised entities that have been created through a process of non-consensual secession, although its own constitutional architecture prevents it from formally endorsing and recognising them. The interaction of the EU with both northern Cyprus and Kosovo proves that the position of the EU towards non-consensual secession is more nuanced than conventional wisdom suggests.

167. Juan García-Nieto, *It's Time for All EU Members to Recognise Kosovo*, EMERGING EUROPE (Sept. 15, 2023), <https://emerging-europe.com/voices/its-time-for-all-cu-members-to-recognise-kosovo/>.

168. Council Decision 2016/342 of Feb. 12, 2016, on the Conclusion, on Behalf of the Union, of the Stabilisation and Association Agreement Between the European Union and the European Atomic Energy Community, of the One Part, and Kosovo *, of the Other Part, 2016 O.J. (L 71) 3.

169. Case C-632/20 P, Spain v. Comm'n, ECLI:EU:C:2023:28, ¶ 50 (Jan. 17, 2023).

C. *Consensual Secession*

The previous section discussed the inherent characteristics of the Union constitutional order, including its composite nature, Article 2 TEU's foundational values and the duty of loyal cooperation, which dictate that the Union cannot endorse a non-consensual secession. At most, the EU may engage with such a secessionist entity without recognising it. Having said that, international law treats the issue of “the existence or disappearance of [a] State as a question of fact”¹⁷⁰ as it does not prohibit unilateral declarations of independence, let alone consensual secessions. This raises the question of the position of EU law in case a consensual external secession occurs within a member state.

It is true that, in the history of the European Union, “no valid precedent exists of a territory gaining independence and at the same time acceding to the EU.”¹⁷¹ The closest we came to test how such a phenomenon could work in practice—if at all—was in the context of the 2014 Scottish independence referendum. The majority of the Scottish electorate rejected independence.¹⁷² As a result, the debate on how the EU could accommodate such a consensual process and in particular the question of the continuity of Scotland's EU membership remained theoretical.

At that time, the official position of the Commission was clear:

If part of the territory of a Member State would cease to be part of that state because it were to become a new independent state, the Treaties would no longer apply to that territory. In other words, a new independent state would, by the fact of its independence, become a third country with respect to the EU and the Treaties would no longer apply on its territory.¹⁷³

170. Conference on Yugoslavia Arbitration Commission: Opinions on Questions Arising from the Dissolution of Yugoslavia, Opinion No 1, Jan. 11 and July 4, 1992, 31 I.L.M. 1488 (1992), at 1495.

171. See Clossa, *supra* note 14, at 251.

172. See *Scotland Decides*, BBC, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/events/scotland-decides/results> (last visited Jan. 5, 2024).

173. Letter from President JM Barroso to the House of Lords Economic Affairs Committee (Oct. 12, 2012) (on file with author) regarding the status of EU membership for Scotland in the event of independence. In fact, this letter expresses almost verbatim a similar position espoused by a previous President of the Commission, R Prodi, in 2004: “[w]hen a part of the territory of a Member State ceases to be a part of that state, e.g. because that territory becomes an independent state, the treaties will no longer apply to that territory. In other words, a newly independent region would, by the fact of its independence, become a third country with respect to the Union and the treaties would, from the day of its independence, not apply anymore” If the new country wished them to apply again, there would need to be “a negotiation on an agreement between the Applicant State and the Member States on the conditions of admission and the adjustments to the treaties which such admission entails. This agreement is subject to ratification by all Member States and the Applicant State.” Answer Given by Mr. Prodi on Behalf of the Comm'n to Written Question P-0524/04, 2004 O.J. (C 84E) 422.

This understanding of EU law is legally accurate in the sense that there is no specific provision in the treaties that addresses this situation or suggests otherwise. Moreover, the EU cannot “comprise a greater number of Member States than the number of States between which they were established.”¹⁷⁴ Therefore, a new subject of international law that would have been the result of a consensual secessionist process, such as an independent Scotland, would not be a signatory of the treaties and could therefore find itself outside the EU.

That being said, this understanding of EU law is also based on a very narrow reading of the treaties. It sits rather uncomfortably with the three fundamental aspects of the Union legal order we set out in the introduction: its composite nature, its respect to international law and its function as a peace plan. Concerning the first, this Article already set out that Article 4(2) TEU dictates that the EU should respect the constitutional position of a member state concerning a secessionist process. Therefore, as long as the latter is consensual and in conformity with the values of Article 2 TEU, the EU should at least exert an effort to accommodate it. With regard to the second, a consensual secessionist process that does not breach international law is a legitimate expression of the right to self-determination. As such, the EU, which has committed itself to the “strict observance and the development of international law,”¹⁷⁵ should respect the outcome of the process and try to accommodate it. Finally, automatic EU expulsion of a new state that has been created as a result of a consensual process that respects the domestic constitutional order and the Article 2 TEU values may exacerbate the tensions, frictions and fissures that a separation by definition creates and as such would undermine the role of the EU as a peace plan.

If the Union endorses the Commission’s position towards external secession, this would lead to the following paradoxical situation. While member states as a whole cannot be expelled and should trigger and follow the procedure prescribed in Article 50 TEU to withdraw from the European Union, their regions face the prospect of automatic expulsion should they decide to become independent. Apart from creating a legal paradox, a cliff-edge exit from the Union could threaten the political and economic stability of the project, but also can have negative consequences on the life choices of the EU citizens that live in the relevant region. Finally, such a one-size-fits-all approach towards the phenomenon of consensual external secession within the EU vastly underappreciates the complexities and legal questions that the different outcomes of a secessionist process may raise. The repercussions for the Union legal order would be very different if a

174. Case C-95/97, *Région Wallonne v. Comm’n*, 1997 E.C.R. I-1791.

175. TEU, *supra* note 26, art. 3, ¶ 5.

consensual secession were to lead to the dissolution of a member state, the reunification of another or the creation of a new independent state.

Thus, this section analyses how the EU may accommodate the three potential scenarios of consensual external secession. As seen in *Figure 1*, the legal implications of those alternative scenarios can be represented and examined in the form of three cascading questions. Does the predecessor state continue to exist? If the answer is in the negative, we must assess the effect of the relevant state dissolution on the EU membership of the successor states. If the answer is in the affirmative, the next question is whether the breakaway entity becomes an independent state or joins another member state. If the latter happens, we must explore the scenario of reunification. If it is the former, then we need to examine whether the new independent state enjoys a right to continuous Union membership.

The aforementioned scenarios of a consensual secessionist process that respects the domestic constitutional order and Article 2 TEU's foundational values lead to a new state of affairs that should be accommodated. To this effect, this Article puts forward a legally sound argument to manage a smooth transition to the new reality. The duty of loyal cooperation as enshrined in Article 4(3) TEU, the duty to respect the constitutional identity of member states per Article 4(2) TEU, and the respect to Article 2 TEU values provide a legal basis for the EU to engage with the breakaway entity and the metropolitan state with the aim of achieving a smooth transition to a new state of affairs. The result of negotiations such as the ones under Article 50 TEU, should not be considered pre-determined, but they should aim to prevent a "cliff-edge" withdrawal of the seceding entity from the EU. Such a deferential and accommodating approach is compatible with the composite nature of the EU constitution, the EU's commitment to the international legal order including the right to self-determination, and its role as a peace plan.

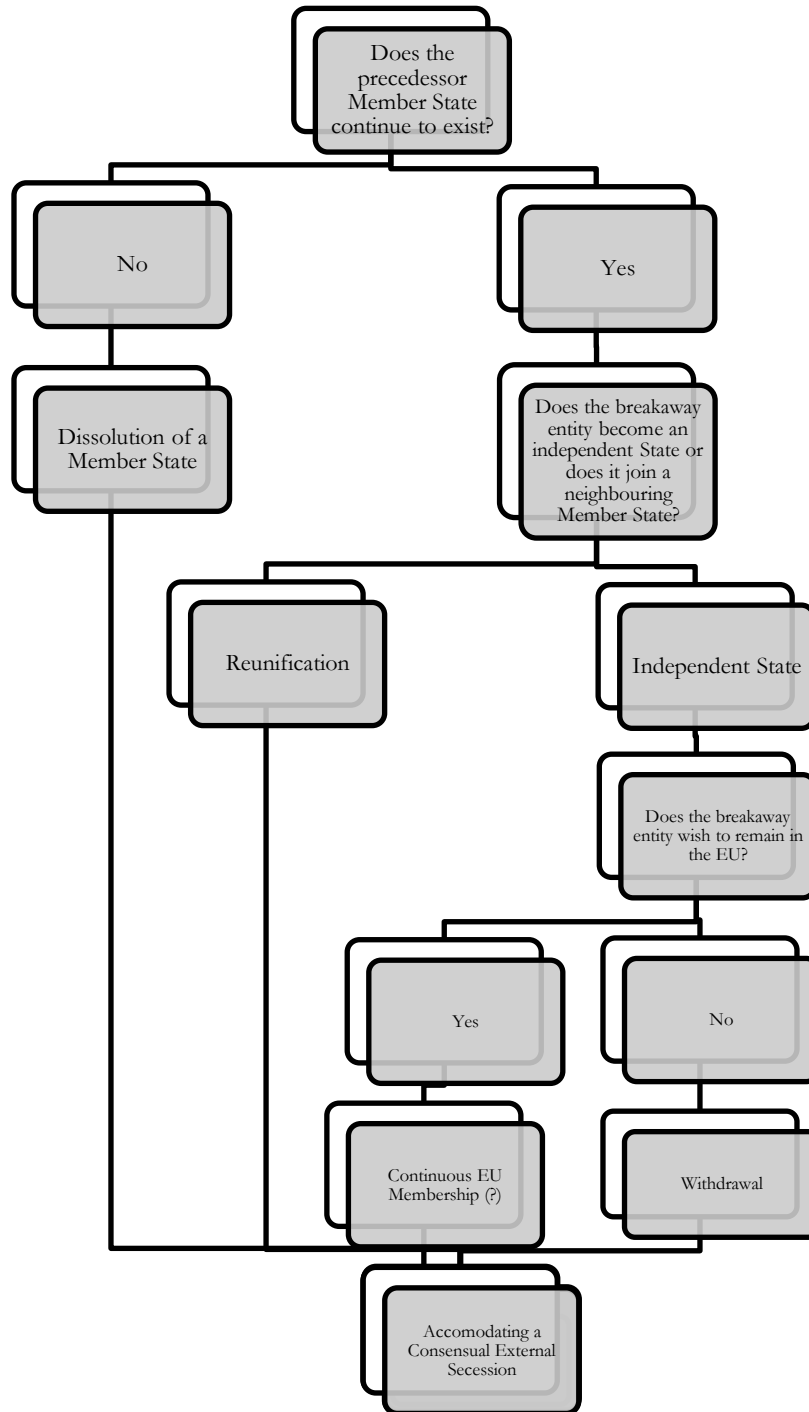


Figure 1: Cascading Scenarios of Consensual External Secession

1. *Dissolution and Member State Continuity*

The first question in our cascading scenarios asks whether the predecessor member state continues to exist following the consensual secession of one of its constituent units. If the answer is in the negative, dissolution occurs. For instance, following the “velvet divorce” of Czechoslovakia, the new states mutually agreed that their predecessor state ceased to exist on December 31, 1992.¹⁷⁶ As such, they subsequently made separate applications for membership in international organisations, such as the United Nations.¹⁷⁷

Crawford and Boyle have identified which factors influence state continuity. State practice suggests that the continuator state “[is] the unit retaining the majority of the predecessor state’s population and territory . . . [and] retain[s] substantially the same governmental institutions as the predecessor state.”¹⁷⁸ Other criteria include situations in which “the parties negotiat[e] terms of state succession that expressly or impliedly identif[y] a continuator state” and where “the identity of their predecessor states [is] not questioned by the seceding states, by other states or by organs of the UN.”¹⁷⁹ If, following a secession, no component unit exhibits these characteristics, “the international community may conclude that the predecessor state is extinct.”¹⁸⁰ If this is the case, it would raise questions about the effect of such events on the Union membership of newly independent states. Would they have to reapply? This question is not purely academic as there are two member states that could potentially find themselves in such an unenviable position: Belgium and a future reunified Cyprus.

Concerning the former, the federal constitutional order is underpinned by the partnership between the Flemish and Walloon communities and institutions. According to its constitution, Belgium comprises three territorial regions: the Flemish Region, the Walloon Region and the Brussels Region; as well as four linguistic regions: the Dutch-speaking region, the French-speaking region, the bilingual region of Brussels-Capital and the German-speaking region.¹⁸¹ It is precisely this political and constitutional equality between the different entities that, if Flanders were to become independent, would raise difficult questions about the continuous existence

176. Michael P. Scharf, *Musical Chairs: The Dissolution of States and Membership in the United Nations*, 28 CORNELL INT’L L.J. 29, 65 (1995).

177. *Id.* at 65–67.

178. *See* CRAWFORD & BOYLE, *supra* note 43, at 82, ¶ 68.

179. *Id.* at 83.

180. *See* Connolly, *supra* note 102, at 88.

181. 1994 CONST. (Belg.) arts. 3–4.

of Belgium as a state and a member of the EU. Even if one were to apply the previously mentioned public international law criteria that regulate state continuity, the outcome might not be straightforward. This is because “Flanders comprises the majority of Belgium’s territory and population” and controls most of its wealth.¹⁸² In this sense, it would be the most obvious choice for being recognised as the continuator state.¹⁸³ “To allow for this outcome, however, would be to transform Flemish secession into a situation where Flanders had, in effect, kicked Wallonia out of the Belgian state.”¹⁸⁴

With regard to a future reunified Cyprus, it is noted that:

[A] Cyprus settlement must be based on a State of Cyprus with a single sovereignty and international personality and a single citizenship, with its independence and territorial integrity safeguarded, and comprising two politically equal communities as described in the relevant Security Council resolutions, in a bi-communal and bi-zonal federation.¹⁸⁵

Therefore, if Cyprus were to ever be reunified under the said agreed parameters, the federation would be comprised of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot Constituent states of equal status. According to the 2004 UN Comprehensive Settlement Plan, which was rejected in a referendum, these two constituent states would “sovereignly exercise all powers not vested by the Constitution in the federal government.”¹⁸⁶ Given that this federation would be established under the joint constitutive power of the two ethno-religious communities and that the two constituent states would enjoy political equality, there would be a genuine question whether any of the two would be considered as the continuator state in the case of another partition.

In both Belgium and reunified Cyprus, the secession of a sub-state entity could lead to the dissolution of these (member) states. The model that could be used in case there is no obvious continuator state would be one of the “velvet divorce,” as in Czechoslovakia.¹⁸⁷ From an EU membership point of view, however, this might prove problematic, not least because the EU cannot comprise a greater number of member states than the number of the signatory parties to the treaties.¹⁸⁸ In this sense, the continuous membership of the new states in the EU would not be considered automatic, and they could face the prospect of a “cliff-edge” withdrawal from the EU.

182. *See* Connolly, *supra* note 102, at 89.

183. *Id.*

184. *Id.*

185. S.C. Res. 1251, ¶ 11 (June 29, 1999).

186. The Comprehensive Settlement of the Cyprus Problem, art. 2, ¶ 1.

187. *See* Connolly, *supra* note 102, at 90.

188. *See* Case C-95/97, *Région Wallonne v. Comm’n*, 1997 E.C.R. I-1791.

Interestingly, in the case of Belgium, the debate on the continuing EU membership of the successor states has an additional EU dimension given the status of Brussels as the home of the Union's political institutions. Even in the case of Cyprus, however, a possible partition of the reunified state would bring into the fore questions reassessing the EU's *raison d'être* as a peace plan. To avoid such a "cliff-edge" scenario, which may exacerbate the issues that dissolution would raise, the Union should engage with the breakaway entities to secure an orderly transition to the new state of affairs. The aim of such negotiations would be open-ended, as they could potentially lead either to an orderly withdrawal or to the continuous EU membership of those states, should they wish it. As discussed later on, the treaties allow the EU to adopt a path that would be compatible with the deferential and accommodating approach that the article suggests.

2. *Reunification*

If the predecessor state continues to exist, the next question to ask is whether the breakaway entity forms a new state or whether it joins an (other) EU member state. If the aim of consensual secession is to join an existing neighbour, then we are faced with a case of reunification. This section briefly discusses how the EU legal order may accommodate the moving of borders.

The Union may face such a scenario in the future in the case of Northern Ireland. A consensual secession of Northern Ireland from the United Kingdom would trigger the territorial expansion of an EU member state—the Republic of Ireland—to which EU law already applies in accordance with Article 52 TEU. The Belfast/Good Friday Agreement recognises a right for consensual secession to the region in no uncertain terms.¹⁸⁹ Such rights have also been enshrined in domestic legislation.¹⁹⁰ Schedule 1 of the Northern Ireland Act 1998 describes the circumstances

189. The Belfast Agreement: An Agreement Reached at the Multi-Party Talks on Northern Ireland, N. Ir.-U.K., art. 1, Apr. 10, 1998, Cm 3883, provides that the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland:

(i) recognise the legitimacy of whatever choice is freely exercised by a majority of the people of Northern Ireland with regard to its status, whether they prefer to continue to support the Union with Great Britain or a sovereign united Ireland; (ii) recognise that it is for the people of the island of Ireland alone, . . . to exercise their right of self-determination on the basis of consent, freely and concurrently given, North and South, to bring about a united Ireland, if that is their wish, accepting that this right must be achieved and exercised with and subject to the agreement and consent of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland; . . . (iv) affirm that if, in the future, the people of the island of Ireland exercise their right of self-determination on the basis set out in sections (i) and (ii) above to bring about a united Ireland, it will be a binding obligation on both Governments to introduce and support in their respective Parliaments legislation to give effect to that wish[.]

190. Northern Ireland Act 1998 c. 47, § 1.

under which a referendum for the reunification of Ireland can and should be called by the UK Secretary of State.

[T]he Secretary of State is given a discretionary power to order a border poll under Schedule 1 paragraph 1 even where she is not of the view that it is likely that the majority of voters would vote for Northern Ireland to cease to be part of the United Kingdom and to become part of a united Ireland.¹⁹¹

However, if it appears to her that a majority would be likely to vote for a united Ireland, then, she is under a duty to call a poll.¹⁹²

From an EU law point of view, a reunification such as in the case of Ireland could follow the precedent of the German reunification, in which the application of the Union *acquis* was extended to East Germany without any amendment to the primary legislation, as agreed upon in a special meeting of the European Council in Dublin in April 1990. “The necessary acts of secondary law were adopted on the basis of delegation of powers to the Commission, in order to avoid that the EU legislative process was overtaken by the speed of historical events.”¹⁹³ The difference is that, in Germany’s case, the *acquis* did not apply at all in the East before reunification.¹⁹⁴ In Northern Ireland, even after the United Kingdom’s withdrawal from the EU, a substantial part of EU law continues to enjoy

191. *In re Raymond McCord* [2018] NIQB 106, [18] (N. Ir.).

192. *Id.* at [20]. A similar statutory duty for calling a referendum on Irish unification does not exist on the other side of the Irish border. The Irish Constitution, especially the text of the revised Articles 2 and 3, reveals that there is nothing that explicitly states that the Taoiseach or any other institution and/or office holder is obliged by the Constitution, and the duties of their office, to pursue a united Ireland. The procedure for holding a referendum in the Republic of Ireland can be found in Article 46 of the Constitution and in the Referendum Acts. In sum, the proposal must be supported by both houses of the *Oireachtas*, submitted to and approved by the electorate, and signed into law by the President. Thus, “in purely legal terms, . . . the decision to propose a referendum on unity lies with the *Oireachtas*, while the approval or rejection of the [Irish unification] proposal rests with the electorate.” COLIN HARVEY & MARK BASSETT, *THE EU AND IRISH UNITY: PLANNING AND PREPARING FOR CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE IN IRELAND* 10 (European United Left and Nordic Green Left, 2019).

193. DAGMAR SCHIEK, “HARD BREXIT”—HOW TO ADDRESS THE NEW CONUNDRUM FOR THE ISLAND OF IRELAND (Queen’s University Belfast School of Law: Research Paper 2018-02, 2018). On how the EU legal order accommodated the German reunification, see Christian Tomuschat, *A United Germany Within the European Community*, 27 COMMON MKT. L. REV. 415 (1990); see also Christiaan W.A. Timmermans, *German Unification and Community Law*, 27 COMMON MKT. L. REV. 437 (1990).

194. The German Democratic Republic’s relationship to the then-European Economic Community (EEC) was clarified in the Court of Justice’s judgment. See Case 14/74, *Norddeutsches Vieh- und Fleischkontor GmbH v. Hauptzollamt Hamburg-Jonas—Ausfuhrerstattung*, 1974 E.C.R. 899. The Court held that the relevant rules exonerating West Germany from applying the rules of EEC law to German internal trade “does not have the result of making the German Democratic Republic part of the Community, but only that a special system applies to it as a territory which is not part of the Community.” *Id.*

extraterritorial application due to the Protocol on Ireland/Northern Ireland attached to the United Kingdom's Withdrawal Agreement.¹⁹⁵

Former Taoiseach Enda Kenny asked for a special provision in any Brexit deal to allow Northern Ireland to re-join the EU should it be united with the Republic.¹⁹⁶ At the time of that request, the question was focused on what such a provision would look like. There is only one EU law provision that explicitly regulates the (re)unification of a (member-) state: Article 4 of Protocol No. 10 on Cyprus of the Act of Accession 2003. If the reunification of Cyprus were to occur, this Article provides for a simplified procedure that enables the Union to accommodate the terms of the relevant unification plan. In particular, it allows the EU, via a unanimous Council Decision, to alter the terms of Cyprus's EU accession, which are contained in the Act of Accession 2003. In other words, it allows the Council to amend primary law (i.e., Act of Accession 2003) through a unanimous decision to ease the transition of northern Cyprus within the Union.¹⁹⁷

The examples of both Germany and Cyprus show that the EU legal order is flexible enough to accommodate the frictions that reunification might create. In Germany, the relevant adaptations took place through secondary legislation. In the case of Cyprus, they will be enshrined as amendments to primary legislation. In the absence of a specific provision either in the United Kingdom's Withdrawal Agreement or in the Trade and Cooperation Agreement, the reaccession of Northern Ireland to the EU would probably follow the precedent of German reunification.¹⁹⁸ In any case, the Union must engage with the relevant breakaway entity and the metropolitan state(s) to ensure that the relevant adaptations a smooth process of reunification requires are in place. This approach would be in line

195. Agreement on the Withdrawal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland from the European Union and the European Atomic Energy Community, Protocol on Ireland/Northern Ireland, 2020 O.J. (L 29) 102. For a legal analysis of the Protocol on Ireland/Northern Ireland, see *THE LAW AND PRACTICE OF THE IRELAND-NORTHERN IRELAND PROTOCOL* (Christopher McCrudden ed., 2022).

196. Daniel Boffey, *Irish Leader Calls for United Ireland Provision in Brexit Deal*, *GUARDIAN* (Feb. 23, 2017), <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/feb/23/irish-leader-enda-kenny-calls-for-united-ireland-provision-in-brexit-deal>.

197. See Marise Cremona & Nikos Skoutaris, *Speaking of the De . . . rogations: Accommodating a Solution of the Cyprus Issue Within the Union Legal Order*, 11 *J. BALKAN & NEAR E. STUD.* 381, 387–94 (2009).

198. To this effect, the European Council released the following statement in the minutes to the agreement on the Brexit negotiating guidelines on April 29, 2017: “The European Council acknowledges that the Good Friday Agreement expressly provides for an agreed mechanism whereby a united Ireland may be brought about through peaceful and democratic means; and, in this regard, the European Council acknowledges that, in accordance with international law, the entire territory of such a united Ireland would thus be part of the European Union.” Special Meeting of the European Council (Art.50) held on 29 April 2017, at 4 (June 23, 2017).

with the accommodating approach towards consensual secession this article puts forward.

3. *The Right to Continuous EU Membership of a Newly Independent State*

Apart from reunification, a consensual secession might lead to the creation of an independent state. As evidenced in *Figure 1*, such newly independent state may wish to remain within the EU. If it does not, it may withdraw from the EU. In either case, the EU should engage with the new independent state and its metropolitan state to secure an orderly transition. Before we analyse how the treaties allow the Union to adopt such an approach in the next section, we must establish whether a new independent state that has been founded following a process of consensual secession enjoys a right to continuous EU membership at all. Depending on the answer to this question, we should then determine what is the correct procedure that should be followed to secure its participation to the Union. Is a mere amendment of the EU Treaties in accordance with Article 48 TEU sufficient, or does the newly independent state need to join the queue of candidate states and undergo the accession process per Article 49 TEU? This is a question that dominated the political debate during the 2014 Scottish independence referendum.¹⁹⁹ The same analysis, however, may apply *mutatis mutandis* in case Catalonia and/or Euskadi (Basque Country) become independent from Spain following processes of consensual secession or should Belgium and a reunified Cyprus be dissolved in the future.

From an international law point of view, the 1978 Vienna Convention on succession of States with respect to Treaties regulates the question of the continuous membership of a successor State in an international organisation. At first glance, Article 34 lays down a presumption of continuity. It suggests that a new state's succession to the treaty obligations of its former parent state is automatic. However, its effect is limited by Article 4, which "establishes that the effects of state succession on membership of an international organisation depend on the relevant rules of that organisation."²⁰⁰ In fact, the UN's International Law Commission held that if membership of an international organisation is subject to a formal process of admission, then the established practice in international law suggests that a new state is not automatically entitled to membership.²⁰¹ This is particularly relevant for the EU, to which accession is regulated by

199. See *Scotland's EU Membership*, *supra* note 11.

200. See Closa, *supra* note 14, at 251.

201. *Documents of the Twenty-Sixth Session: Reports of Special Rapporteurs, Other Documents Submitted by Members of the Commission and Report of the Commission to the General Assembly*, [1974] 2 Y.B. Int'l L. Comm'n 177, U.N. Doc. A/CN.4/SER.A/1974/ADD.1.

Article 49 TEU. However, several academics and politicians have consistently argued that this provision cannot apply to a region that has already been part of the EU. They suggest that a legal basis other than Article 49 TEU is applicable in cases of consensual secession to accommodate the new independent state.²⁰²

Article 49 TEU provides that “[a]ny European State which respects the values referred to in Article 2 TEU and is committed to promoting them may apply to become a member of the Union.”²⁰³ After receiving an application, the Council should unanimously decide to initiate accession negotiations after consulting with the Commission and receiving the consent of the majority of the European Parliament’s component members. The negotiations are compartmentalised in chapters and are driven by soft law instruments in the form of bilateral accession partnerships and progress reports.²⁰⁴ Once the member states agree that the candidate state has complied with all the relevant conditions contained in all the negotiating chapters, an Accession Treaty is drafted. This treaty provides for all “[t]he conditions of admission and the adjustments to the Treaties on which the Union is founded, which such admission entails.”²⁰⁵ Both the candidate state and the EU member states should ratify the Accession Treaty in accordance with their respective constitutional requirements.

Experience suggests that the procedure outlined in Article 49 TEU can be arduous and cumbersome. However, this was not the only concern that led the Scottish government in 2014 to explore alternative routes to EU membership. Scottish leaders understood that if Scotland followed the Article 49 procedure, Scotland would find itself outside the EU between the time of its independence and the time of its accession to the EU.²⁰⁶ This gap might have been a significant time period in which Scotland’s laws, policies, and regulatory structures may have diverged sharply from the EU’s while its economy would experience the shockwaves of a ‘cliff-edge’ withdrawal from the Union. Therefore, the Scottish government suggested a different route. Edinburgh based its argument on the fact that the Scottish situation was *sui*

202. See generally SIONAIDH DOUGLAS-SCOTT, (HOW EASILY) COULD AN INDEPENDENT SCOTLAND JOIN THE EU? (Oxford Legal Studies Research Paper No. 46/2014, 2014) (arguing that an independent Scotland should have remained part of the EU using the Article 48 TEU treaty amendment procedure).

203. TEU, *supra* note 26, art. 49.

204. See Christophe Hillion, *EU Enlargement*, in THE EVOLUTION OF EU LAW 187 (Paul Craig & Gráinne de Búrca eds., 2d ed. 2011); Christophe Hillion, *Accession and Withdrawal in the Law of the European Union*, in THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF EUROPEAN UNION LAW 126 (Anthony Arnall & David Chalmers eds., 2015).

205. TEU, *supra* note 26, art. 49.

206. Tobias Lock, *Negotiating EU Accession: Lessons for an Independent Scotland*, in AN INDEPENDENT SCOTLAND IN THE EU: ISSUES FOR ACCESSION 9, 10 (Kirsty Hughes ed., 2020).

generis.²⁰⁷ It would have been the first time that a region would have seceded from an EU member state through a consensual and lawful constitutional process. The Scottish government stressed this point in order to differentiate Scotland's position from other secessionist claims in Europe and to ease the concerns of the respective metropolitan States.²⁰⁸ According to their position, Article 49 only regulates "conventional enlargement where the candidate country is seeking membership from outside the EU."²⁰⁹ Since Scotland had been part of the EU since 1973, the argument went, the appropriate legal basis for Scotland's transition to Union membership was Article 48 TEU—the generic provision for amending the EU treaties. In other words, Edinburgh posited that the amendment of Article 52 TEU—which provides for a list of states to which the EU treaties apply—and the relevant articles concerning the composition of the EU institutions would have been largely sufficient for Scotland to become an EU member state after attaining its independence.

Of course, after Brexit, the debate concerning an independent Scotland's right to continuous EU membership became a moot point. Since February 1, 2020, the use of Article 48 TEU for securing Scotland's position in the EU became impossible. However, the debate remains illustrative for other regions that might seek to become independent in the future.

There are two possible methods that EU member states and institutions may use to determine the appropriate provision to regulate this scenario. One is based on international law and the other on EU law practice. Both lead to the same conclusion: in the current legal framework, Article 49 TEU (and not Article 48 TEU) seems to be the appropriate legal basis to regulate the EU accession of a region that consensually secedes from a member state.

In international law, the well-established rule of Article 31(1) of the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties suggests that international agreements should be interpreted in accordance with the ordinary meaning to be given to their terms. If this rule is applied to the interpretation of the EU's treaties, it would be difficult to justify the use of the generic provision on treaty amendment (i.e., Article 48 TEU) when there is a special provision regulating the accession of new member states (i.e., Article 49 TEU). Of course, the counterargument is that it would not be the accession of a new member state, but rather a change in status of an entity that is already part of the EU. From a public international law perspective, this is a rather unconvincing argument. If, for instance, Catalonia secedes from Spain, it would be considered a newly independent country under public

207. See SCOTTISH GOVERNMENT, SCOTLAND'S FUTURE: YOUR GUIDE TO AN INDEPENDENT SCOTLAND 221 (2013).

208. *Id.*

209. *Id.*

international law. It would have to apply to be admitted as the 194th member of the United Nations. In this sense, it would be a new European state that would also have to apply for EU membership under Article 49 TEU.

Similarly, EU law practice suggests that institutions use the “aim and content” test when choosing the appropriate legal basis for an act of secondary legislation. Accordingly, “the choice of the legal basis for a [certain measure and/or action] may not depend simply on an institution’s [or member states’] conviction as to the objective pursued but must be based on objective factors Those factors include in particular the aim and content of the measure.”²¹⁰ Therefore, if the same rule is used *mutatis mutandis* when choosing the legal basis of primary legislation, as long as the objective pursued by this treaty amendment will be the accession of a new member state, the EU Treaties provide for a *lex specialis* rule (i.e., Article 49 TEU).²¹¹

Overall, the EU Treaties, including Articles 48 and 49 TEU, do not distinguish between EU accession processes based on how the candidate states were established. If the EU and member states opted for Article 48 to regulate the accession of a seceding region of a member state, they would *de facto* distinguish between European states that have become independent from old member states through a consensual procedure and all other prospective EU members. Consequently, EU member states would create a special procedure for the EU accession of the former, although this is not envisaged in the Treaties. Of course, member states, as “Masters of the Treaties,” could always amend the text to provide for such a distinction. Until this takes place, however, Article 49 TEU seems like the more appropriate procedure, also because it allows for the same level of pre-accession scrutiny to which all candidate states are subject. In other words, an Article 49 TEU process is the EU’s most effective tool for ensuring that a newly independent state which was established following a process of consensual secession respects the foundational EU values enshrined in Article 2 TEU.

In sum, the continuous EU membership of newly independent states that have been established through consensual secession is not automatic. The amendment of the Treaties is necessary even if the EU institutions experience a damascene conversion and agree with the suggestion that such a situation could be addressed via an Article 48 TEU amendment procedure. Given the current state of EU law, however, it seems that the appropriate

210. Case C-300/89, *Comm’n v. Council*, 1991 E.C.R. I-2687, ¶ 10.

211. Jean-Claude Piris, *Political and Legal Aspects of Recent Regional Secessionist Trends in Some EU Member States (I)*, in *SECESSION FROM A MEMBER STATE AND WITHDRAWAL FROM THE EUROPEAN UNION: TROUBLED MEMBERSHIP* 69, 86 (Carlos Closa ed., 2017).

legal basis for an amendment to the text of the EU Treaties is found in Article 49 TEU.

The reason why the proponents of (Scottish and) Catalan independence strongly prefer an Article 48 TEU process relates to the fact that through such a process, it is (at least theoretically) possible to prevent a situation in which a newly independent state would find itself outside the EU legal order in a rather abrupt fashion. Legitimate as this political ambition might be, it could not be considered, in itself, a valid legal ground. It seems that the legal obstacles to the use of Article 48 TEU could only be set aside by a treaty amendment.

To prevent this “cliff-edge” withdrawal of a newly independent region from the EU and the repercussions this might have on the lives of the people, the EU needs to engage with the relevant metropolitan State—if it is not dissolved—and the respective breakaway entity/ies to ensure an orderly transition to the new state of affairs. The same need to absorb the shockwaves from the abrupt termination of the relationship with the EU would also apply if the new state does not wish to participate in the Union, as shown in *Figure 1*. The next section shows that the Treaties allow the Union to achieve the aim of an orderly transition. This accommodating approach respects the intertwined nature of the European constitution, the right to self-determination, and its role as a peace plan.

4. *Accommodating a Consensual External Secession*

The European Commission’s official position has been that a newly independent state, by virtue of becoming independent from an existing member state—even if it follows a process of democratic and consensual secession—becomes a third country with respect to the EU.²¹² The EU treaties would no longer apply on the newly independent state’s territory, and it would find itself outside the Union’s legal order. Despite the fact that the answer to how EU law would regulate the external secession of a sub-state entity of one of its member states is not explicitly found in the EU treaties, an abrupt withdrawal of a region because of a consensual secession seems to run counter to the spirit of the treaties and recent EU practice. To appreciate the danger of such a scenario, let us imagine the following. Due to a “velvet divorce”²¹³ triggered by Flanders’ secession and Belgium’s subsequent extinction, the two new states find themselves suddenly outside the jurisdiction of the EU treaties. This would lead to an absurd situation

212. *See supra* note 173.

213. *See Connolly, supra* note 102, at 90.

where Brussels—the home of the Union’s political institutions—would be outside the EU.²¹⁴

This approach, which may be compatible with the black letter of the treaties, sits rather uncomfortably with the fundamental aspects of the Union’s constitutional order highlighted in the introduction of this Article. A consensual secession that has not violated domestic constitutional procedures and Article 2 TEU’s foundational values should be respected, as Article 4(2) TEU and the duty of loyal cooperation per Article 4(3) TEU suggest. It is a legitimate expression of the right to self-determination. As such, the Union, which has committed itself to observing international law and creating an area of peace and prosperity,²¹⁵ should be able to accommodate it. Therefore, this Article suggests that in cases where there are consensual secessions, the Union should engage with the metropolitan state and the respective secessionist entity/ies to ensure a smooth transition to the new political situation. To do that, this section presents a legally sound argument that highlights that the EU institutions and member states have the power to engage with the actors in a consensual secession to manage an orderly transition. This argument is based on the EU’s respect for the constitutional identity of its member states; the duty of loyal cooperation; and Article 50 TEU, which regulates the orderly withdrawal of a constituent part of the Union.

As mentioned before, pursuant to Article 4(2) TEU, the Union must respect the respective member state’s view with regard to a purported secession.²¹⁶ This provision requires the EU to respect the “national identities [of member states], inherent in their fundamental structures, political and constitutional.”²¹⁷ Within the EU’s legal order, the concept of “national identity” has been reformulated to “constitutional identity” over time.²¹⁸ This is evident from the fact that said provision clearly links national identity and the fundamental political and constitutional structures of the

214. David Edward, *EU Law and the Separation of Member States*, 36 FORDHAM INT’L L.J. 1151, 1166 (2013).

215. TEU, *supra* note 26, art. 3, ¶ 1.

216. *See* Peers, *supra* note 27, at 59–60.

217. On the concept of constitutional identity, see Monica Claes & Jan-Herman Reestman, *The Protection of National Constitutional Identity and the Limits of European Integration at the Occasion of the Gauweiler Case*, 16 GERMAN L.J. 917, 918 (2016); Pietro Faraguna, *Taking Constitutional Identities Away from the Courts*, 41 BROOK. J. INT’L L. 491, 498 (2016); Tamás Szabados, *Constitutional Identity and Judicial Cooperation in Civil Matters in the European Union—An Ace up the Sleeve?*, 58 COMMON MKT. L. REV. 71, 74–75 (2021); Luke Dimitrios Spieker, *Framing and Managing Constitutional Identity Conflicts: How to Stabilize the Modus Vivendi Between the Court of Justice and National Constitutional Courts*, 57 COMMON MKT. L. REV. 361, 362 (2020).

218. Leonard F.M. Besselink, *National and Constitutional Identity Before and After Lisbon*, 6 UTRECHT L. REV. 36, 37 (2010).

EU's member states.²¹⁹ Cloots has suggested that “the identity clause protects the features that make a national community what it is (e.g., its history, language, values, traditions), and without which the community would no longer be the same, in so far as those features are mirrored in fundamental domestic structures, most notably constitutional law.”²²⁰ This link between national and constitutional identity has been verified in the CJEU's case law. In *Runevič-Vardyn and Wardyn*,²²¹ *Las*,²²² and *Cilevičs*,²²³ the court recognized the protection of national languages as part of the concerned states' national identity. In *Sayn-Wittgenstein*, the court similarly acknowledged that a law on the abolition of nobility that enjoyed constitutional status was part of Austria's national identity.²²⁴ This finding was confirmed in *Bogendorff von Wolffersdorff*.²²⁵ More interestingly, for the purposes of this Article, the CJEU has deemed Article 4(2) TEU capable of covering the internal allocation of competences at the regional or local level as well.²²⁶

Thus, a domestic constitutional provision regulating the secession of a sub-state entity could also be construed as part of the constitutional identity of a member state. For example, the secession clause in section 1 of the Northern Ireland Act 1998 highlights this point. Section 1 provides that the secession of Northern Ireland and the subsequent Irish unification can only be made with the consent of the majority of the people in the region.²²⁷ This principle of consent is the foundation upon which the whole peace agreement was built and underpins its entirety.²²⁸ As such, it is the main reason why Northern Ireland has a special constitutional status within the

219. Armin Von Bogdandy & Stephan W. Schill, *Overcoming Absolute Primacy: Respect for National Identity Under the Lisbon Treaty*, 48 COMMON MKT. L. REV. 1417, 1427 (2011).

220. Elke Cloots, *National Identity, Constitutional Identity, and Sovereignty in the EU*, 45 NETH. J. LEGAL PHIL. 82, 90–91 (2016).

221. Case C-391/09, *Runevič-Vardyn and Wardyn v. Vilniaus miesto savivaldybės administracija and Others*, ECLI:EU:C:2011:291, ¶ 86 (May 12, 2011).

222. Case C-202/11, *Las v. PSA Antwerp NV*, ECLI:EU:C:2013:23, ¶ 26 (Apr. 16, 2013).

223. Case C-391/20, *Boriss Cilevičs et al.*, ECLI:EU:C:2022:638, ¶ 27 (Sept. 7, 2022).

224. Case C-208/09, *Ilonka Sayn-Wittgenstein v. Landeshauptmann von Wien*, 2010 E.C.R. I-13718, ¶ 74.

225. Case C-438/14, *Bogendorff von Wolffersdorff v. Standesamt der Stadt Karlsruhe, Zentraler Juristischer Dienst der Stadt Karlsruhe*, ECLI:EU:C:2016:401, ¶ 64 (June 2, 2016).

226. Case C-151/12, *Comm'n v. Spain*, ECLI:EU:C:2013:690, ¶ 37 (Oct. 24, 2013); Case C-156/13, *Digibet Ltd and Gert Albers v. Westdeutsche Lotterie GmbH & Co. OHG*, ECLI:EU:C:2014:1756, ¶ 34 (June 12, 2014); Case C-51/15, *Remondis GmbH & Co. KG Region Nord v. Region Hannover*, ECLI:EU:C:2016:985 (Dec. 21, 2016).

227. See *supra* note 190.

228. Katy Hayward & David Phinnemore, *Breached or Protected? The 'Principle' of Consent in Northern Ireland and the UK Government's Brexit Proposals*, LONDON SCH. ECON. & POL. SCI. (Jan. 11, 2019), <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/europpblog/2019/01/11/breached-or-protected-the-principle-of-consent-in-northern-ireland-and-the-uk-governments-brexit-proposals/>.

United Kingdom.²²⁹ Given how central this arrangement is to the United Kingdom's territorial constitution and the regional legal order, it would hardly be an overstatement to argue that it is part of their constitutional identity. As such, Article 4(2) TEU outlines the EU's duty to respect the outcome of processes provided by this domestic arrangement.

Of course, Northern Ireland is now outside the EU, and its secession would not trigger the creation of a new independent state. Still, the same analysis would apply by analogy to any consensual process of secession that has resulted from a constitutional arrangement so deeply embedded within a legal order of a member state, should this ever occur in the future. In any case, Article 4(2) TEU is to be read in light of Article 2 TEU's values.²³⁰ In this sense, Article 4(2) TEU allows the EU to constructively engage with a process of secession that has respected the Article 2 TEU foundational values to achieve a smooth transition to the new state of affairs.

In addition, this accommodating approach is also dictated by the duty of loyal cooperation enshrined in Article 4(3) TEU. The provision requires the EU and its member states to "assist each other in carrying out tasks which flow from the Treaties."²³¹ The establishment and proper functioning of the internal market is one of these aims.²³² Kenealy and MacLennan argued that "[t]he task of ensuring that the Single Market does not suffer any sudden, sharp dislocation is one that flows from the Treaties."²³³ The abrupt "cliff-edge" withdrawal from the Union of a region that has declared its independence following a consensual process would cause a significant dislocation in the internal market. Failure to enter negotiations that facilitate a smooth transition would hardly represent sincere cooperation to a member state losing part of its territory, to a region of the EU that has exercised its constitutionally protected rights and the internal market as a whole.

The EU's competence to enter negotiations that enable a smooth transition is further supported by at least the spirit of Article 50 TEU, if not by a direct interpretation of the law. Although the provision recognises only member states as vestees of the right to withdraw from the EU, Article 50 TEU's overall logic is to create the legal, political, and institutional toolkit

229. In *Robinson*, Lord Bingham described the Northern Ireland 1998 Act as "in effect a constitution." *Robinson v. Sec'y of State for N. Ir. and Others* [2002] UKHL 32, ¶ 11.

230. Carlos Closa, *Troubled Membership: Dealing with Secession from a Member State and Withdrawal from the EU* 10 (Eur. Univ. Inst. Working Papers, 2014).

231. TEU, *supra* note 26, art 4, ¶ 3.

232. TEU, *supra* note 26, art 3, ¶ 3.

233. Daniel Kenealy & Stuart MacLennan, *Sincere Cooperation, Respect for Democracy and EU Citizenship: Sufficient to Guarantee Scotland's Future in the European Union?*, 20 EUR. L.J. 591, 599 (2014).

for effectively regulating the orderly withdrawal of an EU territory.²³⁴ The preference for a territory's negotiated and orderly withdrawal from the EU is further supported by the Greenlandic precedent. Greenland's 1982 vote to withdraw from the EU triggered a negotiation between the Union's institutions, the metropolitan state, and the regional government. These negotiations yielded an agreement after three years, according to which, EU law stopped applying to Greenland and a new relationship with the EU was established.²³⁵ It would be ironic if this precedent demonstrating the EU's preference for a negotiated settlement did not prevail in the future because of a strict interpretation of Article 50.

Finally, one of the strongest arguments in favour of the EU engaging with a seceding entity and its metropolitan state to achieve a negotiated settlement can be found in the EU practice formed during the Brexit negotiations. The United Kingdom and the EU jointly admitted that one of the Withdrawal Agreement's objectives was to provide reciprocal legal protection for EU and U.K. citizens residing on the other side of the English Channel before Brexit and their rights under EU law.²³⁶ Indeed, the 2019 Agreement secured the EU law-derived rights of those EU and U.K. citizens affected by Brexit.²³⁷ In particular, they retained their residence rights²³⁸ and can benefit from the EU's non-discrimination principle, as if the United Kingdom was still an EU member state.²³⁹

Mutatis mutandis, the EU should strive to protect those who have exercised the relevant EU law rights in the past to move, reside, and work in a region that has decided to declare its independence. It is true that in the current state of EU law, a political decision that leads to a territory's withdrawal from the EU, such as Brexit, has repercussions for its people's EU citizenship status. The CJEU has clarified that the "possession of the nationality of a Member State is an essential condition for a person to be able to acquire and retain the status of citizen of the Union and to benefit

234. See Case C-621/18, *Wightman and Others v. Sec'y of State for Exiting the Eur. Union*, ECLI:EU:C:2018:999, ¶ 56 (Dec. 10, 2018).

235. Treaty Amending, with Regard to Greenland, the Treaties Establishing the European Communities, 1985 O.J. (L 29) 1.

236. *Task Force for Relations with UK, Joint Report from the negotiators of the European Union and the United Kingdom Government on Progress During Phase 1 of Negotiations Under Article 50 TEU on the United Kingdom's Orderly Withdrawal from the European Union*, at 1, ¶ 6 (Dec. 8, 2017), https://ec.europa.eu/commission/sites/beta-political/files/joint_report.pdf.

237. See Agreement on the Withdrawal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland from the European Union and the European Atomic Energy Community, *supra* note 195, Part Two, arts. 9–39.

238. *Id.* arts. 13, 15.

239. *Id.* art. 12.

fully from the rights attaching to that status.”²⁴⁰ In that sense, the citizens of a newly seceded region might lose their EU citizenship status until the moment when the new independent state accedes to the EU. Still, it would be unfair to those who moved *bona fide* in the past to that territory exercising their EU law rights to suffer from an abrupt withdrawal of that territory without the EU at least trying to find a negotiated settlement. As Douglas-Scott has argued, “[t]he existence of Article 50 acknowledges that acquired EU rights and mutual dependencies cannot be immediately extinguished.”²⁴¹ This is why the commitment to sincere cooperation would suggest that the EU should enter such negotiations to at least attempt to secure an outcome that respects the continuing exercise of rights currently conferred by EU law.²⁴² At the end of the day, “[p]rotection of the ‘common code’ of fundamental rights . . . constitutes an existential requirement for the EU legal order.”²⁴³

Having said that, one must accept that the purpose of such pre-separation negotiations would be to agree on the necessary arrangements to accommodate the new situation and not necessarily the accession of the breakaway entity/ies in the EU.²⁴⁴ Given that Article 49 TEU recognises only independent European States as possible vestees of the right to EU membership, accession negotiations may only be available after the official independence of a state. Still, the pre-separation negotiations should aim at setting out the terms of a smooth (potentially temporary) withdrawal of a seceding entity and a possible transitional arrangement that would create space for accession negotiations. As in the case of Brexit, where there was the possibility for a disorderly withdrawal, the outcome of the negotiations in the event of a consensual secession should not be considered as predicted but rather a product of the political process itself.²⁴⁵

Overall, the preceding discussion highlights this Article’s thesis. The EU’s legal order possesses the required flexibility to accommodate a

240. Case C-673/20, EP v. Préfet du Gers and Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques, ECLI:EU:C:2022:449, ¶ 57 (June 9, 2022); *see also* Case T-627/19, Shindler v. Comm’n, ECLI:EU:T:2020:335 (July 14, 2020).

241. Sionaidh Douglas-Scott, *Scotland, Secession, and the European Union*, in *THE SCOTTISH INDEPENDENCE REFERENDUM: CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS* 175, 180 (Aileen McHarg et al. eds., 2016).

242. Stephen Tierney & Katie Boyle, *An Independent Scotland: The Road to Membership of the European Union*, ESRC SCOT. CTR. ON CONST. CHANGE BRIEFING PAPER 1, 18 (Aug. 20, 2014), <https://dspace.stir.ac.uk/bitstream/1893/29010/1/An%20Independent%20Scotland%20The%20Road%20to%20Membership%20of%20the%20EU.pdf>.

243. Case C-380/05, Centro Europa 7 Srl v. Ministero delle Comunicazioni e Autorità per le garanzie nelle comunicazioni and Direzione generale per le concessioni e le autorizzazioni del Ministero delle Comunicazioni, 2007 E.C.R. I-352, Opinion of Advocate General Poiares Maduro, ¶ 19.

244. *See* Edward, *supra* note 214, at 1167.

245. *Id.*

consensual secession, provided that Article 2 TEU foundational values are not threatened. In fact, precisely because a consensual secession is compatible with a member state's domestic legal order and the EU's foundational values, EU institutions and member states should opt for this collaborative approach. This stance is supported by the inherent characteristics of the EU project: the Union's composite constitution, its respect for international law, and its function as a peace plan.

IV. WITHDRAWAL FROM THE EU

Internal and external secession are procedures that lead to a part of a (constituent) state being separated from that existing (constituent) state. The EU, however, “is, under international law, precluded by its very nature from being considered a State.”²⁴⁶ This is one of the reasons why some authors have distinguished withdrawal from the EU from the phenomenon of secession.²⁴⁷ They understand the former more as a “habitual way of referring to a decision to leave an international organisation.”²⁴⁸ However, secession is “situated at the intersection of constitutional and international law”²⁴⁹ and has historically been defined as a form of withdrawal.²⁵⁰

More importantly, the EU constitutional order of states is a complex and overarching system of public law. It is a “[c]ommunity of unlimited duration, having its own institutions, its own personality, its own legal capacity and . . . real powers stemming from a limitation of sovereignty or a transfer of powers from the [member] States.”²⁵¹ To the extent that Article 50 TEU allows a member state's withdrawal from that community of law and the abrupt end to the symbiotic relationship between its domestic legal order and the EU one, it is also a process that “is functionally akin to secession; it is not a simple severance of contractual obligations”²⁵² as withdrawal from an international treaty usually is. In other words, “given the special (constitutional) nature of EU legal order, its highly-institutionalized

246. Opinion 2/13, re Accession of the European Union to the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, ECLI:EU:C:2014:2454, ¶ 156 (Dec. 18, 2014).

247. Eleni Frantziou, *Was Brexit a Form of Secession?*, 13 GLOB. POL'Y 69, 70 (2022).

248. *Id.*

249. Vicki C. Jackson, *Secession, Transnational Precedents, and Constitutional Silences*, in NULLIFICATION AND SECESSION IN MODERN CONSTITUTIONAL THOUGHT 314, 316–17 (Sanford Levinson ed., 2016).

250. Letter from John C. Calhoun to General Hamilton on the Subject of State Interposition 14 (1832) (“Secession is a withdrawal from the Union; a separation from partners, and, as far as depends on the member withdrawing, a dissolution of the partnership. It presupposes an association; a Union of several States, or individuals, for a common object. Wherever these exist, Secession may; and where they do not, it cannot.”) (emphasis omitted).

251. *See* Costa, 1964 E.C.R. 585, at 593.

252. *See* Vidmar, *supra* note 6, at 371.

nature, and the entanglement of domestic law and EU legal regulation, [withdrawal from the EU] can be functionally compared to secession.”²⁵³ This is perhaps why the CJEU refused to treat withdrawal from the Union and its revocation as an international law issue.²⁵⁴ Instead, it analysed the question of revocation in light of EU law, holding that its conclusion is only “corroborated by the provisions of the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties.”²⁵⁵

Much like external secession, withdrawal from the EU leads to the separation of territory and citizenry from the Union.²⁵⁶ It also “leads to legal problems that resemble those that arise when secession occurs, e.g. regarding the continuation of citizenship rights, succession of treaty obligations, relations with third states, and various financial settlements.”²⁵⁷ Like internal and external secession, withdrawal from the EU as a functional secession also denotes the “formal withdrawal from a central political authority by a member unit.”²⁵⁸ Therefore, precisely because “Article 50 is effectively also a secession mechanism,”²⁵⁹ the EU legal order may accommodate withdrawal to the extent that Article 2 foundational values are not breached, as it is the case for internal and external secession.

According to Friel, the Article 50 TEU secession right follows the state primacy or sovereignty model, which provides every constituent unit of a federal order with an unqualified right to secede.²⁶⁰ It is characterised by unilateralism as “[t]he decision to withdraw is for [a] Member State alone to take, in accordance with its constitutional requirements, and therefore depends solely on its sovereign choice.”²⁶¹ It “is totally independent of the will of the EU [and] the remaining Member States.”²⁶² Such unilateralism is very different from what the Canadian Supreme Court held in its decision on *Reference re Secession of Quebec*.²⁶³ The court decided that “a referendum unambiguously demonstrating the desire of a clear majority of Quebecers

253. Jure Vidmar, *Brexit, Democracy and Human Rights: The Law Between Secession and Treaty Withdrawal*, 35 WIS. INT'L L.J. 425, 440 (2018).

254. See Wightman, ECLI:EU:C:2018:999, ¶ 44.

255. *Id.* ¶ 70.

256. See Pohjankoski, *supra* note 5, at 849.

257. See Vidmar, *supra* note 6, at 371.

258. See Wood, *supra* note 2, at 110.

259. See Vidmar, *supra* note 253, at 447.

260. Raymond J. Friel, *Providing a Constitutional Framework for Withdrawal from the EU: Article 59 of the Draft European Constitution*, 53 INT'L & COMPAR. L. Q. 407, 424–27 (2004).

261. See Wightman, ECLI:EU:C:2018:999, ¶ 50.

262. Carlos Closa, *Interpreting Article 50: Exit, Voice and . . . What About Loyalty?*, in SECESSION FROM A MEMBER STATE AND WITHDRAWAL FROM THE EUROPEAN UNION 187, 193–94 (Carlos Closa ed., 2017).

263. See *Reference re Secession of Quebec*, [1998] 2 S.C.R. 217, 282–83 (Can.).

to secede from Canada, would give rise to a reciprocal obligations of all parties of the Confederation to negotiate secession.”²⁶⁴

Apart from being unilateral, the Article 50 TEU right is also unconditional in that “the exercise of the right to withdrawal is not subjected to any preliminary verification of conditions nor is it even conditional on the conclusion of the agreement foreseen in the provision.”²⁶⁵ Article 50(1) TEU allows a Member State “to withdraw from the Union in accordance with its own constitutional requirements.”²⁶⁶ Article 50(3) TEU foresees that the withdrawal can take place two years after the member state has notified the EU of its intention to leave if no withdrawal agreement has been achieved by then. This is in marked contrast to the majority of constitutional provisions that regulate secessions. Usually, those provide for conditions with regard to the organisation of a referendum that could potentially lead to secession and/or foresee an *inter partes* agreement as an important step for finalising the process.²⁶⁷

CJEU went a step further in underlining the unconditional and member state-driven nature of the Article 50 TEU process.

[A] Member State that has reversed its decision to withdraw from the European Union is entitled to revoke that notification for as long as a withdrawal agreement concluded between that Member State and the European Union has not entered into force or, if no such agreement has been concluded, for as long as the two-year period laid down in Article 50(3) TEU, possibly extended in accordance with that provision, has not expired.²⁶⁸

To the extent that such a decision is unequivocal and unconditional, “the sovereign nature of the right of withdrawal enshrined in Article 50(1) TEU supports the conclusion that the Member State concerned has a right

264. Susanna Mancini, *Secession and Self-Determination*, in THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF COMPARATIVE CONSTITUTIONAL LAW 481, 497 (Michel Rosenfeld & András Sajó eds., 2012).

265. See Closa, *supra* note 262, at 195.

266. TEU, *supra* note 26, art. 50, ¶ 1.

267. For instance, according to Schedule 1 of the Northern Ireland Act 1998, a referendum for the reunification of Ireland can only be organised if “it appears likely to [the U.K. Secretary of State] that a majority of those voting would express a wish that Northern Ireland should cease to be part of the United Kingdom and form part of a united Ireland.” Northern Ireland Act 1998 c. 47, § 1(1). Similarly, Article 113 of the Constitution of Saint Kitts and Nevis allows for the secession of Nevis Island following a process that is described in a very detailed manner in the same provision. CONST. OF SAINT CHRISTOPHER AND NEVIS, art. 113. Art. 4(2) of Liechtenstein’s constitution provides that secession can only be regulated by law or by treaty. CONST. OF THE PRINCIPALITY OF LIECHTENSTEIN, art. 4, ¶ 2. Finally, Art. 39(4)(e) of the Ethiopian constitution allows for secession “when the division of assets is effected in a manner prescribed by law.” CONST. OF THE FEDERAL DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ETHIOPIA, art. 39, ¶ 4.

268. See Wightman, ECLI:EU:C:2018:999, ¶ 69.

to revoke the notification of its intention to withdraw from the European Union.”²⁶⁹

Having said that, despite its unilateral and unconditional nature, the right to secede from the EU faces two limitations: one at the national level and another at the supranational level. Both concern the Article 2 TEU’s non-derogable values. Concerning the national level, pursuant to Article 50(1) TEU, the withdrawal of a member state should take place in accordance with its constitutional requirements.²⁷⁰ In the case of Brexit, this provision was in the epicentre of the first *Miller* judgment.²⁷¹ There, the U.K. Supreme Court decided that the U.K. government could not rely on executive powers in international relations to trigger Article 50 TEU. Instead, in accordance with the uncodified British constitution, the sovereign U.K. Parliament had to pass relevant legislation authorising the government to trigger the withdrawal process, which they subsequently did.²⁷²

Eeckhout and Frantziou argued, however, that following the constitutionally prescribed procedure with regard to the notification of the European Council was a necessary but not sufficient condition to satisfy British constitutional requirements.²⁷³ A “constitutionalist interpretation [of Article 50 TEU] requires deep and genuine respect for the withdrawing Member State’s constitutional requirements” throughout the withdrawal process.²⁷⁴ In the United Kingdom’s situation, such respect led the U.K. Supreme Court in *Miller/Cherry*²⁷⁵ to find that the U.K. government had illegally prorogued Parliament in autumn 2019, when it used the standard and ancient procedure of prorogation²⁷⁶ as a tool to prevent members of Parliament from intervening prior to the United Kingdom’s scheduled departure from the EU on October 31. According to the U.K. Supreme Court’s unanimous decision, respect for parliamentary sovereignty and democratic accountability meant that prorogation is unlawful when it has “the effect of frustrating or preventing, without reasonable justification, the

269. *Id.* ¶ 57.

270. TEU, *supra* note 26, art. 50, ¶ 1.

271. *R v. Sec’y of State for Exiting the Eur. Union* [2017] UKSC 5.

272. European Union (Notification of Withdrawal) Act, c. 9 (2017).

273. Piet Eeckhout & Eleni Frantziou, *Brexit and Article 50 TEU: A Constitutionalist Reading*, 54 COMMON MKT. L. REV. 695, 710 (2017).

274. *Id.*

275. *R v. Prime Minister* [2019] UKSC 41, [61] (appeal taken from Eng., Wales, Scot.).

276. Prorogation marks the end of a parliamentary session. It is the formal name given to the period between the end of a session of Parliament and the State Opening of Parliament that begins the next session. The Sovereign formally prorogues Parliament on the advice of the Privy Council. On prorogation, see GRAEME COWIE, PROROGATION OF PARLIAMENT (H. Commons Libr., Briefing Paper 8589, 2019), <https://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/CBP-8589/CBP-8589.pdf>.

ability of Parliament to carry out its constitutional functions as a legislature and as the body responsible for the supervision of the executive.”²⁷⁷ Finally, the requirements of the British constitutional order that is founded on the principle of parliamentary sovereignty included the need for Parliament to approve the Withdrawal Agreement.²⁷⁸ Indeed, after one of the most tumultuous periods in modern British politics, Westminster managed to approve the revised Withdrawal Agreement by passing the necessary implementation legislation: the EU (Withdrawal Agreement) Act 2020.

More importantly, for the purposes of this Article, the composite nature of the EU’s constitution suggests that fulfilling the condition to respect member states’ “national constitutional requirements” may be subject to the CJEU’s review.²⁷⁹ Of course, the CJEU’s judicial review of its member states’ “national constitutional requirements” would be extremely modest. In essence, its role would be limited to ensuring that the relevant withdrawal would not grossly violate its member states’ common constitutional traditions pursuant to Article 6(3) TEU and the foundational values of the European constitutional order found in Article 2 TEU. If the CJEU found a violation of either the common constitutional traditions or the European constitutional order’s foundational values, the EU would face the following paradoxical scenario. Its judicial branch would be blocking a member state’s withdrawal due to breaches of constitutional principles that could have allowed the EU to suspend its membership rights anyways, under Article 7 TEU.²⁸⁰

As to the supranational limitation, the following should be noted: “Article 50 TEU confers an ‘exceptional horizontal competence,’ enabling the Union to negotiate and conclude the withdrawal agreement deemed to encompass ‘all matters necessary to arrange the withdrawal.’”²⁸¹ Despite the wide scope of this exceptional competence, Tridimas suggests that “in concluding the withdrawal agreement the EU . . . is bound to respect the EU Treaties and higher ranking constitutional norms of EU law.”²⁸² In fact, the CJEU in *Kadi* held that the obligations imposed on the EU by an international agreement cannot effectively prejudice the constitutional principles of EU law, which include the principle that all EU acts must respect fundamental rights.²⁸³ This means that the terms of a member state’s orderly withdrawal should not violate Article 2 TEU values, including

277. *See* R v. Prime Minister [2019] UKSC 41, [50] (appeal taken from Eng., Wales, Scot.).

278. *See* Eeckhout & Frantziou, *supra* note 273, at 710.

279. Takis Tridimas, *Article 50: An Endgame Without an End?*, 27 KING’S L.J. 297, 303 (2016).

280. TEU, *supra* note 26, art. 7.

281. Christophe Hillion, *Withdrawal Under Article 50 TEU: An Integration-Friendly Process*, 55 COMMON MKT. L. REV. 29, 40 (2018) (emphasis omitted).

282. *See* Tridimas, *supra* note 279, at 311.

283. Joined Cases C-402/05 P & C-415/05 P, *Kadi v. Council*, 2008 E.C.R. I-6411, I-6491.

democracy, rule of law, and protection of human rights. Indeed, to adhere to this requirement, the Withdrawal Agreement that the EU and the United Kingdom endorsed in 2019 is a wide-ranging international treaty that settles the rights of EU citizens living in the United Kingdom, U.K. citizens living in the EU, and their families,²⁸⁴ includes rules on dispute settlement²⁸⁵ and provides an imaginative solution with regard to Northern Ireland,²⁸⁶ among else.

Overall, the right to functionally secede from the EU under Article 50 TEU is “the only undeniable legal limit that member states have at their disposal against competence creep under the current Treaty framework.”²⁸⁷ The Article 50 TEU right serves as an important reminder that member states have the power to put an end to the federalist “Sonderweg” of “an ever closer union.”²⁸⁸ However, like the other two forms of secession, it may be exercised and accommodated within the EU constitutional order provided that Article 2 foundational values are protected.

V. CONCLUSION

48 hours before the 2014 Scottish independence referendum, the then-Secretary of State for the EU, Méndez de Vigo of Spain, appeared on the BBC. During his interview, he rejected the claims of the then-Scottish First Minister, Alex Salmond, that an independent Scotland could negotiate membership “from within” the EU.²⁸⁹ Instead, de Vigo argued that Scotland would have to follow the accession process provided by Article 49 TEU, casting doubt on whether Spain would ever consent to it. The continuous EU membership of an independent Scotland was seen as a dangerous precedent that could further encourage centrifugal tendencies on their soil. The result of the 2014 referendum meant that the question of an independent Scotland’s participation in the EU was never tested in practice and remained hypothetical.

284. See Agreement on the Withdrawal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland from the European Union and the European Atomic Energy Community, *supra* note 195, Part Two, arts. 9–39.

285. *Id.* Part Six, arts. 158–85.

286. Agreement on the Withdrawal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland from the European Union and the European Atomic Energy Community, Protocol on Ireland/Northern Ireland, 2020 O.J. (L 29) 102.

287. Sacha Garben, *Collective Identity as a Legal Limit to European Integration in Areas of Core State Powers*, 58 J. COMMON MKT. STUD. 41, 52 (2020).

288. See Weiler, *supra* note 25, at 8.

289. See Asa Bennett, *Alex Salmond’s EU Plan for Independent Scotland Decisively Undermined by Spain*, HUFFINGTON POST (Sept. 16, 2014), https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2014/09/16/scottish-independence-spain-european-union_n_5827658.html.

This largely forgotten interview, however, highlights two distinct but interrelated dimensions of the question of secession within the EU constitutional order. First, it underlines how political elites often use law as a political “sword” in such highly contested issues. Parties in a political and/or constitutional conflict are likely to use every forum as another arena for their political battle and as a platform for seeking international and local endorsement of their political arguments.²⁹⁰ In this particular case, the legal debate on the correct legal basis for independent Scotland’s EU accession was a proxy for a political debate on the issue of independence itself.

More importantly, this incident serves as a reminder that the issue of secession within the EU’s composite, intertwined, and multi-level constitutional order cannot just be dealt with at the domestic level. It has significant implications for the EU, as it denotes a change of status within and an altered relationship with the Union. Contrary to conventional wisdom, this Article has clearly shown that the EU is more than capable of accommodating any (consensual) secession that takes place at any level of its constitutional order: the sub-state level, the member state level, and the supranational level. This remarkable flexibility that the Union’s constitutional order of states can exhibit is a by-product of Article 4(2) TEU’s constitutional tolerance, which lies at the core of this project. However, there is a limit to such deference. The Union is able to accommodate all three modes of secession that might occur within its borders, provided that they do not threaten the foundational values enshrined in Article 2 TEU.

Concerning internal secession, the EU is not prescriptive with regard to the territorial (re)organisation of its member states. As such, the Union may accommodate such a phenomenon to the extent that it does not jeopardise the uniform application of EU law and its non-derogable core. Concerning the most controversial aspect of this debate (i.e., regions’ right to external secession), this Article has pointed to the difference between consensual and non-consensual secession. While the latter should be condemned for breaching the territorial integrity of member states as well as the foundational values of the EU legal order, the Union has the flexibility needed to accommodate the latter. In fact, the Union can engage with both the seceding entity and its metropolitan state to achieve a smooth transition to the new reality. Finally, the recent experience of Brexit demonstrates that

290. See generally Gordon Anthony & John Morison, *The Judicial Role in the New Northern Ireland: Constitutional Litigation and Transition*, 21 EUR. REV. PUB. L. 1219 (2009) (analysing litigation under the Belfast/Good Friday Agreement); Nasia Hadjigeorgiou, *Conflict Resolution in Post-Violence Societies: Some Guidance for the Judiciary*, 25 INT’L J. HUM. RTS. 695 (2021) (analysing why conflicts that should have been resolved in the political arena, are adjudicated by the judiciary); Ruti Teitel, *Transitional Jurisprudence: The Role of Law in Political Transformation*, 106 YALE L.J. 2009 (1997) (exploring the role of law in periods of great political change).

the EU can accommodate a member state's sovereign decision to exercise its right of self-determination and withdraw from the Union while remaining committed to Article 2 TEU.

Such an accommodating and flexible approach to secession processes that uphold the EU's foundational values is compatible with the ethos of this constitutional order. The EU's composite nature dictates respect for domestic constitutional procedures. Its regard for international law favours the acceptance of legitimate expressions of the right to self-determination. However, the EU's *raison d'être* as a peace-promoting partnership offers the most convincing normative argument. By adopting such an approach, the EU may incentivise self-determination movements to adopt methods, which are compatible with those foundational values instead of engaging in an endless, paralysing political and constitutional tug of war.