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Overview – Inevitable

This round is *not* about Catalan independence, that is an inevitable outcome.

Let's look at the political context. As the *Minder* evidence we read in case explains, the battle over independence is perpetually escalating. Each time that Spain fights Catalonia to deny them rights and powers, more Catalans become fed up with the Spanish state, and become radicalized.

Laub notes that after Spain brutally shut down the October referendum, increasingly frustrated Catalans shifted from moderate positions and supported a clean break from Spain. And that's why Politico finds that the separatists won the most votes they've ever received in the December elections. All of this has lead Nichols to conclude that continued pushes for independence are inevitable.

That Catalan independence is inevitable means that this round isn't about independence in a vacuum. Instead, this round is about Spain's decision with how to treat independence. They can either fight independence to a bitter end, or they can accept independence and reach an amicable outcome.

Lasquetty, a professor of political science, explains: Spain would have to amend the constitution to allow for secession – ensuring a peaceful split. That's important when you look to histories of secession.

Rodríguez-Pose at the London School of Economics examined the break-up of Yugoslavia and found that nations that broke up chaotically— Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, and Kosovo—had much worse economies than nations with smooth transitions to independence— Slovenia, Montenegro, and Macedonia. He concludes: an amicable divorce will not significantly damage future development, while a bitter divorce is likely to have long-lasting negative economic consequences.

Minder 17 Raphael Minder, 2017, "The Struggle for Catalonia: Rebel Politics in Spain," Hurst & Company //DF

Since 2012, the separatist drive in Catalonia has followed a tit-for-tat pattern. Separatist politicians announce a new way to move towards independence despite fierce opposition from Madrid, and the government in Madrid immediately denounces the move as illegal. However, contained within this cycle is another, more dangerous pattern. The strategies and threats employed by both sides—as well as the stakes—have been raised in each and every round.

In early 2017, for the first time Catalan politicians were sentenced for civil disobedience. The court banned them from office after putting them on trial for organizing an illegal independence vote and ignoring the decisions of Spain's constitutional court. Similar Spanish attempts at a legal clampdown have so far failed to deflate Catalan secessionism. On the contrary: separatists have depicted such lawsuits as evidence of a politicized Spanish judiciary and have stood in the courtroom almost as martyrs of the secessionist cause.

Nichols 18 Dick Nichols, 1-20-2018, "After Catalan independence movement wins elections, Spanish state prepares new showdown," Green Left Weekly,

<https://www.greenleft.org.au/content/after-catalan-independence-movement-wins-elections-spanish-tate-prepares-new-showdown>

For ERC the overriding goal has been to recover Catalan self-government and end the rule of article 155. This is a precondition for «unfolding the Republic» voted for on October 1, but also for demonstrating the value of a pro-independence government to doubters while reducing social tension and narrowing support for increasingly aggressive unionism. Before its January 9 agreement with JxCat, ERC was prepared to consider other formulae for government than restoration of the deposed Puigdemont government and exiled and jailed MPs. While supporting Puigdemont as president, it was not prepared (as it was in the past) to disregard the opinion of the Catalan parliament's legal advisors as to the constitutionality of swearing-in by video-link. ERC has also been more concerned than JxCat about whether the pro-independence bloc would win another election if again forced to the polls. As for the CUP, reduced from 10 seats to four on December 21, the key issue is avoiding a return to regional government that accepts the rules of standard Spanish state administrative operations. A January 4 CUP communique said this would «mean a break with the popular will shown at the October 1 referendum and a return to a context of deprivation by the Spanish state of political and social rights.» CUP lead candidate Carles Riera told Catalonia Radio: «If 155 is not lifted and dialogue with the State doesn't work, it will be necessary to disobey it.»

Given the ongoing determination of the Spanish powers-that-be to crush the movement for Catalan sovereignty, whatever arrangement is finally reached between the

pro-independence parties a new wave of disobedience sooner or later seems inevitable. Such is the message of the Catalan National Assembly's draft resolution for its January annual congress: "Organised civil society will once again be obliged to become the spearhead of the process."

Rodríguez-Pose 14 Adrés Rodríguez-Pose [Professor of Economic Geography, London School of Economics; Research Fellow, CEPR], 11-21-2014, "The economics of secession," Centre for Economic Policy Research, <http://voxeu.org/article/economics-secession> //DF

The emergence of small countries out of a bigger unit in the case of Yugoslavia did not lead to any sort of economic dividend for the emerging countries. **All of the former Yugoslav republics suffered a significant loss of wealth at the moment of independence. The severity of this loss and the speed of the subsequent recovery have, however, predominantly been determined by the process, more than by the mere fact, of independence. War**

and the intensity of war represented a major blow to the economies of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo. Sanctions and years of diplomatic conflict have further limited the economic prospects of Serbia. while strong disruption to trade following independence has been a serious barrier for economic growth everywhere in the former Yugoslavia. **The relatively smooth transitions to independence in Slovenia, Montenegro, and Macedonia have contributed to their having the best post-independence performance,** despite their very different starting points. Hence, although "a small state should not be confused with a weak state" (Gligorov et al. 1999, p. 2), our analysis shows limited evidence of a direct independence dividend to breakaway republics of the former Yugoslavia. Indeed, secession does not seem to have any bearing on their subsequent economic performance. According to our analysis, Slovenia did not perform better than, say, BosniaHerzegovina or Kosovo because it separated from Yugoslavia earlier, but rather because it had the luck of fighting a ten-day war which left 62 dead and caused little material destruction. Bosnia endured a three-year long war which caused, depending on sources, between 25,000 and 329,000 fatalities and massive material destruction, while the war on Kosovo lasted officially almost one year and a half and left around 14,000 dead. Slovenia also performed better than Serbia, not because it achieved independence earlier, but because it fought in fewer wars and did not experience economic sanctions. Slovenia has finally performed better than most other former Yugoslav republics because it has consistently been the most open country to trade and conflict did not suddenly alter its trade patterns with the rest of the world, as was the case for Bosnia Herzegovina, Serbia, and Croatia.

Concluding remarks. Our research highlights that **better economic trajectories are not linked to the mere fact of seceding but by how the process of secession took place.** In cases where secession happened without real conflict and without significant alteration of previous socioeconomic links to the rest of the world, secession has not had any noticeable impact on the resulting economic performance. When secession is achieved by conflict, destruction and disruption of pre-existing trade patterns, all those involved in the process suffer. This underlines that, at least **in terms of economic impact, secession is not an event but a process. How the process takes place – and largely whether there is agreement between the host and the seceding country – determines the subsequent economic performance for both.** It also emphasises that the politics involved in any process of secession will almost certainly determine ensuing economic trajectories. Hence, in the current atmosphere of secessionist movements in different parts of the world, **more attention needs to be paid to how any potential divorce between countries can be achieved, rather than to the simple act of independence as such.** Based on the case of former Yugoslavia, an amicable divorce will deliver no independence dividend but likewise **not significantly damage the future development prospects of all parties involved. A bitter divorce, by contrast, is likely to have long-lasting, negative economic consequences.** Unfortunately, so far the focus has been mainly on the implications of secession, rather than on how any secessionist process is managed.

R/T Spanish Economy

R/T Spanish Economy Recovering

1. Look past the GDP figures; Roden at the Local explains while Spain's economy is improving, it has some of the highest levels of inequality.

Roden 17 Lee Roden, 11-24-2017, "Spain one of the worst EU countries for income inequality: report," The Local, <https://www.thelocal.es/20171124/spain-one-of-the-worst-eu-countries-for-income-inequality-report> //DF

A new report by the European Commission warns that **while Spain's economy is improving it is among the worst performers in the union for income inequality,** and young people are in a risky position. Spain, along with Greece, Bulgaria and Lithuania faces a "critical situation in terms of income inequality" according to the draft 2018 Joint Employment Report by the European Commission, which uses data from 2016 and early 2017. **The richest 20 percent of households in the country received an income share 6.5 percent times that of the poorest 20 percent,** compared to an average of 5.1 times across the

union, and almost twice as high as the values for the best performers. And though in general the economic situation across the union continues to improve, there are "very substantial differences" between Member States. Unemployment ranges from 3.1 percent in the Czech Republic to 17.3 percent in Spain and 21.6 percent in Greece. **Youth unemployment in particular is a problem for Spain, sitting at 40 percent** compared to an EU average of 18.7 percent, while more than 70 percent of young workers in the country are working under a temporary contract (compared to only 13.1 percent for workers aged 25-49). The delicate situation for Spain's youth is also reflected in its early school leaving rate, which is close to 20 percent, meaning it is flagged as a "critical situation". The EU average is 10.7 percent, and the target set for Member States is 10 percent. The European Commission did however praise a Spanish digital skills training programme of training designed for the digital industry and new business models as an example of "good practice" when it comes to investing in re-skilling young people in order to make them more employable. Spain was also one of the countries where a quicker-than-average drop in the unemployment rate was recorded, as well as a quicker than average shortening of the gender pay gap. But **the share of people at risk of poverty or social exclusion** in the Iberian nation **is significantly higher than the EU average, and 22 percent of the population is at risk of monetary poverty**, compared to countries like Denmark and Finland here it is below 12 percent. **Spain's 17.3 percent unemployment rate is ultimately one of the worst**, and with a long-term unemployment rate of 9.5 percent "**the long term unemployment challenge still appears to be pressing in Spain**," the report concluded.

Maqueda 17 Antonio Maqueda, 4-25-2017, "Almost 28% of Spanish population at risk of poverty or social exclusion," EL PAÍS, https://elpais.com/elpais/2017/04/25/inenglish/1493129523_418079.html //DF

A new report shows that 27.9% of the population in Spain is at risk of slipping into poverty or social exclusion. The figure, which was arrived at by examining declared income from 2015, is slightly better than the 28.6% that was registered using 2014 data, but **it is still far from the 26.7% recorded in 2010**. At the height of the crisis, in 2013, the percentage of at-risk individuals reached 29.2% of the population. The data, which was compiled by the National Statistics Institute (INE) in its Living Conditions Survey, show that the lowest-income households are made up of young, poorly trained, unemployed foreigners (particularly from outside the EU) who are single parents and live in southern Spain, most notably in Andalusia. That is despite the fact that an improved labor market made the average household income grow 2.4% to €26,730 compared with the previous year. That is still a far cry from the €28,206 registered in 2010. Meanwhile, average per capita income advanced 2.8% to €10,708.

R/T Spain Lose 20% of GDP

Impact – Spanish Deficit

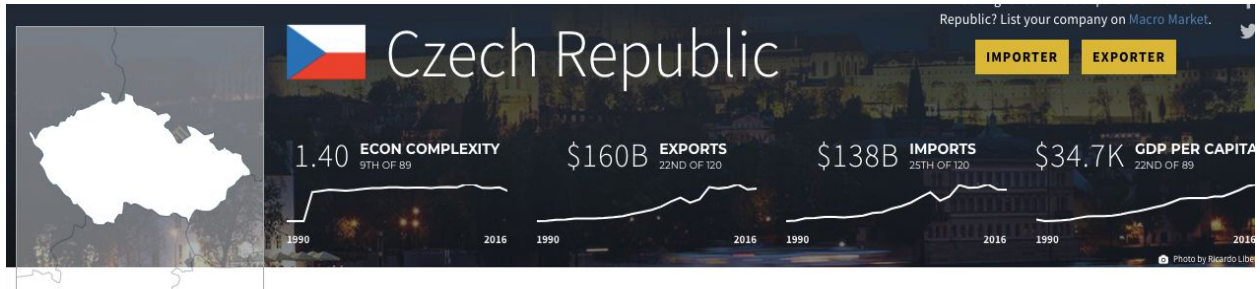
R/T Border Effect

1. De-link: Castells of the University of Barcelona explains that the border effect would not be severe with Catalonia because economic interdependence between Catalonia and Spain is decreasing and this trend will continue. Overall the border effect would likely lead to a short term hit to Catalan GDP of less than 1%.

Antoni Castells (University of Barcelona). CATALONIA AND SPAIN AT THE CROSSROADS: FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS. Published 2013. <http://diposit.ub.edu/dspace/bitstream/2445/113076/1/658150.pdf>.

Rodríguez Mora (2012) provides an empirical approach to assess the border effect in the case of separation of Catalonia from Spain. It is based on the assumption that the border effect would reduce the intensity of trade between Catalonia and Spain to the same levels that it has between Portugal and Spain (80% lower). According to these results, the secession of Catalonia would produce a reduction of 3.3% of the joint GDP of Catalonia and Spain, consisting of a 9% decrease in Catalan GDP and a 2% decrease in the Spanish one. Paluzie (2010), Guinjoan and Cuadras (2011 and 2012), Cuadras (2012), Antràs (2012), **Antràs and Ventura (2012), Amat (2013), strongly disagree with these estimates, which they consider to be overstatements. According to them, the effect on the GDP of Catalonia of the potential loss of a part of the Spanish market would be much lower than this 9%**. This is based on several arguments. **First of all, the border effect is a long term effect. It is the fruit of many years of history, and it is not an acceptable assumption to presume that the trade flows between Catalonia and Spain would suddenly structurally decrease to the levels of the ones between Portugal and Spain. Secondly,** according to the latest available data (2011), the destination of goods (not including services) produced in Catalonia is as follows: The Catalan market absorbs 26.7% of total sales, the Spanish market 34.5% and the rest of the world 38.8%. However, even if the Spanish market is, by far, the first country destination for Catalan exports, its share has been sharply decreasing over time, as the Catalan economy has opened to international markets, mainly to the EU. While Spain accounted for 47.1% of Catalan exports (i.e., excluding the sales to the Catalan domestic market) in 2011 (and the rest of the world for 52.9%), it accounted for 63.5% in 1995 (and the rest of the world for 36.5%). Thus, **in sixteen years, the share of the Spanish market in Catalan exports has declined by 16.4 points. Spain has strongly lost importance for the Catalan economy compared to the rest of the world, both because the Spanish market has decreased as a destination for Catalan exports and because, even if the sign of the commercial flows is still positive for Catalonia, the percentage has sharply decreased over the years. An existing long term trend has been reinforced by the crisis of the last few years.** A third argument is that the impact of the reduction of exports on GDP is not direct. Exports are measured as sales to the rest of the world, while GDP is calculated in terms of added value. The conversion of a hypothetical reduction of exports to GDP is not automatic. It depends on how far the exports have been produced in Catalonia, or if they incorporate a significant fraction of imported intermediate goods. The estimation is, thus, relatively complex and requires using Input-Output tables. Guinjoan and Cuadras (2011) have shown that a fall of exports from Catalonia to Spain (measured as a percentage of GDP) has a transmission effect of two third in terms of GDP. Considering all these points, these authors have estimated the impact of the reduction of exports to the Spanish market on the GDP of Catalonia. According to an extreme scenario (a reduction of 50% of consumption goods exports and of 20% of sales to firms), the impact in terms of a reduction of the GDP of Catalonia would be in a range between 1.7%/2.2%. They remark that this would be a very negative but not very probable scenario. They point out, for example, that **during the boycott campaign against Catalan products in 2005, during the discussion of the new Statute of Autonomy, the reduction of sales of Catalan products was around 5%**, so the hypothesis of 50% is an extreme one. **In more moderate scenarios,** these authors conclude that **the fall of Catalan GDP could be in a range between 1.2%/1.6%, and in more favourable scenarios, even below 1%**

2- No Impact: The border effect is a phenomenon that takes place over many years. In this time, Catalonia will just establish new trade relationships, something they are doing in the squo. For example, despite Czech Republic and Slovakia trade decreasing as much as 60% because of the border effect, the OEC reports Czech Republic's trade has solely increased, at a steady rate since the split (see graphs)
Photo By Ricardo Liberato, xx, xx-xx-xxxx, OEC, No Publication, <https://atlas.media.mit.edu/en/profile/country/cze/>, 1-19-2018, (NK)



Visualizations

Exports
Imports
Trade Balance
Destinations
Origins
Product Space
Complexity and Income Inequality
Economic Complexity Dashboard

The Czech Republic is the 22nd largest export economy in the world. In 2016, the Czech Republic exported \$160B and imported \$138B, resulting in a positive trade balance of \$22.5B. In 2016 the GDP of the Czech Republic was \$192B and its GDP per capita was \$34.7k.

The top exports of the Czech Republic are Cars (\$18.7B), Vehicle Parts (\$13.5B), Computers

(\$8.69B), Seats (\$2.71B) and Insulated Wire (\$2.61B), using the 1992 revision of the HS (Harmonized System) classification. Its top imports are Vehicle Parts (\$8.9B), Computers (\$6.43B), Cars (\$3.75B), Packaged Medicaments (\$3.3B) and Broadcasting Equipment (\$2.65B).

The top export destinations of the Czech Republic are Germany (\$52.3B), Slovakia (\$13.6B), Poland

(\$9.2B), the United Kingdom (\$8.42B) and France (\$8.39B). The top import origins are Germany (\$42.7B), Poland (\$12.7B), Slovakia (\$9.2B), China (\$8.06B) and the Netherlands (\$7.32B).

The Czech Republic borders Austria, Germany, Poland and Slovakia.

R/T Mora

1. Mora uses the case of Portugal and Spain in order to find the impact of the border effect, however, this is an inappropriate comparison. Castells of the University of Barcelona explains that It's absurd to conclude that Spain would structurally decrease trade flows with Catalonia to the level they did with Portugal because Spain is so much more dependent on Catalonia.

Antoni Castells (University of Barcelona). CATALONIA AND SPAIN AT THE CROSSROADS: FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS. Published 2013. <http://diposit.ub.edu/dspace/bitstream/2445/113076/1/658150.pdf>.

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R/T Spanish Debt Crisis

If negotiations occur, there will be no net harm to Spain (Gevarter – Harvard)

Artur Mas and David Gevarter (Harvard International Review).Negotiating A Country. Published 9/2/17.
<http://hir.harvard.edu/article/?a=14557>.

It depends on the capacity to reach agreements with Spain, or not. **If there is a negotiation and agreements are reached, then nothing will happen because we will share the debt and the liabilities. We will also share the assets**, and I'm sure that in this case, **if negotiations exist we can reach a normal and profitable agreement for both sides**. **If there is no agreement** because Spain refuses to sit down at the table, talk about the issues, and reach an agreement, then the situation would be more complicated. If there is no agreement and Catalonia goes ahead with the creation of a new state, then the result of that would be that Spain would lose 19 percent of its GDP but keep 100 percent of its public debt. In these circumstances, the Spanish economy would not be viable, and there would be threats to the Euro because the Spanish economy is too big in Europe to be considered a marginal economy. **The situation would be so negative for everyone that, in my opinion, it won't happen.**

In negotiations for new trade deals, Spain and Catalonia would likely share the debt, leaving Spain's debt at the same roughly 100% of GDP that it is now, not the skyrocketed level my opponents tell you it will be. (Giugliano – Bloomberg)

Ferdinando Giugliano, 17, 10-6-2017, Catalans Would Pay a High Price for Independence, Bloomberg,

<https://www.bloomberg.com/view/articles/2017-10-06/catalans-would-pay-a-high-price-for-independence>, 1-7-2018, (NK)

Alternatively, the "eurofication" of the Catalan economy would leave Barcelona without a meaningful backstop for its banks, as they would stop being under the umbrella of the European Central Bank and of the European Stability Mechanism. Banco Sabadell, the second largest bank

located in Catalonia, has already relocated its headquarters. CaixaBank SA, the biggest bank in the region, is considering doing the same. **As it**

faces a major financial crisis, Catalonia would need to negotiate a new trade deal with the EU. The EU would likely demand as a precondition that Barcelona takes on a portion of Spain's sovereign debt.

One option would be for Catalonia to accept an amount of debt equal to its share of GDP. That solution would leave Spain's debt-to-GDP ratio unchanged at around 100 percent, Catalonia's debt would shoot up from its current level of roughly 35 percent to nearly 100 percent of its own income (far above the EU's admittedly unenforced 60 percent convergence criteria joining the euro zone). The good news would be that such a split could open the way to a negotiated deal over market access to the EU and the rest of Spain. The alternative would be for the Catalan government to retain only the debt it owes to private investors. This would mean defaulting on the money owed to Madrid and refusing to shoulder any debt currently owed by the national government. However, it is not clear such a selective approach would be acceptable to rating agencies: The risk is that investors may consider a decision to renege on debts owed to Madrid as a more general default.

Impact

1. This is all short-term. New countries always have economic hurdles to jump over, but the lasting impact is positive for Catalonia's economic growth.

2. Amaro of CNBC reports in October, when Catalonia first declared independence, Spain took a small hit but then the markets soon stabilized. This is because the European Central Bank lowered interest rates so that more people would invest and stabilize the economy. If the political situation worsens, the ECB will step in if necessary to protect the economic recovery in the region.

Silvia Amaro. "3 major reasons why markets don't care about Spain's Catalan crisis." *CNBC*. 30 Oct. 2017. Web. 15 Dec. 2017.

<https://www.cnbc.com/2017/10/30/3-major-reasons-why-markets-dont-care-about-spains-catalan-crisis.html>

On Friday, the Spanish region of Catalonia declared independence from Madrid while the national government imposed direct rule over the regional government and called for fresh elections. **Spanish shares dipped on the news and 10-year government bond yields hit a session high. However, markets soon stabilized and Philippe Gijssels, chief strategist at BNP Paribas Fortis, believes that cheap money in Europe, thanks to the European Central Bank's (ECB) quantitative easing program, is also making investors calm. "The worse it gets geopolitically, the easier monetary policy will be," he said, meaning that if the political situation worsens, the ECB will step in if necessary to protect the economic recovery in the region.**

Furthermore, investors are also confident on the Spanish economy, which has been one of the strongest performers in the euro area since the recession. Data released Monday morning showed Spain's economy grew at a pace of 0.8 percent in the third quarter of this year, slightly lower than the 0.9 percent gross domestic product seen in the previous quarter. Spain is nonetheless expected to grow at about 2.8 percent this year, according to forecasts by the European Commission.

3. Turn:

a. Catalonia's exit will force Spain to diversify its own economy. Banal-Estanol in 2017 writes in the Conversation that: [independence] may trigger greater economic development and modernisation in its remaining regions. The new Spanish state may gain in the long run if the preferences of its citizens are more homogeneous and better aligned with the central government than at present.

Banal-Estanol 17 Albert Banal-Estanol, 10-12-2017, "Catalonia, Spain and the economic consequences of a split," Conversation,

<https://theconversation.com/catalonia-spain-and-the-economic-consequences-of-a-split-85557> //DF

A key factor is whether Catalonia could gain independence and remain in the EU. If Catalonia were to remain as part of the EU, not much would change for either side. If it were required to remain outside the EU for a period of time, it would need to negotiate trade agreements with the new Spanish state and the rest of the EU. Despite the inevitable transition costs for both sides, there may also be some benefits to a split. The new Spanish state would lose a dynamic economy with better economic indicators than its average in terms of GDP, unemployment, exports and innovation. But this **[independence] may trigger greater economic development and modernisation in its remaining regions. The new Spanish state may gain in the long run if the preferences of its citizens are more homogeneous and better aligned with the central government than at present.**

b. This is statistically confirmed by (Maria Tadeo – Bloomberg 17) who shows a 1.5% increase in GDP with secession in comparison to a 2% increase without secession in the first year but then a 2% increase in GDP yearly with or without secession in the following years.

Modernization Quickly (Maria Tadeo – Bloomberg)

Accessed 1/5. Published 23 Nov 2017.

<https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2017-11-23/spain-s-economy-to-count-the-cost-if-catalan-crisis-continues>.

Oxford's analysis also takes account of a so-called economic policy uncertainty index, which measures the number of news articles that contains the word "uncertainty" and related terms in Spain's main newspapers as a gauge for political risk. It exceeded levels seen in 2016, when Spain was struggling to form a government, and household and business confidence will suffer if levels remain high, according to Talavera. **Even**

so, his base case is still for the economic impact of the Catalan crisis to be limited, with growth of 2.6 percent next year and 2.4 percent in 2019. His adverse scenario of prolonged tensions in Catalonia would see a weaker expansion of 1.5 percent next year and then 2 percent.

R/T Spain loses tax revenue

1. Erickson of the Atlantic explains that the net taxes that Catalonia pays to the Spanish central government are just a drop in the bucket of the overall tax revenue and they get a lot of money back from Spain in budget transfers which makes it hard to determine how much Catalonia actually contributes.

Erickson, Amanda. "Analysis | Catalonia's Independence Vote: What You Need to Know." The Washington Post. WP Company, 27 Oct. 2017. Web. 12 Jan. 2018.

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2017/09/30/catalonia-independence-referendum-spain/?utm_term=.ebf3f9f9eda1>.

Catalans often complain that they contribute more in taxes to the Spanish government than they get back. **In 2014, Catalonia paid about \$11.8 billion more to Spain's tax authorities than it received. But**, as the BBC explains, **"The complexity of budget transfers makes it hard to judge exactly how much more Catalans contribute in taxes than they get back from investment in services such as schools and hospitals."** There was an independence vote on Oct. 1, right? What happened? Catalans did go to the polls to vote on independence just a couple of weeks ago. It was a messy affair. For weeks, Rajoy condemned the vote as illegal. "I say this both calmly and firmly: There will be no referendum; it won't happen," the Spanish prime minister said. He and others argued that the vote would undermine the rule of law and set a dangerous precedent. In the lead-up to the vote, Rajoy sent in thousands of troops to seize ballot forms and arrest pro-independence officials. Websites informing Catalans about the election were shut down.

R/T Spanish Right-Wing

R/T Spanish Border Effect

Spanish Diversification Turn

R/T Catalan Economy

R/T Catalan EU Isolation

1. Catalonia would be in the EU if Spain granted secession. Lasquetty explains that Spain's constitution doesn't currently allow for secession, so they would have to alter their constitution in order to grant Catalonia independence. This means that a pro secession would be valid under Spain's constitution, and legal.

Lasquetty 17 Javier Fernández-Lasquetty [dean of the School of Political Studies and International Relations and vice president of the Universidad Francisco Marroquín in Guatemala City], 10-24-2017, "Catalonia: Secession, Constitution, and Liberty," Law & Liberty,

<http://www.libertylawsite.org/2017/10/24/catalonia-secession-constitution-and-liberty/> //DF

On to the question of whether secession advances freedom. Should secession always be celebrated as the triumph of individual liberty? We find ambivalence among classical liberals owing to differences of circumstance and experience. As F.A. Hayek wisely observed in *The Constitution of Liberty* (1960): "Though the concept of national freedom is analogous to that of individual freedom, it is not the same; and striving for the first has not always enhanced the second." James Buchanan famously fixed unanimity as the ideal for passing constitutional legislation. By the way, in Catalonia 91 percent voted in favor of the Spanish Constitution of 1978, about as unanimous as it gets in modern politics. **Secession is not provided for in that document. Not that it would be impossible, but the Constitution would have to be amended for it to happen.** That is precisely what the Catalan government has avoided here. The Generalitat did not want to make a reform proposal, which it legitimately could have done. For the past four years, it has preferred to telegraph its intention to violate the Constitution, this in spite of the Constitutional Court's decisions and warnings against going down that path. Put simply, the Generalitat has opted to break the Constitution in order to fulfill its political objectives. We are now at the heart of the problem. Who granted anyone the right to decide which part of the law applies and which part does not? Allowing the Constitution to be violated by a governmental body that itself emanates from said Constitution subjects all of us to the arbitrary application of public power. If we short-circuit the limits that the Constitution places on governmental power, then there is no limit on those who rule us, and freedom, property, and life are all at risk.

That's important because Alvexo news explains: an agreed secession would keep Catalonia in the EU because member states would respect a legal secession. EU nations would only reject Catalonia if they illegally broke away from Spain. They have no reason to reject Spain's legal decision for Catalan independence.

Alvexo 17 10-8-2017, "How Does Catalan Independence Affect EU?," Alvexo™ News,

<https://www.alvexo.com/blog/business/market-outlookcatalan-independence-impacts-eu-economy/> //DF

If Catalonia really does declare independence from Spain, it could lead to economic impacts around the world, with experts predicting negativity in the private sector. **Much of the economic possibilities depend on Spain's response to the exit—an agreed secession would keep Catalonia in the EU and on the euro, which means things would economically stay mostly the same except that Catalonia would no longer be paying taxes to Spain.**

However, if Catalonia becomes an independent state against Spain's will, things could be dicier, with the region potentially being forced to pay tariffs, change its currency, and start new trade agreements. One of the reasons Catalonia's exit would be so impactful is that the region's economy is widespread and powerful. Home to Barcelona and 7.5 million people, the region generates 20% of Spain's GDP and produces one-third of Spain's exports. Any changes to the area's economy would have a ripple effect around the world.

This is why the the New York Times reports that European Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker has made it clear Brussels would respect independence if it was held in line with the Spanish constitution. Meaning that an independent Catalonia, made through an agreement with Spain, will be respected by the European Union.

STEVEN ERLANGER (The New York Times). "For E.U., Catalonia Pits Democratic Rights Against Sovereignty." October 2, 2017.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/02/world/europe/catalonia-independence-referendum-eu.html>

Any new member state must enter with the unanimous agreement of all the others, so Spain would have a veto, but it would hardly be alone.

The current commission president, Jean-Claude Juncker, on Friday backed "the rule of law" and has said that Brussels must respect the decisions of the Spanish government and its constitutional court.

The commission has said several times that a vote in favor of Catalan independence would only be recognized if the referendum complied with the Spanish Constitution and was ruled to be legal. Mr.

Juncker has praised regional diversity but said that rich "regional traditions" should not become "elements of separatism and fragmentation of Europe."

2. Catalonia won't be kicked out of the EU. The Wilson Institute explains: EU treaties make no reference to being expelled from the EU if a new state is established by a region that was previously in the EU.

Wilson Institute 15 9-24-2015, "The economy in the face of independence," Wilson Institute //DF

However, if we calculate the commercial effects of independence, four things must be considered. First, a boycott would have a much greater effect on consumer goods (which represent only a third of Catalonian exports) than on capital or intermediate goods. Second, it is hard to believe that goods from multinationals (40% of Catalonian manufacturing turnover) would be boycotted because it would be impossible to distinguish the origin. Third, the boycott would have serious effects on those who carry it out. And fourth, boycotted products could be resold (at lower prices or with higher costs) in other markets. Based on these factors, we calculate that the commercial effects of independence would be transitory and not likely to surpass 1% of Catalonia's GDP. The Spanish Government has stressed that independence would result in automatic expulsion from the EU. This expulsion would involve formally recognizing Catalonia as a country, which is something that the Spanish State has vowed it will never do. In any case, **EU treaties make no reference to being expelled from the EU if a new state is established by a region that forms part of the EU. In fact, article 50 of the treaties requires a negotiation process and the consensus of the parties involved in order to allow an EU member to leave the Union.** Considering the amount of investments made by European companies, the decision on Catalonia's treatment will be political. EU decisions tend to be pragmatic and they strive to guarantee the continuity of the rights and obligations of European citizens, while maintaining economic and financial stability. In the recent crisis, certain basic policies of the European treaties (such as the "no bail out" clause or the "no monetization of government debt" rule) were violated in order to prevent the financial collapse of certain members. As a sovereign nation, Catalonia could continue to use the euro (we have examples of countries that use another government's currency). To guarantee the continuity of the banking system's existing process for supervising and providing access to liquidity, a monetary agreement could be established like the one with Monaco or other microstates that are not members of the EU. In this case, it could be adjusted to Catalonia, since it adopted the euro as of when it was introduced and the region has shown its desire to form part of the Eurosystem as a member with full rights. Even without this agreement, solvent banks operating in Catalonia could obtain liquidity indirectly through parent companies or subsidiaries operating in the eurozone or in the global interbank market. Any suspension of payments of a bank that also operates outside of Catalonia would have a devastating effect on its reputation, and especially that of the banking group it forms part of, so guaranteeing the liquidity of its operations in Catalonia would be a top priority for that bank.

That's important because Alvexo explains: in order for Catalonia to be kicked out of the EU, all member countries would have to be in agreement, which is highly unlikely

Alvexo 17 10-8-2017, "How Does Catalan Independence Affect EU?," Alvexo™ News,

<https://www.alvexo.com/blog/business/market-outlookcatalan-independence-impacts-eu-economy/>

Catalonia's potential independence from Spain also draws into question its membership in the EU. Spain has already made it clear that if Catalonia leaves, it will push for the region to also be forced out of the EU. But in order for Catalonia to be

kicked out of the EU, all member countries would have to be in agreement, which seems unlikely. However, many experts say that there isn't a reason for Catalonia to stop using the euro or to leave the EU single market, even if it is no longer a member of the EU. Catalonia has a large amount of exports, meaning the most impacted companies would be those exporting to the EU. The EU accounted for 65% of exports and 70% of foreign investment in Catalonia over the past few years. The Catalan economic effect on the EU is still unpredictable. With such a powerful economy, a Catalonia that isn't a member of the EU could become a threat to the EU and Spain, especially if it secures competing trade agreements. A divisive exit could cause a Spanish commercial war, which could impact spending and consumer behaviour throughout the EU and change long-accepted trade policies.

The EU is more likely to do this than rashly reject Catalonia. The Wilson Institute explains:

Wilson Institute 15 9-24-2015, "The economy in the face of independence," Wilson Institute //DF

However, if we calculate the commercial effects of independence, four things must be considered. First, a boycott would have a much greater effect on consumer goods (which represent only a third of Catalanian exports) than on capital or intermediate goods. Second, it is hard to believe that goods from multinationals (40% of Catalanian manufacturing turnover) would be boycotted because it would be impossible to distinguish the origin. Third, the boycott would have serious effects on those who carry it out. And fourth, boycotted products could be resold (at lower prices or with higher costs) in other markets. Based on these factors, we calculate that the commercial effects of independence would be transitory and not likely to surpass 1% of Catalonia's GDP. The Spanish Government has stressed that independence would result in automatic expulsion from the EU. This expulsion would involve formally recognizing Catalonia as a country, which is something that the Spanish State has vowed it will never do. In any case, **EU treaties make no reference to being expelled from the EU if a new state is established by a region that forms part of the EU.** In fact, article 50 of the treaties requires a negotiation process and the consensus of the parties involved in order to allow an EU member to leave the Union. **Considering the amount of investments made by European companies, the decision on Catalonia's treatment will be political. EU decisions tend to be pragmatic and they strive to guarantee** the continuity of the rights and obligations of European citizens, while **maintaining economic and financial stability. In the recent crisis, certain basic policies of the European treaties (such as the "no bail out" clause** or the "no monetization of government debt" rule) **were violated in order to prevent the financial collapse of certain members.** As a sovereign nation, Catalonia could continue to use the euro (we have examples of countries that use another government's currency). To guarantee the continuity of the banking system's existing process for supervising and providing access to liquidity, a monetary agreement could be established like the one with Monaco or other microstates that are not members of the EU. In this case, it could be adjusted to Catalonia, since it adopted the euro as of when it was introduced and the region has shown its desire to form part of the Eurosystem as a member with full rights. Even without this agreement, solvent banks operating in Catalonia could obtain liquidity indirectly through parent companies or subsidiaries operating in the eurozone or in the global interbank market. Any suspension of payments of a bank that also operates outside of Catalonia would have a devastating effect on its reputation, and especially that of the banking group it forms part of, so guaranteeing the liquidity of its operations in Catalonia would be a top priority for that bank.

2. Although the EU currently opposes Catalan independence, they would incorporate Catalonia if it actually became independent. Castells at Johns Hopkins University explains:

Castells 14 Antoni Castells [visiting professor at Johns Hopkins University], 10-29-2014, "Six comments on the economic viability of independence and two preliminary remarks," Comissió d'Economia Catalana,

http://www.coleconomistes.cat/pdf/the_economy_of_catalonia.pdf //DF

And above all, it is a mistake, because it is not Catalonia or Spain who will have the final say on whether an independent Catalonia stays in the EU (and in the euro, for if we stay in the EU, we will stay in the euro): it is the EU. And on this topic I think we can hypothesise, despite the inherent risks, that **the EU's strategy** (which will determine its pronouncements at every stage in the process) **will be geared to attaining two goals** (or priorities). **The first is to try to prevent Catalonia from becoming independent and the second, if independence becomes inevitable, is to ensure that the costs are as low as possible.** It is not unrealistic to think that **the EU's prime objective**, for many reasons, **is to try to stop Catalonia from becoming independent**, because it would undoubtedly create a significant degree of instability, because it might trigger a domino effect, and because Catalan independence, first and foremost, would significantly undermine Spain's solvency and that could drive the euro into a serious crisis. However, if this is indeed the EU's prime objective, then it would be reasonable, at this stage in the process, for it to work in two directions. On the one hand, it could issue serious warnings that an independent Catalonia would find itself outside the EU (the stick) but on the other hand it could try to apply pressure on the Spanish government to propose an agreement that would deflate the independence movement in Catalonia (the carrot). That is, it could try to prevent Spain's point-blank refusal to engage in any form of dialogue from making the

independence movement unstoppable. **However** – and here we enter the second phase of the game – **if, despite these efforts, independence were to become inevitable**, it is not unrealistic to think that **the EU would seek to make sure it causes the least possible damage**. After all, to try to prevent the greater of two evils is a perfectly reasonable standard of conduct in politics, and for the EU the greatest evil would be for Catalonia to achieve independence as a result of a harmful and hard conflict. **This would mean agreement, negotiation, and maintaining normality as far as possible. It would also mean changing the European situation as little as possible**. The reasons in favour of this are very similar to those previously mentioned: **upheaval and instability are in no one's interests** and, above all, an acrimonious, non-negotiated split would certainly be very harmful to Catalonia (and probably beyond its capabilities) and also extremely bad for Spain. The issue of debt distribution would be one of the key reasons for this.

2. Multinational corporations would pressure the EU into accepting Catalonia, even if they don't want to do it at first. Moner explains:

Moner 14 Oriol Martínez Alòs-Moner [Economist, specialist in FDI and international trade], 10-29-2014, "The position of an independent Catalonia in the international context," Comissió d'Economia Catalana, http://www.coleconomistes.cat/pdf/the_economy_of_catalonia.pdf //DF The question mark over whether the new country could be part of European institutions should not be forgotten. On the other hand, it should be borne in mind that **the final decision will be taken as a result of a process of negotiation between all sides according to the principles of mutual benefit and the lesser evil**. By way of example, it is worth highlighting the study by Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP, German Institute for International and Security Affairs), a private foundation that has advised the German government and parliament on foreign affairs for half a century. In its 2013 paper Katalonien auf dem Weg in die Unabhängigkeit? (Catalonia on the Way to Independence?) this research centre argues for a formula which involves the Catalans keeping the rights of European citizenship even if a hypothetical Catalonia were not initially in the EU. The above-mentioned study by the SWP therefore makes it clear that Catalan independence is seen from abroad as a plausible option, and therefore one which requires a response, if nothing else to protect the interests of **multinationals with major investments in the country. Companies like Volkswagen, Schneider Electric, BASF, Bayer or DOW will be the first to want to use their influence to ensure that their business is not affected**, either **during the transition process to an independent State** or as a result of the process itself. **Pursuing this logic, Catalonia will always have** at least the four pillars of the European single market assured: **free circulation of goods, services, capital and people. It will stay in the Eurozone and any disruption to business activities will be reduced to a minimum**. As regards GDP, according to figures for 2012 Catalonia would immediately be in twelfth position among EU economies, just above Finland (see figure 3) and far above countries like Portugal and the Czech Republic (both with a population of 105 million inhabitants, 40% more than Catalonia). In terms of pcGDP, figure 1 shows that the amount for Catalonia is 8% above the average for the EU 28 and Italy, and immediately below the three great economic powers on the continent, Germany, the United Kingdom and France. Catalonia's status as a developed economy is also illustrated by the statistics for the NUTS regions (EU Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics) and in its per capita GDP in terms of PPP (Purchasing Power Parity). According to data from 2010, Catalonia was in 64th place out of 280 regions, and formed part of a second group which also included leading industrial regions like Hano- ver (Germany) or Veneto (Italy), and slightly above two regions with a strong industrial and trading tradition, Tuscany and Piedmont. However, it must be pointed out that Catalonia only achieved 154th place for accumulated average growth rate in the period from 2000 to 2010, as the strong figures for the first part of the decade were offset by the global financial crisis which began in 2007/2008. This crisis has had particularly devastating effects since 2009, in particular in the regions most exposed to cheap credit from the introduction of the euro onwards, as is the case of the south of the continent.

3. (Paul Ames – PRI 12) The Justice Commissioner has stated that Catalonia would not even need to leave the EU in the first place if it were to become independent. A veto is irrelevant because it wouldn't need to apply for membership.

Catalonia would not need to leave the EU (Paul Ames – PRI)

This is my tag (This is my tag).The Balkanization of Europe? Accessed January 4, 2018. Published October 16, 2012.

<https://www.pri.org/stories/2012-10-16/balkanization-europe>

Beyond their impact on Europe's economic efforts, EU officials are concerned the separatist demands could create messy border disputes. Flemish nationalists claim Brussels as their capital even though its population is overwhelmingly French-speaking. Some Catalan separatists envision their future republic stretching beyond the current region's borders to include other bits of Spain and even France. The threat separatism may revive in parts of Eastern Europe — among Hungarians in Romania's Transylvania region, for example — could pose even trickier problems. **Despite the risks, the EU's head office has been unable to take a clear-cut position on the prospects of states breaking up. Justice Commissioner Vivianne Reding recently suggested that Catalonia would not need to leave the EU if it were to break away from Spain,** contradicting earlier comments by a European Commission spokesman who said any new breakaway states would have to re-apply for EU membership. Commission spokeswoman Pia Ahrenkilde Hansen said on Monday that the EU executive body will keep quiet on the issue unless formally requested by a national government to make a pronouncement.

If independence was amicable then Spain and Catalonia would enter negotiations to ensure the most profitable outcomes for both sides, which Soler of NYU explains would lead to the permanence of EU membership for Catalonia.

Joan Barceló-Soler. (NYU) THE BATTLE FOR THE SECESSION: Catalonia versus Spain published: 2013
 url: file:///C:/Users/domin/Downloads/SSRN-id2276571.pdf

		Mas	
		Secession	No Secession
Rajoy	Friendly	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ International recognition ▪ Direct entry into the EU, the European Single Market ▪ Catalonia assumes approximately a 20 percent of the Spain's national debt (proportional to the weight of Catalonia within the national GDP). ▪ Catalonia stops the net transfer sent to Spain every year (≈8.5 percent GDP/year) ▪ Catalonia receives ≈20 percent of Spain's assets 	▪ Status quo.
	Conflictive	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ International recognition not guaranteed ▪ Potential denial of entry into the EU, European Single Market ▪ Spanish boycott of Catalan products at private level (decrease Spain's demand) and public level (tariffs) ▪ Catalan tariffs leave Spain effectively locked-in in the peninsula with no connection to Europe ▪ Catalonia stops the net transfer sent to Spain every year (≈8.5 percent GDP/year) ▪ Spain assumes the totality of its national debt (Catalonia would decide not to share it), and Spain has to confront the same amount of debt even though it has lost about 20 percent of the national GDP. 	▪ Status quo with more internal conflict.

4. Even if they weren't part of the EU, EU countries would still want to promote free trade with Catalonia. Castells of the University of Barcelona explains that

Antoni Castells (University of Barcelona). CATALONIA AND SPAIN AT THE CROSSROADS: FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS. Published 2013. <http://diposit.ub.edu/dspace/bitstream/2445/113076/1/658150.pdf>.

One decisive point is what would happen in relation to the membership of Catalonia in the European Union and the Euro zone. Probably, **whether an independent Catalonia was a formal member of the EU or not, everybody would be interested in keeping the conditions of the single market in Catalonia. The presence of European firms in Catalonia is very high, trade links are strong, and the Catalan corridor accounts for a high percentage of the transport of goods between Spain and the rest of Europe.** It would therefore not be probable that trade barriers would rise again between Catalonia and the countries of the EU. However, unlike Scotland, Catalonia is not only a member of the EU, but also of the Euro zone. This is, of course, an open question. The 'status' of an independent Catalonia regarding the EU would depend essentially on political factors. However, the costs of leaving the euro would be very high. Catalan banks would have serious difficulties to access the European Central Bank liquidity mechanisms [see Galí (2013) and Jobst e.a. (2012) about this point]. These mechanisms have been essential in the last years; the Catalan government would face serious difficulties in financing its debt through the markets and, without the access to the mechanisms that the Euro zone provides, it would probably be condemned to default; and if the Catalan currency had to devaluate in relation to the Euro, it would be very difficult to repay the burden of foreign debt.

Politicians will be able to see foreseeable economic damage from a session and will want to promote what's in their best interest: free trade with Catalonia because the best way to get kicked out of office is to have an economic downturn while you're in office when it could have been easily avoided it.

Link – R/T Prodi Doctrine

The Prodi Doctrine is not actually in the EU charter, rather it is only based on the words of a former EU commissioner. This means that the EU is not legally required to kick out Catalonia if the become independent (Ochoa - The University of Chicago Institute of Politics).

Andrea Ochoa (The University of Chicago Institute of Politics). "The EU and Catalonia: The Bigger Picture." November 19, 2017. <http://uchicagogate.com/articles/2017/11/19/eu-and-catalonia-bigger-picture/>

In a press conference months prior the chief of the European Commission, Jean-Claude Juncker, stated, "If the 'yes' vote for the independence in Catalonia, saw the light, well, we would respect that choice." The following day, however, the commission issued a restatement clarifying that the referendum would have to be legally sanctioned by the Spanish government. The Spanish constitution directly prohibits secession through Article I by declaring that sovereignty is a national matter, and the Spanish government would never endorse the independence movements of any Spanish region. Nevertheless, if the European Commission had in fact given support for the vote, many challenges would have arisen for Catalonia. One obstacle that the region would have faced if it declared independence would have been its EU membership.

While **the official charter of the EU does not directly address seceding regions within member states, the European Commission has relied on the Prodi Doctrine in order to address these scenarios. The Prodi Doctrine, a 2004 doctrine based off of the ideas of Romano Prodi, the former president of the European Commission, states that a seceding region renounces EU membership and must reapply to be an EU member state. In order to remain a member state of the EU as an independent Catalonia, the independent republic would be required to reapply for membership.** Not only does the application process take several years, it also requires that there be a unanimous decision for approval. Spain would very likely deny the request because of its dependence on Catalonia for both economic and political stability. Catalonia accounts for 20 percent of the Spanish GDP, has a lower unemployment rate than the rest of the country, and has an extraordinary amount of investment. The Spanish constitution has also maintained a firm grip on controlling Catalonia, and a successful secession would weaken the principles established by the Spanish government.

The Prodi Doctrine doesn't stop the EU from acting pragmatically to negotiate with Catalonia because it's not a real law.

Link – R/T Ascension Delay

No link: Catalonia could negotiate with the EU before it becomes formally independent. The Wilson Institute explains:

Wilson Institute 12 11-13-2012, "Europe, Oh Europe," Wilson Institute, <http://www.wilson.cat/en/comunicats-conjunts/item/197-europa-europa.html> //DF

We assume that the threat refers to the European Union, even though, don't forget, the treaties of the EU don't say a single word about internal expansion. That is, they don't say anything about adding members that become independent by separating from existing member countries: the treaties neither regulate nor prohibit such expansion. But let's imagine a worst-case scenario and suppose that if it became independent, Catalonia would no longer be a member of the European Union. Would that mean that the day after the referendum, borders would be erected between Catalonia and the rest of the EU? Would it mean that if the Yes vote is victorious, that Catalans would lose the right to travel without a passport throughout Europe, that its merchandise would be assessed duties in order to be exported to the EU and that capital would stop circulating freely between Catalonia and the rest of the EU? And would it mean that to re-enter and thus benefit from all of these rights and freedoms of circulation, Catalans would have to wait until Spain stopped vetoing Catalonia's membership in the EU? The answer to all of these questions is NO. Definitely, NOT. In the first place, the hypothetical celebration of a referendum would not lead to Catalonia's exclusion from the EU. This would take place, if indeed it did take place, with a formal and public declaration of independence. Therefore, once the referendum was held and as long as it were successful, nothing could stand in the way of a process of negotiation within the EU about Catalonia's as well as Spain's status. And there is no clause in the European Union Treaties that states that (just as a British Parliamentary report recommends for Scotland) that the date of the definitive declaration of independence couldn't be negotiated so that it would coincide with the starting date of Catalonia's membership in the European institutions. In the second place, if Catalonia were forced to exit the European Union, it is true that it would need Spain's vote in order to be readmitted. An extensive (though not direct) application of Article 49 of the Treaty of the European Union stipulates that the admittance of a new member of the EU requires the unanimous approval of all of its members, including that of Spain(1). Therefore, our destiny in Europe would be in the hands of Spaniards. Pro-independence Catalans need to contemplate a scenario in which, at least in the short term, they would cease to be part of the EU if Spain stubbornly insisted on voting No on its inclusion into the European Union. However, from the point of view of the Wilson Initiative, we believe that the Spanish threats are not particularly credible for two reasons. First, Spain's ability to exercise this veto will depend a great deal on whether it has been bailed out economically (the changes to the constitution that the Popular Party and the PSOE fast-tracked through at the petition of the European authorities demonstrate that the capacity of the Spanish authorities to do certain things is not as large as they make out). Second, when the time comes, it may not be in Spain's interest to veto Catalonia's inclusion in the EU. Spain suffers from a problem that economists call "dynamic inconsistency." At first glance, it might be in Spain's interest to veto, but once the referendum has been held, it may be in its interest to do the opposite, since in order to export to Europe, Spaniards will have to pass through Catalonia and because they will want Catalonia to take on a proportional part of the Spanish debt.

Link – R/T Spanish Veto

No link: Spain wouldn't veto. Puig explains

Puig 14 Miquel Puig [Doctor of Economics. Former university teacher, manager in the public and private sector, business consultant. Currently manages a consortium of university services], 2014, " In or out of the European Union. What we have said about this," Comissio d' Economia d' Catalonia, <http://www.coleconomistes.cat/pdf/the.economy.of.catalonia.pdf> //DF

For the first two experts listed in the table the hypothesis of Catalonia leaving the EU and negotiating its readmission is as unthinkable as for Avery, so they question the first «postulate» (and, consequently, the others). Let's see what these two people have to say: Heribert Padrol: I think it's nonsensical to think that Spain, as a result of a hypothetical tantrum and not of a rational strategic reflection, could induce its partners to allow it to exercise a possible veto on Catalonia's continued presence in the EU (...) Applying game theory and taking into account that the opinion of the Community institutions would bear great weight in a possible scenario of mutual and joint damage, such an exit of Catalonia from the Union is not in any way foreseeable. Oriol Amat: The expulsion of Catalonia by the EU is not a realistic scenario if we bear in mind that Catalonia is a net contributor and one of the most pro-Europe nations». Now let's analyse the opinions of the economists who make no reference to the possibility of Catalonia being either inside or outside the European Union. Now let's analyse the opinions of the

economists who make no reference to the possibility of Catalonia being either inside or outside the European Union. We may consider their common starting point to be clearly expressed in the joint article of fifteen economists (which we call the "Collective"): In our role as economists, we do not consider it appropriate to comment on whether or not independence would automatically mean that Catalonia would leave the EU, since this is a matter of a legal and political nature».

R/T Impact – Trade

1. No impact: Catalonia can just enter into bilateral agreements. The Wilson Institute explains:

Wilson Institute 12 11-13-2012, "Europe, Oh Europe," Wilson Institute,
<http://www.wilson.cat/en/comunicats-conjunts/item/197-europa-europa.html> //DF

But let us stick to a pessimistic scenario and imagine that an angry and vengeful Spain decides to punish Catalonia and vetoes any Catalan attempt to gain re-accession into the EU, and that the EU permits such a thing. Does this imply that Catalan businesses will not be able to sell in Europe, that Catalan citizens will have to go through customs and immigration, and that you'll need a passport to go to Saragossa? The answer is NO. The EU treaties require the use of a unanimity principle to approve the accession of new members (TEU, art. 49) and to make "association agreements," that is, those agreements that establish institutions shared by EU and extra-EU countries (we'll explain shortly why the association agreements are important). However, **to continue in the common market and to maintain the free movement of goods** (that is, to avoid paying duties), **Catalonia doesn't have to form part of the EU. It just has to sign bilateral agreements like Switzerland has done**. And the treaties say that **bilateral agreements without shared institutions require not a unanimous vote but only a qualified majority** (TFUE, art. 207 and 218). Therefore, **if Spain tried to use its vote to veto the incorporation of Catalonia into the common market** and the free movement of goods, **it would be unsuccessful because Catalonia** could sign a bilateral agreement with the EU, and that agreement **doesn't need a unanimous vote**, but only a qualified majority. This agreement, therefore, could not be vetoed unilaterally by Spain. In fact, being outside the EU while enjoying free trade within the EU is what Switzerland does, a country that decided not to enter the European Economic Area, but which maintains one of these bilateral agreements with the EU, approved by a qualified majority. (2) It goes without saying that **it would be to the EU's interest to sign such a bilateral agreement with Catalonia**. After all is said and done, **there are important European companies in Catalonia that would** ostensibly **be harmed by the introduction of commercial barriers** threatened by the Spanish authorities. It's obvious that it is in the interest of the entire EU (including Spain!) to continue as it is. What incentive would European firms have to buy the more expensive Catalan products that were imported? Or to sell products that they export from Catalonia at a higher price?(3) Given these incentives and the fact that Catalonia, as a current member of the Union, satisfies all requirements imposed by the UE in terms of regulations, institutions and so on, one would expect such a bilateral agreement to come into effect immediately upon independence. To sum up: even if Spain stubbornly insists on expelling Catalonia from the European Union, it would not be able to keep Catalonia from signing free trade agreements with the EU, and, therefore, Catalan businesses would be able to export to Europe with the same freedom, rights, and obligations that they do now.

2. The EU is too economically dependent on Catalonia to shut them out. Even if they weren't part of the EU, EU countries would still want to promote free trade with Catalonia. (Castells – University of Barcelona)

Antoni Castells (University of Barcelona). CATALONIA AND SPAIN AT THE CROSSROADS: FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS. Published 2013. <http://diposit.ub.edu/dspace/bitstream/2445/113076/1/658150.pdf>.

One decisive point is what would happen in relation to the membership of Catalonia in the European Union and the Euro zone. **Probably, whether an independent Catalonia was a formal member of the EU or not, everybody would be interested in keeping the conditions of the single market in Catalonia. The presence of European firms in Catalonia is very high, trade links are strong, and the Catalan corridor accounts for a high percentage of the transport of goods between Spain and the rest of Europe. It would therefore not be probable that trade barriers would rise again between Catalonia and the countries of the EU.** However, unlike Scotland, Catalonia is not only a member of the EU, but also of the Euro zone. This is, of course, an open question. The 'status' of an

independent Catalonia regarding the EU would depend essentially on political factors. However, the costs of leaving the euro would be very high. Catalan banks would have serious difficulties to access the European Central Bank liquidity mechanisms [see Galí (2013) and Jobst e.a. (2012) about this point].

R/T Banking

R/T WTO Isolation

R/T Catalan Competitiveness

Catalonia will benefit from independence and all the harms are transitional (Ayadi – Barcelona Center for International Affairs)

Rym Ayadi (Barcelona Center for International Affairs). Scenarios of Macro-economic Development for Catalonia on Horizon 2030. Published July 2015. <https://www.vilaweb.cat/media/continguts/000/104/312/312.pdf>.

Catalan secession from Spain as quantified by the GEM-E3-CAT model **is beneficial for Catalonia in all cases examined**, reflecting to a large extent the positive impact from terminating Catalonia's net fiscal transfers to the rest of Spain. **In the short run uncertainty, high interest rates and a volatile investment environment triggered by the decision to secede is found to slow the Catalan GDP growth rate; the effect is more pronounced if the decision to secede is unilateral. However the structure of the Catalan economy and the pursuit of fiscal policy towards a balanced public budget can deliver higher than the reference GDP and employment growth rates, once the transition period to sovereignty is over.** The overall net effect from secession on the Catalan economy is the result of a multitude of short and long run adjustments with frequently opposing effects. Below we describe the key mechanisms that drive the adjustment process: Short run i) The change of the fiscal imbalance between Spain and Catalonia benefits the Catalan economy due to the increased public investment and its economy wide multiplier effects. Stock addition and upgrade of infrastructure stimulates mainly domestic production since the additional demand is addressed to domestic activities (for instance construction). ii) Higher domestic production lowers unemployment without exerting significant pressure to the wages, as unemployment is still at high levels. iii) The decision to secede creates uncertainty and increases market interest rates and the risk premium. **Long run i) The increased infrastructure capacity increases economy wide productivity improving the overall competitiveness of the economy. ii) Additional public spending reduces unemployment but may deteriorate competitiveness as upward pressure is exerted on wages. iii) Uncertainty is reduced and interest rates become lower than the reference as the fundamentals of the Catalan economy are strengthening (sustainable debt, balanced public budget and low unemployment). Overall the positive effects induced by additional productivity and better public finances are only moderated by a loss in competitiveness induced by higher wages** (depending on how the additional fiscal revenue remaining in the region is allocated). Different assumptions on public spending and fiscal policy were examined as these could lead to different short run and long run adjustments. It has been found that reduction of indirect taxes is the most beneficial option in terms of GDP. Increasing public expenditure is preferred in the short term whereas in the longer term when low unemployment rates prevail it is preferable to reduce labor costs. **As expected Catalonia benefits more under mutual agreement on secession as the lower uncertainties and risks associated with secession in this case allow for a faster recovery of the economy from the shock of independence from Spain.**

R/T Catalan Border Effect

R/T Bosch

She concludes that the real determinant of independence will be settlement negotiations

Bosch 17 Sofia Bosch, 9-20-2017, "Spain's economy losing Catalonia would be like the US losing California and Florida combined," CNBC, <https://www.cnbc.com/2017/09/21/heres-how-bad-economically-a-spain-catalonia-split-could-really-be.html> //DF

"Those losses would be provoked by the obstacles to trade, by financial problems, by the spending needs of the new state." While Catalans only account for about 16 percent of the Spanish population, Catalonia makes a hefty contribution to the overall Spanish economy, making 223.6 billion euros (\$262.96 billion) a year, according to the regional government. This is around 20 percent of its total gross domestic product (GDP). Larger than the contribution that California makes to the whole United States. Using figures from official European and Catalan organizations, Business Insider claimed earlier this year that the region would quickly gain about 16 billion euros yearly in the case of a split, as they would no longer have to pay taxes to Spain. This would then result in a loss of about 2 percent to the Spanish GDP (gross domestic product) yearly. At the same time, Catalonia could take a potential hit, as 35.5 percent of Catalan exports are to the Spanish market. Catalonia would also have pay to create new state structures (embassies, central banks, etc.) which carry a large price tag. Earlier this month, Spanish Economy Minister Luis de Guindos claimed that Catalonia could see its economy shrink by 25 to 30 percent and its unemployment double if it splits to form a separate state. Regardless, the fate of both nations would ultimately come down to the decisions made in post-separation negotiations on debt and the European Union. "How many jobs, how many investments, how many commercial operations would be lost during transition? No one knows precisely." -Alain Cuenca, Professor at the University of Zaragoza

R/T Catalan Currency Crisis

No link: Catalonia could use the euro without EU membership. The Wilson Institute explains:

Wilson Institute 12 11-13-2012, "Europe, Oh Europe," Wilson Institute, <http://www.wilson.cat/en/comunicats-conjunts/item/197-europa-europa.html> //DF

What about the people? Would people be able to continue traveling freely? The answer is yes, but not because the Schengen treaty would be applied automatically. If Catalonia chose to join the Schengen Area without being part of the EU, it would have to sign an association agreement like Switzerland did. However, since it is an association agreement, it would require a unanimous vote from the Council, and therefore, could be vetoed by Spain. However, if Spain vetoed Catalonia's entry into the Schengen Area, Catalans would continue to have access because they would still be Spanish citizens. We just have to go back to Article 11.2 of the Spanish Constitution to see that no Spanish citizen can be deprived of their nationality. Therefore, since the Spanish government, no matter how furious it is, could not take Spanish nationality away from the people of Catalonia, they would be able to travel from Catalonia to any country in the Schengen Area (for example, to cross the Spanish or French borders) with complete freedom and the only thing they would have to do would be to keep their Spanish citizenship (together with their Catalan citizenship) and carry their Spanish passport or ID card when they were going to cross the border. In this case, we would have the paradox that the free movement of the citizens of Catalonia throughout Europe would be guaranteed by the very same Spanish Constitution. Finally, the euro: will Catalonia have to stop using them? Here we need to correct a fundamental yet common misunderstanding. It is true that when a country is independent it can use its own currency... but it does not mean it has an obligation to do so. Actually, **the world is full of countries that use other countries' currencies.** Ecuador, Panama and The Bahamas, among many others, use the United States dollar without the United States being able to do anything to stop them. **In Europe, Andorra, Monaco and Montenegro are all examples of countries that use the Euro without being part of** the Eurozone or even **the EU.** Since there is no way to keep a country from using the currency that is most beneficial or convenient, the threats that Catalonia would have to stop using the euro currency make no sense at all. **Catalonia could use the euro without asking for permission from the Union** or from the Central European Bank. Obviously, this would be a temporary situation until common sense led to full integration, with the possibility of being represented in the Eurosystem's institutions and to participate in their decisions. In conclusion, the members of the Wilson Initiative believe that the fact that the Spanish authorities are threatening Catalonia with potential economic catastrophes in the event that Catalans

vote in favor of having their own state only demonstrates the weakness of the Spaniards attempt to win a referendum simply by keeping it from being held; this has led Spain to adopt a strategy of spreading fear about impending economic misfortune.

R/T Catalan Debt Crisis

R/T Catalan Deficit Crisis

R/T Catalan Assets Crisis

R/T Catalan Government Unprepared

1. De-link: Castells of the University of Barcelona explains that because Catalonia has been granted so much autonomy, it has the infrastructure to become an independent nation. Catalonia is already in charge of health, education, Police, and Justice.

Antoni Castells (University of Barcelona). CATALONIA AND SPAIN AT THE CROSSROADS: FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS. Published 2013. <http://diposit.ub.edu/dspace/bitstream/2445/113076/1/658150.pdf>.

In quantitative terms, the key responsibilities of autonomous governments are health and education.

Table 3 shows the distribution of expenditure for the government of Catalonia. In 2012 it reached 37.5 billion euros, (around 18.75% of GDP).

Health represented 23.8% of all public expenditure and education 14.8%. **The government of Catalonia is fully responsible**

for the provision of these essential public services, although key regulations on standard of service are decided by central government. In 2012, the effects of the recession and the public deficits resulted in the expenditure related to the debt burden soaring to the

14.8% of the total. This figure includes all kind of financial debt, mostly bonds issued by the Catalan government in its own name. This debt does not have the backing of central government, although the latter must authorise any new issuance of autonomic debt, in line with its

'Annual Borrowing Plan'. **In general, the responsibilities are very similar across Autonomous Communities,**

although Catalonia has a special status in some particular fields, such as Police and Justice which

jointly represent 5.4% of total expenditure. In general, in different public policy areas there is not an exclusive allocation of

responsibilities to one single level of government, but rather different governments share concurrently some degree of responsibilities with

different vertical powers. For example, it is very usual that the central government has the power to pass a basic law, and autonomous

governments to pass second level laws and exercise executive powers. Therefore, a relatively high budget doesn't necessarily mean an equally

high political power in decision making in any functional field of responsibility.

Morato 16 Xavier Cuadras Morató [Associate Professor of Economics, Universitat Pompeu Fabra (Barcelona)], 2016, "Catalonia: A New Independent State in Europe?, A Debate on Secession within the European Union," Routledge,

<https://www.routledge.com/Catalonia-A-New-Independent-State-in-Europe-A-Debate-on-Secession-within-Cuadras-Morato/p/book/9781857437522//DF>

A useful guide to an estimate of the order of magnitude of these costs could be to review existing studies for the cases of Scotland and Quebec. For Scotland, estimates range from a highest figure of 1 per cent of GDP to a lowest of 0.13 per cent, all spread over the first parliament (see Eiser and McGoldrick, 2014). Young (2014) reviews the case of Quebec and offers an array of estimations going from 1 per cent to 0.38 per cent of GDP. It is certainly difficult to reach definitive conclusions on this issue for the case of the secession of Catalonia. The fact that no advanced industrial capitalist state has ever undergone such a break-up offers no precedent that could anchor the discussion convincingly. Nevertheless, given the studies mentioned above, **0.5–1 per cent of GDP could be taken as a reasonable range of estimates for the case of Catalonia**. So far, there are no reliable estimates of these types of transition costs for the case of Catalonia. Moreover, the two factors pointed out above work in opposite directions. On the one hand, **the extent of institutional and political development of Catalonia is high, having already its own parliament, an incipient tax collection agency and many other elements of the necessary institutional architecture of any state.**

R/T Economic Boycott

1. **No impact: Mireia Bonet of London University finds in 2017 that Catalan businesses would just diversify to other countries to sell their products**

Mireia Jofre-Bonet, 10-12-2017, "Catalonia, Spain and the economic consequences of a split,"

Conversation,

<https://theconversation.com/catalonia-spain-and-the-economic-consequences-of-a-split-85557>

Professor in Economics, City, University of London

In the short-run the split may be costly, as both sides may also face economic uncertainty and disruptions to trade, as their populations may boycott each other's goods and services (as has happened at previous times of tension). Because of the size difference, Catalonia would end up suffering more from this (the rest of Spain accounts for one third of Catalan exports). But it is unclear how long boycotts would last, and how restrictive they might be. **Businesses may also search out other markets, as they have even in the recent past. Exports of Cava from Catalonia to other countries, for example, increased substantially following an informal boycott from the rest of Spain ten years ago.**

2. **No impact: Xavier Morato of Pompeu Fabra University writes in 2014 that the effect of the boycott will be minimal for 3 reasons**

- a. **The stronger the boycott, the more Spain feels the pain**
- b. **It would only increase Catalonia's international legitimacy and make Spain look bad**
- c. **Boycotts have historically only targeted a few small goods, while leaving most trade alone**

Independence and boycott Xavier Cuadras Morató a Puig The Economy of Catalonia Questions and answers on the economic impact of

independence <http://economistes.assemblea.cat/wp/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/EconomyOfCatalonia.pdf> Comissió d'Economia Catalana October 2014 Pompeu Fabra University

In our opinion, the possibility of a large-scale boycott of Catalan products should not be considered a particularly serious threat to our economy in the event that an independence process were to begin, for at least three different reasons. **Firstly, because such a boycott is unlikely. The calling of a boycott is never without cost since trade relations generate benefits for all parties involved. Breaking these relations must have a**

price, not just for the victim of the boycott but also for whoever conducts it. This means that any large-scale boycott could lead to a free-riding problem, similar to what economists associate with the provision of public goods. Since no one could be excluded from the boycott's "benefits" (that is to say, the reprisals against the Catalan economy), even without taking part in the boycott directly, everyone would prefer to hold it without having to pay the resulting costs and this would be an obstacle to the effective mobilisation of boycotters. **Secondly, a boycott would not be a very effective way for Spain to achieve its political objective.** In response to a hypothetical declaration of independence, a boycott would probably turn out to be counterproductive for the instigators. Indeed, it is easy to imagine that the social support for the independence of Catalonia would increase on finding that the Catalans' democratic decisions were to be received with such hostility in Spain, and this would be just the opposite of what those making the threats of this type would want to achieve. Moreover, after the declaration of independence, the boycott would no longer be able to accomplish its main purpose. The only reason for the boycott would then be to take reprisal, so in this case it would be much more difficult to maintain it over time. **Lastly, boycotts of this nature tend to have a very limited scope and often affect only a few products** of wide consumption that are particularly representative or emblematic of the country concerned, such as Catalan cava (sparkling wine) in 2005. Similarly, French wine has been subject to boycotts on various occasions when consumers in some countries wished to protest against specific political actions of France, which they considered harmful to them. A study of numerous international examples, however, allows us to state that the vast majority of the products exported by countries are rarely subject to politically motivated boycotts of the type we are dealing with here.

R/T Loss of Confidence

Impact – R/T Business Exodus

Impact – R/T Investment

R/T Catalan Tourism

R/T Catalan Sports

1. (Saba Aziz – Aljazeera 17) Catalonia is considering moving to the English league anyway. It's not their favorite choice, but it's definitely an option. There is no impact of them being kicked out of Spain's league.
2. (Aziz again) Spain doesn't want Catalonia to leave La Liga. If neither party wants a split, no split.
3. (Kelly – Goal Foundation 17) Spain has stated that there are compromise possibilities that would not include Barcelona leaving their sports league. Barcelona has stated that they will not leave if independence happens.

La Liga Exit Irrelevant (Saba Aziz – Al Jazeera) Accessed
1/5. Published 27 Oct 2017.

<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/10/catalan-independence-affect-fc-barcelona-171004072234424.html>.

"There is no other way for Barcelona to be part of the league after independence." Despite speculations of a possible move to the English Premier League (EPL), experts believe the Catalan team's top priority would be to stay in the Spanish league. Keeping Barcelona in La Liga is also in the interest of the league and the club's archrival, Real Madrid, said Balague.

No One Leaves (Ryan Kelly – Goal Foundation) Accessed
1/5. Published 27 Oct 2017.

<http://www.goal.com/en-us/news/catalan-independence-how-barcelona-la-liga-affected-spain/1icqc7ydhk7wl1qhlhm7m4v6ez>.

However, considering the financial repercussions associated with the enforced removal of Catalan clubs from La Liga - it would mean an end to the traditional Clasico against Real Madrid - it is entirely conceivable that a compromise could be reached that benefits all parties involved.

R/T European Economy

R/T European Economic Crash

R/T Catalan Instability

R/T Spanish-Catalan War

Non-Uniques + Turns

1. Non-unique: the chance of war is high now for three reasons

a. Challenges to Spanish authority. Plana at MIT writes: the weakening of the central state embolden revolutionary challenges because separatists see an opening. The Catalan government has repeatedly flouted Spain's authority in recent months; the former President of the region, who fled because of treason charges, is literally trying to rule Catalonia from another country

Plana 17 Sara Plana [PhD student in the Department of Political Science at MIT, where her research focuses on structures of armed groups, civil-military relations, and civil war. Prior to MIT, Sara worked as a country analyst for the Department of Defense], 10-25-2017, "What Political

Science Tells Us About the Risk of Civil War in Spain," War on the Rocks,
<https://warontherocks.com/2017/10/what-political-science-tells-us-about-the-risk-of-civil-war-in-spain/> //DF

One common pathway to civil war involves the weakening or collapse of the state, which can embolden revolutionary challenges to its central authority or create a whirlwind anarchy in which groups compete for security, a dynamic known as a "security dilemma." At first glance, Spain boasts most aspects of a capable state: it regularly taxes its citizens, provides security, and facilitates economic investments, in contrast to countries from Somalia to Iraq, whose failed or sporadic governance has facilitated widespread violence. But the strength of the state's authority in Catalonia was called into question this week when regional and local Catalan police were accused of defying national court mandates to disrupt the vote, and in some cases even clashing with the national police that was deployed to the region on voting day. (Catalonia could staff a formidable resistance movement by coopting ready-made institutions like the autonomous regional government's police force, the Mossos d'Esquadra, as well as the municipal policemen or the now-iconic firefighters.) This episode of Catalan police insubordination, as well as subsequent instances of regional leaders resisting the Spanish government's orders, illustrate the very pathway to civil war through a weakening of the state's administrative capacity that numerous scholars have catalogued. A similar erosion of central power occurred in Yugoslavia. Indeed, Spain's approach of allowing self-government for its four most restive nationalities strongly resembles the Yugoslav model of an umbrella government over numerous regional republics.

b. This doesn't make as much sense

Plana 17 Sara Plana [PhD student in the Department of Political Science at MIT, where her research focuses on structures of armed groups, civil-military relations, and civil war. Prior to MIT, Sara worked as a country analyst for the Department of Defense], 10-25-2017, "What Political Science Tells Us About the Risk of Civil War in Spain," War on the Rocks,

<https://warontherocks.com/2017/10/what-political-science-tells-us-about-the-risk-of-civil-war-in-spain/> //DF

One of the most robust findings in the literature on civil wars is that they tend to occur in areas where economic development, as measured by per-capita gross domestic product (GDP), is low and economic growth is slow. On these points, Spain's record is mixed. Its \$25-30,000 per-capita GDP since 2010 is well above the threshold at which the probability of civil-war drops to below 10%, but Spain is still grappling with a "great recession" and growing debt since the 2008 global financial crisis. The most interesting application of the literature to the Spanish case has less to do with simple economic indicators, and more with the reason that poorer countries are associated with civil wars. Convincing empirical work has shown that ethnic conflicts are more likely to happen where economic exclusion of an ethnic group is high, a factor that actually changes the effect of per-capita GDP on the probability that civil war will break out. Unfortunately, this is another indicator for civil war that Catalonia meets. Catalonia is Spain's most prosperous region, but it has arguably lost the most from the central government's economic policy. Against the backdrop of national financial crisis, Spain's redistribution policies have disproportionately affected Catalonia. The central government controls tax collection and determines the piece of the pie that the Catalan regional government is given to spend. Moreover, Catalonia's share of federal funds is shrinking in proportion to the region's actual tax contribution, given rising redistribution during the economic crisis. Catalan pro-independence activists especially resent that they cannot control how their own tax revenue is used. The comparison to Yugoslavia on this point is also uncanny: Slovenia and Croatia were well-off republics that resented sharing their prosperity with the rest of the country. They leveraged this grievance, paired with their relative economic advantage, to hold independence referenda and secede in quick succession in 1991, inspiring Bosnia to follow suit and igniting the fire that would become the Yugoslav wars. The same scholarship that found that economic exclusion predicts violence found that political exclusion does, too. There remains disagreement about whether this applies to Catalonia. Critics of Catalan secession argue that Catalonia has no basis upon which to claim political exclusion, given that it is basically self-governing, complete with its own parliament, presidency, regional police force, and education and health systems. However, the recent empowerment of Catalan pro-independence parties shows how this very decentralization can actually encourage ethnic conflict: decentralized states are more prone to developing regional parties or "ethnic entrepreneurs" who can benefit by stoking ethnic identities for political gain and mobilizing their populations toward secessionism or wider violence.

R/T Catalan Counterterrorism

R/T Domino Effect

There is a contradiction (potentially): they say that Catalonian independence will end badly for that country (and the EU if there's a fracture); however, if Catalonia is a failed story, other pro-independence movements will see the risks as too great

R/T Uniqueness

1. Movements always have an incentive to fight for independence regardless of whether or not they see other nations succeed in their efforts.
2. Their impact isn't uniquely triggered by Catalonian independence. If you vote for them countries like Kurdistan will still become independent and lead to the harms they talk about. Pecanha of the New York Times explains that tension in Kurdistan are higher than ever right now, as violence between Turkish and Kurdish militants has led to the death of over 3,000 people in recent years. That's why the Vincent Stewart, the director of the Defense intelligence agency finds that its not of Kurdistan succeeds, but when.

Link – R/T Other International Regions

1. **Nonunique:** There are other countries fighting for independence, such as the Kurdish. They can inspire other countries to secede. (Pecanha -NYT, Winkler- Vox)
2. **De-link:** There are different political situations for each secession movement, the success of one does not guarantee the success of another. This is important because their impact relies on those movements ultimately leading to independence.
 - a. They don't succeed (ex. Catalonia's not successful, even though they're structured to succeed)
3. **De-link:** If secession is so bad because the countries would leave the EU like they tell you than other countries won't follow Catalonia's lead in fighting for independence if they see how bad it is. They make this contradiction which means they have to pick one of these arguments to go for in the round.

4. De-link: Catalonia is not a good example for other countries to follow. Kitwood of Stratfor explains that Catalonia does not offer an easy roadmap for others to follow. Most of Europe's self determination movements sympathize with the Catalan cause. But they rarely express interest in directly following Catalonia's path.

5. De-link: Other movements won't go to as extreme ends as Catalonia. Hennessy from the LA Times furthers [while] separatists have been encouraged by Catalonia's independence bid and are gaining strength, [they] are unlikely to declare their own new republics because they have other legal paths to achieve greater autonomy

6. Turn: Spain's undemocratic denial of Catalonia's self determination is galvanizing more independence movements like Catalonia. Sheets of the Berkeley political review writes that Spain's action have given an incentive and a voice to other independence movements on the continent.

Catalonia is not a good example for other countries (Kitwood-Stratfor)

Dan Kitwood (Stratfor). Beyond Catalonia, Taking Stock of Europe's Separatist Movements. Published 11/6/17.

<https://worldview.stratfor.com/article/beyond-catalonia-taking-stock-europes-separatist-movements>.

It's no secret that the geography of Europe invites fragmentation. Its mountain chains, peninsulas and unconnected rivers led to hundreds of cultural pockets with unique languages and identities. Centuries of war, invasion and forced migration further redefined political and ethnic borders, resulting in a Continent overcrowded with sovereign states. About a quarter of all the countries in the world are in Europe, and within almost every one are smaller groups demanding greater political, economic and cultural rights. That is why Catalonia's push for secession from Spain makes the European Union nervous. In the past few decades, not many self-determination movements within Europe have reached the magnitude of Catalonia's. And other nations are closely watching the region's instability, fearing that it might ignite their own separatist forces. But while many EU members will need to confront factors similar to those that drove the Catalan secessionists, each specific movement is different, existing within its country's unique economic and political context. And **Catalonia by no means offers an easy roadmap for others to follow.** Cautious Camaraderie **Most of Europe's self-determination movements sympathize with the Catalan cause. But they rarely express interest in directly following Catalonia's path,** especially after witnessing the political and economic uncertainty its unilateral actions have created. In France, for example, the president of the regional assembly of Corsica recently hailed the "birth of the Catalan Republic," but then admitted his small island is still not ready for independence. In Romania, the leader of the Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania took a similarly cautious stance, saying that the Hungarian minority does not want independence, only the right to protect its identity. And in Spain itself, the government of the Basque Country is concerned that Catalan secessionism could reignite calls for Basque separatism and possibly set the stage for Madrid to take direct control of the region as it did in Catalonia. However, the aforementioned movements are minor compared to those in countries such as Italy, Belgium and the United Kingdom, where self-determination groups are active and powerful, often influencing the direction of their nations' political agendas.

Non-Unique: Kurdish Independence inevitable (Winkler - Vox)

Elizabeth Winkler, 17, 9-27-2017, Iraq's Kurds just voted to secede. Here's why that could cause a new civil war., Vox,

<https://www.vox.com/world/2017/9/27/16374148/kurdish-referendum-vote-independence-oil-iraq-baghdad>, 12-12-2017, (NK)

Western forces, including the United States and the United Nations, urged the Kurdish government to call off the vote, citing the need for a peaceful reconstruction of the territories regained from ISIS and the safe return of refugees. The US has offered Masoud Barzani, the Kurds' president, and Haider al-Abadi, Iraq's prime minister, a room at the American Embassy in Baghdad to negotiate a deal. Oil could help lubricate relations. A revenue-sharing deal with Baghdad is the only way Kirkuk won't blow up, says Wahab. Kurdish leaders still say they will do whatever it takes for independence. **Vincent Stewart, director of the Defense Intelligence Agency, testified this summer that Kurdish independence is a matter of "not if but when."** Karim says of the 30 million Kurds dispersed across the Middle East: "We're the largest ethnic group in the world that doesn't have a recognized nation state."

Right Now, tension is as high as ever, not just between Iraqis and Kurds, but between Iraqi Kurds and the Turkish, who fear that their own Kurdish population could be emboldened to succeed.

Sergio PeçAnha, 17, 11-5-2017, How the Kurdish Quest for Independence in Iraq Backfired, No Publication, <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2017/11/05/world/middleeast/kurd-independence-iraq-turkey-iran-syria-maps-backfired.html>, 12-12-2017, (NK)

For Turkey, an important United States ally in the region, **the Kurdish growth in Syria and the independence movement in Iraq are considered a threat that could embolden Turkey's own Kurdish population.** For decades, **Turkey has been waging a war against militants from the Kurdistan Workers' Party**, or P.K.K. **After a two-year truce, violence has picked up again, killing more than 3,200 people since 2015.**

Other countries know what's at stake- they won't just secede, especially after watching Catalonia struggle. (Hennessy-LA Times)

Hennessy-fiske, Molly. "Catalonia crisis encourages separatists, but could it fracture Europe?." *latimes.com*. 30 Oct. 2017. Web. 11 Dec. 2017. <<http://www.latimes.com/world/europe/la-fg-catalonia-europe-20171030-story.html>>

Experts said these **[while] separatists have been encouraged by Catalonia's independence bid and are gaining strength**, but **[they] are unlikely to declare their own new republics because they have other legal paths to achieve greater autonomy.** No major European leader has recognized Catalonia as independent, attempting instead to present a united front with Spain. "[The EU] doesn't need any more cracks, more splits.... We shouldn't insert ourselves into what is an internal debate for Spain, but I wouldn't want the European Union to consist of 95 member states in the future," Jean-Claude Juncker, the European Commission president, said Friday.

Spain's denial of Catalonia has galvanized independence movements and should be troubling to any democratic government.

Sarah Sheets (Berkeley Political Review). The Catalan Catch-22. Published 11/15/17. <https://bpr.berkeley.edu/2017/11/15/the-catalan-catch-22/>.

Rajoy may have succeeded in ousting the Catalan government for now, but he has only 'poked the bear' and given both incentive and voice to other independence movements on the continent. What is happening in Catalonia is about more than just the victimization narrative— it is a combination of incendiary journalism and political opportunism with an unsettlingly real violation of democratic principles. **The plight of Catalonia now should be troubling to any democratic government— police brutality and political prisoners are not characteristics of a functioning democracy. EU states especially should be more actively denouncing Rajoy's actions to signal to other independence movements that the EU is committed to protecting democracy within its borders. The world is watching, and will not wait forever for an answer.**

Link – R/T Galacia

De-link: Galatians don't want independence. Sorens of Dartmouth College writes that Galicia is a mostly politically conservative region that enjoys net subsidies from the rest of Spain; independence is not an option there.

Sorens 17 Jason Sorens [lecturer in the Department of Government at Dartmouth College], 12-21-2017, "Cracking down on independence movements is a bad idea," AlJazeera,

<http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/cracking-independence-movements-bad-idea-171219075614245.html> //DF

Moreover, contrary to conventional wisdom, secessionism generally does not spread across borders. Some evidence suggests that self-determination claims are more likely to arise when there are more such claims in nearby countries, but no one has yet found that the success of independence movements in one country causes independence movements to become more successful in nearby countries. Even within countries, independence claims often do not spread. **If Catalonia were allowed to become independent, there is little chance that the Basque Country or Galicia would follow** in the near future. Unlike Catalonia, the Basque provinces enjoy tax autonomy and are not heavily taxed for the benefit of the rest of Spain. Moreover, Basque nationalists do not want to gain independence until all Basque territories support it, and the Basque region of Navarre has always shown weak support for independence.

Galicia is politically conservative and enjoys net subsidies from the rest of Spain; independence is not a live option there.

If governments permitted independence, they could negotiate the terms. If Iraq had been willing to negotiate the terms of Kurdish independence, they likely could have won territorial concessions without the use of military force. If Spain had been willing to negotiate a binding referendum with the Catalan government similar to the British government's deal with the Scottish government in 2014, they could have worked out a threshold of success (say, 55 percent) that would have made success unlikely. A failed referendum could have ended the independence threat for a generation. Instead, by sending in thousands of riot police, jailing politicians and taking their assets, banning websites, pressuring and raiding private newspapers, print shops, and hotels, and prosecuting political expression by private citizens, they have alienated moderate Catalans, lost face internationally, and ensured that independence and related issues like "political prisoners" will remain on the agenda for the indefinite future.

R/T Impact

R/T More Autonomy for smaller regions

R/T Secession bad

1. **Delink:** Connor Pfeiffer of Princeton University reports in 2015 that triggering separatist movements will not end in secession at all. In fact, a popular solution for dealing with separatist movements in recent times has been giving regions with a desire to seek independence more devolved powers over regional affairs because it maintains national unity while satisfying the grievances of increasingly separatist regions that want more local control over their own affairs.

Secession is not gonna happen- they just get more autonomy. (Pfeiffer- Princeton University)

Connor Pfeiffer. "European Separatism: Scotland, Catalonia, and Growing Divisions in the EU" *Princeton Tory*. 24 Sept. 2015. Web. 12 Dec. 2017. <<http://theprincetontory.com/european-separatism-scotland-catalonia-and-growing-divisions-in-the-eu/>>

A popular solution for dealing with separatist movements in recent times has been giving regions with a desire to seek independence more devolved powers over regional affairs. This can range from empowering the regional governor to creating an entirely separate regional parliament and government, as Britain has done in Scotland and as Spain has done in Catalonia. National governments also have a wide range of additional devolutionary tools at their disposal to give more powers to existing regional governments in order to create greater self-rule, including more spending and taxing powers and greater local say over how national laws apply to the region. This strategy is effective **because it maintains national unity while satisfying the grievances of increasingly separatist regions that want more local control over their own affairs.** Separatists can use the prospect of independence as an excellent bargaining chip to seek greater regional autonomy. For instance, the Scottish referendum forced Westminster to offer Scotland more devolved powers, and, despite the referendum's failure, the Scottish people strengthened their regional government by electing 56 members of the SNP to the British Parliament at the polls this past May. As a result, all but 3 MPs from Scotland are members of the SNP. If Parliament follows through on its promises, a strengthened Scottish regional government will satisfy many Scots who might otherwise have considered supporting independence. The appeal of gaining more regional powers is a potent obstacle for independence movements because many grievances can be remedied without independence. This, coupled with the prospect of being left out of the EU, makes independence an extremely hard sell. However, **if central governments are unwilling to consider expanding regional powers and address the concerns of minority groups, they fuel separatist movements because independence** (and the threat of it) **becomes the only way to address regional concerns.**

R/T Basque Secessionism

R/T Link

1. Delink: the Basques do not want to secede. Kingsley at the New York Times explains that the Basque country has had a long, bloody, history of fighting for independence – one that most in the region don't want to repeat. That's why a recent poll found that 63% of Basques do not want to copy the Catalan approach to independence

Kingsley 17 Patrick Kingsley, 10-28-2017, "As Catalonia Crisis Deepens, Many Basques Wary of New Independence Bid," New York Times, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/28/world/europe/spain-catalonia-basque-independence.html> //DF

If the pollsters are right, his position is not uncommon among the Basques of Spain. As the secession crisis in Catalonia deepens, attention has turned to the northern Basque region — which, like Catalonia, has its own language, culture and long history of separatism — to see if the desire for independence proves contagious. Until the 19th century, Spanish kings swore an oath to respect Basque autonomy underneath a tree here in Guernica. But the region's self-government was dismantled in 1876, and so it remained (barring a brief period of autonomy during the Spanish Civil War) for more than a century. Even after its restoration, self-government was still not enough for some Basques — including a militant group, ETA, which killed more than 800 civilians, policemen and soldiers in a decades-long campaign for independence that formally ended this year. But despite this tortured history, or perhaps because of it, the Catalan crisis does not appear to have markedly increased the zeal for Basque independence. Many here sympathize with Catalan nationalists. But after a controversial Catalan independence referendum in early October, an opinion poll found that nearly 63 percent of Basques did not want to copy the Catalan approach to achieving independence, while only 22 percent were in favor. And while 44 percent hope for greater autonomy from Madrid, just 23 percent want their own independent country. After over 40 years of separatist violence, many Basques want a timeout from the independence question, suggested Kirmen Uribe, an acclaimed Basque author who writes in Euskera, the Basque language. "It's like we're different planets — Catalonia and the Basque Country — and we have different orbits," Mr. Uribe said during an interview in San Sebastián, a coastal city famous for its food and shoreline. "The Basque orbit is longer, and the Catalan orbit is shorter. We need more time because we don't want to break the Basque Country again." "It's a question of timing — we don't want independence right now," Mr. Uribe added. "We're more thinking about cleaning the wounds between us, between the Basque people."

2. De-link: the Basque nationalists will not secede without near unanimous support. This makes independence drives unlikely because Sorens at Dartmouth College explains that there is virtually no support for independence in the Navarre area of the Basque country

Sorens 17 Jason Sorens [lecturer in the Department of Government at Dartmouth College], 12-21-2017, "Cracking down on independence movements is a bad idea," AlJazeera,

<http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/cracking-independence-movements-bad-idea-171219075614245.html> //DF

Moreover, contrary to conventional wisdom, secessionism generally does not spread across borders. Some evidence suggests that self-determination claims are more likely to arise when there are more such claims in nearby countries, but no one has yet found that the success of independence movements in one country causes independence movements to become more successful in nearby countries. Even within countries, independence claims often do not spread. If Catalonia were allowed to become independent, there is little chance that the Basque Country or Galicia would follow in the near future. Unlike Catalonia, the Basque provinces enjoy tax autonomy and are not heavily taxed for the benefit of the rest of Spain. Moreover, Basque nationalists do not want to gain independence until all Basque territories support it, and the Basque region of Navarre has always shown weak support for independence. Galicia is politically conservative and enjoys net subsidies from the rest of Spain; independence is not a live option there. If governments permitted independence, they could negotiate the terms. If Iraq had been willing to negotiate the terms of Kurdish independence, they likely could have won territorial concessions without the use of military force. If Spain had been willing to negotiate a binding referendum with the Catalan government similar to the British government's deal with the Scottish government in 2014, they could have worked out a threshold of success (say, 55 percent) that would have made success unlikely. A failed

referendum could have ended the independence threat for a generation. Instead, by sending in thousands of riot police, jailing politicians and taking their assets, banning websites, pressuring and raiding private newspapers, print shops, and hotels, and prosecuting political expression by private citizens, they have alienated moderate Catalans, lost face internationally, and ensured that independence and related issues like "political prisoners" will remain on the agenda for the indefinite future.

R/T Violence Impact

ETA disarmed twice in 2010, and again in 2016, and they cannot effectively operate anymore.

R/T Negotiations

1. Catalans will not negotiate with Spain. Minder explains: the problem is trust; the Catalan view is that there is no point in negotiating any concession if Madrid never keeps its word, since they have broken it in the past, like in 2010 when the Supreme Court struck down the earlier autonomy deal.

2. Puigdemont sees negotiations as political suicide. Minder explains: Puigdemont holds a feeble grip on power; he and his party have pinned their colors to a separatists coalition that risks implosion if there are any U-turns on secessionism

3. Spain's Prime minister will not concede to Catalonia. Laub at the CFR writes: Rajoy is a die-hard nationalist, so negotiations are not something that he is remotely willing to entertain because he is ideologically opposed to enhancing regional power.

4. Rajoy sees negotiations as political suicide. Minder explains: Rajoy leads a nationalist party, and he won re-election in 2016 by pandering to his base promising to quash Catalan attempts to break Spanish unity. Any concession he makes will cost him his base and break his grip on power.

5. Boffey at the Guardian explains: a change to the constitution to allow Catalans greater say over their finances would require a national referendum. This dooms talks to failure because Torres of Politico finds: only 13% of Spaniards support increasing autonomy.

Minder 17 Raphael Minder, 2017, "The Struggle for Catalonia: Rebel Politics in Spain," Hurst & Company //DF

Since starting to push for independence, the Catalan authorities have contemplated 'at least four different ways to hold an independence referendum—none of which appears likely within the framework of the Spanish constitution,' said Josep Maria Castellá Andreu, another professor of constitutional law at the University of Barcelona. However, article 150 of the constitution, which sets the conditions under which Madrid can devolve power, could be used for Catalonia, much like Cameron, then Britain's prime minister, allowed Scotland to vote on independence in 2014. Andreu Mas-Colell, a former Catalan finance minister, told me, **The problem is one of trust. The Madrid**

view is that any concession to Catalonia means more demands the next day and the Catalan view is that there is no point in negotiating any concession if Madrid never keeps its word. Mas-Colell seems, to my mind, to have hit the nail on the head. It has always amazed me how territorial disputes can get people to stop talking about their feelings and obsess instead about the fine print of the law. Constitution and treaties are suddenly scrutinized to the point that they become household concepts whether in Catalonia or Britain, where the once obscure article 50 of the still obscure Lisbon treaty was the key to triggering Britain's exit from the EU.

No chance; Rajoy's opposition is ideological

Zachary Laub "Can Catalonia Split With Spain?." Council on Foreign Relations. n.d. Web. 24 Jan. 2018.

<https://www.cfr.org/interview/can-catalonia-split-spain>// NS

In any polarization process, intermediate positions become hard to sustain. After initial ambivalence, the repressive reaction by the government of Madrid is pushing Ada Colau and her party closer to the Catalan government. One of the consequences [of Madrid's actions] is that there might be much stronger support for a clean break with Spain and less room for a negotiated agreement on which most parties can agree. Paradoxically, the more the Spanish government flexes its repressive muscles, those supporting the referendum and an eventual break with Spain may actually get closer to their medium-run political objectives. Does Rajoy fear that any concessions might be the start of a slippery slope? **Rajoy is a diehard Spanish nationalist.** Self-servingly, he interprets the process as a legal matter. **His position is that all democratic parties have to be with him,** almost as if Spain were again fighting [the Basque terrorist group] ETA. In my view, he and his party are confusing the nature of the challenge. This is not a disheveled mass of people trying to break protocol or procedure. This is a political community asking for a redrafting of its contract with the rest of the state, and the strategy that worked against ETA and its supporters is bound to fail in this case. **It would have been far less costly, far more acceptable from a democratic standpoint, and far more effective never to have challenged the Estatut in 2006, and instead open the door to mutually agreed reform that would include a referendum with clear procedures and implications. At this point, however, this is not something Spanish conservatives (or most socialists, for that matter) are remotely willing to entertain. Both in 2006 and now, their unwillingness to negotiate is driven by ideological and, more importantly perhaps, myopic electoral considerations.**

Minder 17 Raphael Minder [New York Times Correspondent for Spain and Portugal], 2017, "The Struggle for Catalonia: Rebel Politics in Spain," Hurst & Company Publishers //DF

Despite his success in the rest of Spain, Aznar never won an election outright in Catalonia but, as he himself noted, he still received 23 percent of the Catalan votes in 2000. Since leading the opposition to the statute, however, Spain's Popular Party has pretty much been sidelined from Catalan politics, and now focuses instead on building up its support in other regions. **Under Rajoy, the Popular Party 'decided to stop doing politics in Catalonia.'** Aznar claimed. 'That has been a catastrophic and disastrous tactic.' yet this Catalan disaster has not prevented Rajoy from starting a second term as Spain's prime minister in late 2016. If anything, **Rajoy actively won his re-election by promising to quash any Catalan attempt to break Spain's unity.** In the June 2016 general election, the Popular Party won the most votes across Spain. This was despite the fact that in Catalonia, Rajoy's party won only 460,000 votes, a share of 13 per cent. Joan Tapia, a political columnist, reflected on how different the situation was under Aznar. Even if he was never a champion of Catalonia, he 'at least made an effort' to meet influential Catalans, he said. By contrast, he declared, Rajoy's idea of a perfect evening in Barcelona was dining with officials from his own party. At the time of this writing, **in 2017, Rajoy was trying to revive the dialogue with Catalan politicians,** in an effort led by his deputy, Soraya Sáenz de Santamaria. **But there was no question of discussing an independence referendum in Catalonia,** as promised by the Catalan government. Even if Aznar and Rajoy no longer see eye-to-eye, they remain united in their **belief that Madrid should not yield any ground to the separatists in Barcelona.**

Gonzalez 17 Ricard Gonzalez, 12-27-2017, "Catalonia's Crisis Is Just Getting Started," Foreign Policy, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/12/27/catalonias-crisis-is-just-getting-started/> //DF

In a rare show of self-criticism, pro-independence Catalan leaders recognized some of their mistakes during the electoral campaign. "The Catalan government was not ready to enforce independence," Clara Ponsati, former regional minister for education, declared from Brussels. The two biggest secessionist coalitions, Together for Catalonia and Republican Left of Catalonia, which together got 66 seats and are expected to form the new regional government, have stated in their party platforms the need to negotiate with Madrid and have rejected the idea of a unilateral solution to the conflict. While this is a positive development that may soothe tensions, **a serious dialogue between the two sides remains unlikely.** To begin with, **the rise of Ciudadanos in opinion polls threatens the hegemony that Rajoy's People's Party has enjoyed within the Spanish right since the late 1980s, and this will probably lead to a nationalist bidding war between the two parties. In fact, Ciudadanos' leader, Albert Rivera, has already accused Rajoy of being too soft on secessionists. Stirring anti-Catalan feelings has always been a successful electoral strategy for Spanish right-wing politicians, so it is hard to imagine them abandoning it now.** The most likely scenario for the foreseeable future is an entrenched conflict. **Neither side seems able to "win," and Madrid is rejecting any European Union mediation.** Canada and the United Kingdom have taken an alternative approach. Both countries held self-determination referendums to address similar demands from Quebec and Scotland. And in both cases, the secessionists lost and tensions eventually receded. Madrid could also win such a vote if it made a few concessions, such as offering more fiscal and political autonomy to Catalonia. However, Rajoy has refused to even discuss the conditions

under which such a vote could be held, insisting that the law forbids it. But if the Spanish government took the issue seriously, it would not be so difficult to amend the constitution to allow for it.

Minder 17 Raphael Minder [New York Times Correspondent for Spain and Portugal], 2017, "The Struggle for Catalonia: Rebel Politics in Spain," Hurst & Company Publishers //DF

Basic goodwill, however, will not be enough to solve the Catalan dispute. While neither side has any incentive to declare open warfare, the arithmetics of Spain's politics and electorate are also no longer stacked in favor of finding a solution, particularly since both Rajoy and Puigdemont maintain a fragile grip on office. It's an almost impossible situation. Puigdemont and his party have pinned their colors to a separatists coalition that risks implosion if there are any U-turns on secessionism. Yet according to the columnist Ramoneda, **whatever concession Rajoy might now offer to the separatists, the Popular Party could probably hope to gain only a few 'tens of thousands more votes' in Catalonia. By contrast, a major concession to Catalonia could cost [Rajoy] him 'one or two million votes' in the rest of Spain. It would also destroy his claim to be the flag bearer of Spanish unity.** In that sense, at least, the divorce between the two main conservative forces in Madrid and Barcelona has perhaps reached a point of no return.

Daniel Boffey, 17, 11-21-2017, Spain 'ready to discuss' greater fiscal autonomy for Catalonia, Guardian,

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/nov/21/spain-ready-to-discuss-greater-fiscal-autonomy-for-catalonia>, 1-7-2018, (NK)

"When there is a government, and this government stays behind the framework of the constitutional order, we will drop 155. As soon as there is a government, whoever the government is," a source said.

A change to the constitution to allow Catalans greater say over their finances would require a referendum, and the Spanish government has stressed that the wealthy region would not be able to turn its back on the rest of the country in any new arrangement. "This government will not go into a fiscal agreement only with one region. This has got to be a full package," said one source. "We are ready to talk about the financial responsibility of the whole of Spain and we can talk with the regions but we will have to take into account that 17 regions play a role, and solidarity is a keystone of our constitution." In polling for the Catalan elections called by Rajoy for 21 December, pro-independence parties are marginally in front with a projected 1.974 million votes to the 1.966m for the unionist parties, Ciudadanos, the Catalan Socialist party and the PP.

Torres of Politico furthers that:

Torres 17 Diego Torres, 11-15-2017, "Spanish regions to Catalonia: Up yours," POLITICO,

<https://www.politico.eu/article/spain-regional-conundrum-catalan-independence/> //DF

Only two other regional presidents — from the Basque Country and Navarre — defend the right to self-determination, but they show little appetite at present to pursue a secessionist agenda of their own. **Among Spaniards at large**, about 39 percent of the population is comfortable with the territorial status quo, according to the latest survey by the Center for Sociological Research, while 28 percent would prefer less or no regional autonomy. **Just 13.4 percent would like to see increased autonomy and only 10.2 percent favor letting independent-minded areas separate from Spain.** Moreover, **the only national party to endorse** the right to self-determination and side with **the Catalan demands for** a referendum on **secession**, the far-left Podemos, **has suffered a big drop in support in opinion polls in the past two months, coinciding with the Catalan conflict** becoming the Spanish public's second biggest concern after unemployment. The liberal Ciudadanos party, which has long taken a more hawkish stance — for instance, it advocated direct rule as a response to Catalonia's defiant unilateral declaration of independence much sooner than Rajoy did — has seen its support rise spectacularly in most surveys. Ciudadanos called for direct rule even before the declaration of independence.

R/T Rajoy and Puigdemont Want Talks

De-link: Rajoy and Puigdemont mean different things when they agreed to negotiations. According to Hatton at PBS News, Puigdemont will only talk outside of Spain, since he fears arrest if he were to return. Rajoy has rejected this, insisting that he would only negotiate with lawmakers who follow the Constitution. This excludes Puigdemont, who Rajoy views as a criminal.

Barry Hatton, 12-22-2017, "Catalan vote does little to clarify Spanish region's future," PBS NewsHour,

https://www.pbs.org/newshour/world/catalan-vote-does-little-to-clarify-spanish-regions-future //DF

The outcome of Thursday's election, in which an anti-secession party also made its best showing to date, did yield a sign of possible movement: **Prime Minister Mariano Rajoy and the pro-independence regional president he removed from office said they were ready to talk. However, the two men made clear they were working off different sets of presumptions for a potential dialogue.** Speaking from Brussels, where he fled nearly eight weeks ago to avoid being arrested on possible rebellion and sedition charges, **ex-Catalan President Carles Puigdemont said he would talk with Rajoy** under one condition — their meeting would have to be **outside Spain**. Even with Puigdemont campaigning from Belgium, his Together for Catalonia party snared 34 of the regional parliament's 135 seats, making it the most popular separatist party. As the leading separatist candidate, Puigdemont could try to become president of Catalonia again. The new parliament would not be able to elect him for the post unless he returns to Barcelona, the regional capital, but **he is likely to be arrested when he turns up on Spanish soil**. The election results nonetheless strengthened Puigdemont's hand, as separatist politicians won 70 of the parliament seats altogether. Rajoy's conservative Popular Party secured just three seats, a major embarrassment for the prime minister who took unprecedented steps to put down the Catalan

independence movement. "More than 2 million people are in favor of Catalonia's independence," Puigdemont said, referring to the election results. "Recognizing reality is vital if we are to find a solution." Rajoy ignored his adversary's appeal for a meeting, declaring instead that the election show a "new era based on dialogue" was beginning in Catalonia. He also set out a condition of his own for any talks: separatist officeholders must abide by the Spanish Constitution, which says the country is "indivisible." "I will make an effort to dialogue with the government that forms in Catalonia, but I expect it to stop acting unilaterally and outside the law," Rajoy said during a media briefing. People walking by the sea in Barcelona said they wanted the leaders to settle their differences through negotiation.

R/T Rajoy Wants to Talk

1. Reuters reports this January that Rajoy said he'd negotiate only with the anti-independence parties, who currently are a minority in the Catalan government.

Video By France 24, 8-20-2017, "Spain's PM Rajoy willing to talk with future Catalan regional government," France 24, <http://www.france24.com/en/20171222-spains-pm-rajoy-talks-catalan-regional-government-puigdemont-poll> FRANCE 24 with REUTERS, AP Spain's Prime Minister Mariano Rajoy said Friday that he is ready for talks with any future regional government of Catalonia, after the separatist parties emerged victorious in Thursday's crucial vote. Rajoy says he expects a "new era based on dialogue" will begin in Catalonia following a regional election that exposed the sharp divisions between citizens for and against independence. However, replying to a journalist who asked whether he would respond to ousted Catalan leader Carles Puigdemont's invitation for a meeting, Rajoy said: "The person I should be meeting with is with the one who won the elections, and that is Mrs Arrimadas." Rajoy was referring to centrist, anti-independence candidate Ines Arrimadas, whose Ciudadanos party won the best individual result in Thursday's poll -- even though the bloc of separatist parties maintained its absolute majority.

2. Gonzalez of Foreign Policy explains in late December 2017 that serious dialogue between Spain and the Catalan separatists remains unlikely. This is because neither side is willing budge. The separatists want nothing short of independence and Rajoy has refused to even discuss the conditions under which such a vote could be held.

Ricard Gonzalez (Foreign Policy). "Catalonia's Crisis Is Just Getting Started." December 27, 2017. <http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/12/27/catalonias-crisis-is-just-getting-started/>.

While this is a positive development that may soothe tensions, a serious dialogue between the two sides remains unlikely. To begin with, the rise of Ciudadanos in opinion polls threatens the hegemony that Rajoy's People's Party has enjoyed within the Spanish right since the late 1980s, and this will probably lead to a nationalist bidding war between the two parties. In fact, Ciudadanos' leader, Albert Rivera, has already accused Rajoy of being too soft on secessionists. Stirring anti-Catalan feelings has always been a successful electoral strategy for Spanish right-wing politicians, so it is hard to imagine them abandoning it now. The most likely scenario for the foreseeable future is an entrenched conflict. Neither side seems able to "win," and Madrid is rejecting any European Union mediation. Canada and the United Kingdom have taken an alternative approach. Both countries held self-determination referendums to address similar demands from Quebec and Scotland. And in both cases, the secessionists lost and tensions eventually receded. Canada and the United Kingdom have taken an alternative approach. Both countries held self-determination referendums to address similar demands from Quebec and Scotland. And in both cases, the secessionists lost and tensions eventually receded. Madrid could also win such a vote if it made a few concessions, such as offering more fiscal and political autonomy to Catalonia. However, Rajoy has refused to even discuss the conditions under which such a vote could be held, insisting that the law forbids it. But if the Spanish government took the issue seriously, it would not be so difficult to amend the constitution to allow for it. The other long-term solution would be to turn Spain into a confederation with full recognition of its national minorities. Unlike a referendum, such a shift would not create winners and losers. In private conversations, some pro-independence Catalan politicians say that they could accept it as a compromise. However, Spanish leaders do not seem ready for it; this change would force

the Spanish state to rethink the way it has defined itself for the last three centuries. Confederation has worked reasonably well in the past. This was the arrangement between Catalonia and Spain from the marriage of Queen Isabella of Castile and King Ferdinand of Aragon in the late 15th century until the War of Succession in the early 18th century.

3. Diez from El Pais reports just a couple of day ago the Spanish government is using private security forces to prevent Puigdemont from entering the Catalan parliament.

Anabel Diez. "Government moves to block Puigdemont meeting with Catalan speaker." EL PAÍS. 24 Jan. 2018. Web. 24 Jan. 2018. <https://elpais.com/elpais/2018/01/24/inenglish/1516786829_820121.html> //NS

The Spanish government has said it will **stop[ed]** ousted Catalan premier Carles **Puigdemont from entering the headquarters of the Catalan government** in Brussels, **in order to prevent his scheduled meeting with** Roger Torrent, the new speaker of **the Catalan parliament, from going ahead**. The Spanish government, using emergency powers provided by the application of Article 155 of the Constitution, announced it will ask private security to block Puigdemont from entering the building. On the decision, Prime Minister Mariano Rajoy said: "I see nothing wrong with it." As a result, the meeting between Puigdemont and Torrent was moved to the Brussels headquarters of the European Free Alliance. The move comes as the Spanish government steps up security to ensure Puigdemont does not make a laughing stock out of state police controls by returning incognito to the country, or by appearing in the Catalan regional parliament. "We are going to make sure that he does not enter – not even in the trunk of a car," Interior Minister Juan Ignacio Zoido said on Tuesday. As part of the clampdown, security along the border with France has been stepped up. Zoido also said that state security forces are keeping Spanish prosecutors updated with information and will closely follow Puigdemont's movements to stop him from "crossing the border in helicopter, by boat or in the trunk of a car."

R/T Separatists Want to Talk

Sergi Prado of Oxford University finds that constitutional reform won't solve the crisis for 2 reasons: 1- Catalonia systematically distrusts Spain after they broke promises for increased autonomy in the early 2000s. 2 - Increased autonomy wouldn't satisfy the demands of the secessionists—it would be seen as too little, too late by the time it could theoretically be passed.

Sergi Pardos-Prado, 10-28-2017, "Analysis," Washington Post, Sergi Pardos-Prado is associate professor in politics at Merton College at the University of Oxford. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/10/28/catalonias-three-ways-forward/>

A second option would be for Spain to decentralize even further. **But that's unlikely** after this week's events, **for two reasons: Catalan distrust and lack of Spanish political support for real decentralization. Research shows that decentralization does not necessarily appease secessionist tendencies if regional parties are already strong. Moreover, once a federal conflict has escalated to this point, secessionists tend to see decentralization as "too little, too late." Nor are many Catalans likely to trust such promises.** In 2005, 89 percent of Catalonia's parliament voted for a decentralization proposal that enabled Catalonia to collect taxes directly, and recognized Catalonia as a nation. Despite promises to the contrary, the Spanish socialist government at the time watered down the proposal in the Spanish Parliament. Once the less ambitious new statute on Catalan autonomy was signed off and ratified in a popular referendum in 2006, Spain's Conservative Party challenged the deal, leading the Constitutional Court to declare some principles of the law unconstitutional in 2010. **Those betrayals led many Catalans to believe Spain couldn't be relied upon to decentralize — and many turned their hopes instead toward full independence. Such distrust means Catalonia's independence movement doesn't consider decentralization proposals credible.** And perhaps they have good reason for that belief. The most important step — and one that Catalans have been demanding for years — would require serious reforms in Spain's system of fiscal management. While each region has a great deal of responsibility for managing public services such as health and education, regions have limited powers to raise and handle tax revenue. Comparative research shows that this mismatch is correlated with deficits, inflation and poor economic performance. While other countries see this mismatch, Spain's is more extreme. The imbalance between the services that Spanish regions have to manage and the tax revenue that they can actually handle on their own is 30 percent higher than states and regions in other decentralized countries such as Germany, Switzerland, the United States and Canada. This mismatch is one of Catalonia's grievances, giving regional elites credible reasons to blame the central government for failing to allocate resources better across regions. But Spain is unlikely to propose such reforms. Only very deep political decentralization, in which regions can shape national policy, is effective to improve governance. Unfortunately, Spain scores relatively low in that kind of power, due to a powerless Senate and an electoral system that favors national

majorities. A more decentralized fiscal federal arrangement, a reform of the Senate and the electoral system are not in the agenda of any national party. The only decentralization formulas that are known to be effective for this kind of conflict are perhaps too deep to be realistic.

R/T Catalan Autonomy Deal

1. An autonomy deal is dead in the water. Iglesias at the Elanco Royal Institute explains: the Spanish government cannot give more autonomy to Catalonia without the consent of the other regions, which are unlikely to grant it, given that they see Catalonia as already being autonomous enough.

Iglesias 18 Miguel Otero-Iglesias [senior analyst in international political economy at Elcano Royal Institute], 1-18-2018, "A Compromise for Catalonia?," Project Syndicate,

<https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/catalonia-secession-constitutional-reform-by-miguel-otero-iglesias-2018-01//DF>

For Catalan separatists, this means they now face what the political scientist Hans Morgenthau termed the "A-B-C paradox" of nationalism. If Catalonia wants to leave Spain, why shouldn't Barcelona have the right to leave Catalonia? And why wouldn't today's "oppressed" Catalans become tomorrow's oppressors to prevent that from happening? Given that the status quo is unstable, and independence impossible, many believe that the only solution is more fiscal autonomy for Catalonia. But this, too, is unlikely in the near term. Spain is a decentralized country already, and the government cannot give more autonomy to Catalonia without the consent of the other autonomous regions, which are unlikely to provide it, given that Catalonia is already privileged. So, while the unilateral route was always impossible, the bilateral solution proposed by Carles Puigdemont, Catalonia's former prime minister and the leader of the independence movement, now appears to be dead as well. That leaves just one way out: to reform the Spanish constitution and make it truly federal. This would require Catalan nationalists to drop their independence bid and reengage with Spain's government and state institutions. They would have to emerge from their Catalan bubble and build alliances with other political forces that want a federal system.

According to Otero-Iglesias of Project Syndicate in order to grant more autonomy two thirds of the Spanish parliament must agree to do so. MIGUEL OTERO-IGLESIAS (Project Syndicate). "A Compromise for Catalonia?" 1/18/18.

<https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/catalonia-secession-constitutional-reform-by-miguel-otero-iglesias-2018-01>

MADRID – Many foreign observers have misread the impasse between Catalan secessionists and the Spanish government. **The general view from abroad seems to be that** the Catalan independence movement is democratic and peaceful, and that **Spanish Prime Minister Mariano Rajoy could resolve the issue simply by calling for a referendum, or by granting greater fiscal autonomy to Catalonia. If only it were that simple**. Among the biggest misconceptions is the belief that secessionist leaders are democratic; they are anything but. Not only did they violate Spain's constitution in launching their bid for independence; they also ignored the Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia, the region's highest law, when they rammed a secession law through the Catalan parliament in September 2017. **To amend the statute, two-thirds of parliament must agree**. This threshold exists in most constitutions in continental Europe. After centuries of political instability, Europeans have learned that a simple majority is insufficient to change the rules of the game. **Broad consensus is essential; the requirement of a supermajority ensures that it exists**.

This is impossible. Politico finds last November that just 13.4% of Spaniards would like to see increased autonomy.

Torres 17 Diego Torres, 11-15-2017, "Spanish regions to Catalonia: Up yours," POLITICO,

<https://www.politico.eu/article/spain-regional-conundrum-catalan-independence//DF>

Only two other regional presidents — from the Basque Country and Navarre — defend the right to self-determination, but they show little appetite at present to pursue a secessionist agenda of their own. **Among Spaniards at large**, about 39 percent of the population is comfortable with the territorial status quo, according to the latest survey by the Center for Sociological Research, while 28 percent would prefer less or no regional autonomy. **Just 13.4 percent would like to see increased autonomy** and only 10.2 percent favor letting independent-minded areas separate from Spain. Moreover, the only national party to endorse the right to self-determination and side with the Catalan demands for a referendum on secession, the far-left Podemos, has suffered a big drop in support in opinion polls in the past two months, coinciding with the Catalan conflict becoming the Spanish public's second biggest concern after unemployment. The liberal Ciudadanos party, which has long taken a more hawkish stance — for instance, it advocated direct rule as a response to Catalonia's defiant unilateral declaration of independence much sooner than Rajoy did — has seen its support rise spectacularly in most surveys. Ciudadanos called for direct rule even before the declaration of independence.

2. Probability: past autonomy deals with Catalonia have failed. Veuger writes in the National Interest magazine: any fundamental reform will face the same problems that doomed the last autonomy deal, in 2010, to failure

Veuger 17 Stan Veuger, 10-5-2017, "Spain's Catalonia Crisis Will Only Get Worse," National Interest, <http://nationalinterest.org/feature/spains-catalonia-crisis-will-only-get-worse-22617> //DF

All that said—and all that is certainly key to what will happen in the next weeks—it would be a mistake for Spanish nationalists to dismiss this sustained push for independence as just another sign of populist discontent or as purely irresponsible behavior by Catalan politicians. There is some of that, of course. It is almost certainly not a coincidence that the deep recession Spain went through this past decade triggered the first real push for Catalan independence since the 1930s. And the behavior of Catalan leadership has been more millenarian than we like to see in Western Europe these days (the UK excluded). Those two factors do not change the fact that much of the Catalan establishment has embraced the shift toward secessionism, a position touted only by a radical minority in the early 2000s. The traditional moderate, center-right Catalan nationalism of incremental increases in autonomy is dead. At this point it is much harder to imagine a pro-union governing coalition in Catalonia than one would think based on the split in the Catalan parliament, as the Partido Popular and the non-separatist communists of Catalunya Sí que es Pot are absolutely incompatible. None of this is going to be massaged away by Madrid. Prime Minister Rajoy has not presented a positive case for Spanish unity or what its national identity should look like. King Felipe chose an unapologetic tone when he addressed the nation earlier this week. For cultural and historical reasons, it should be easier for the PSOE to develop and present a framework for a pluriform, heterogeneous Spain, a Spain that is E pluribus unum instead of una y eterna. But their recent electoral fortunes, like those of their comrades all over Europe, have been subpar, and there are significant differences of opinion within that party as well. In addition, any fundamental reform will have to be grapple with the same constitutional constraints that impeded the full implementation of the most recent expansion of Catalonia's statute of autonomy. Confrontation it is then, with the Rajoy administration unwilling to entertain the idea of international mediation, hoping that it all just goes away. What is life? It is a frenzy, an illusion, a shadow, a delirium, a fiction. The greatest good is but little, and this life is but a dream, and dreams are only dreams. That appears to be Rajoy's thinking; that he will wake up tomorrow and it is all over, the Catholic Monarchs resuscitated.

R/T Constitutional Reforms

1. Sergi Prado of Oxford University finds that constitutional reform won't solve the crisis for 3 reasons:

- a. **Catalonia systematically distrusts Spain after they broke promises for increased autonomy in the early 2000s**
- b. **Increased autonomy wouldn't satisfy the demands of the secessionists—it would be seen as too little, too late by the time it could theoretically be passed**
- c. **No major political party would support passing the reform**

Sergi Pardo-Prado, 10-28-2017, "Analysis," Washington Post, Sergi Pardo-Prado is associate professor in politics at Merton College at the University of Oxford. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/10/28/catalonias-three-ways-forward/>

A second option would be for Spain to decentralize even further. But that's unlikely after this week's events, **for two reasons: Catalan distrust and lack of Spanish political support for real decentralization**. Research shows that decentralization does not necessarily appease secessionist tendencies if regional parties are already strong. Moreover, once a federal conflict has escalated to this point, secessionists tend to see decentralization as "too little, too late." Nor are many Catalans likely to trust such promises. In 2005, 89 percent of Catalonia's parliament voted for a decentralization proposal that enabled Catalonia to collect taxes directly, and recognized Catalonia as a nation. Despite promises to the contrary, the Spanish socialist government at the time watered down the proposal in the Spanish Parliament. Once the less ambitious new statute on Catalan autonomy was signed off and ratified in a popular referendum in 2006, Spain's Conservative Party challenged the deal, leading the Constitutional Court to declare some principles of the law unconstitutional in 2010. **Those betrayals led many Catalans to believe Spain couldn't be relied upon to decentralize — and many turned their hopes instead toward full independence**. Such distrust means Catalonia's independence movement doesn't consider decentralization proposals credible. And perhaps they have good reason for that belief. The most important step — and one that Catalans have been demanding for years — would

require serious reforms in Spain's system of fiscal management. While each region has a great deal of responsibility for managing public services such as health and education, regions have limited powers to raise and handle tax revenue. Comparative research shows that this mismatch is correlated with deficits, inflation and poor economic performance. While other countries see this mismatch, Spain's is more extreme. The imbalance between the services that Spanish regions have to manage and the tax revenue that they can actually handle on their own is 30 percent higher than states and regions in other decentralized countries such as Germany, Switzerland, the United States and Canada. This mismatch is one of Catalonia's grievances, giving regional elites credible reasons to blame the central government for failing to allocate resources better across regions. But **Spain is unlikely to propose such reforms. Only very deep political decentralization, in which regions can shape national policy, is effective to improve governance. Unfortunately, Spain scores relatively low in that kind of power, due to a powerless Senate and an electoral system that favors national majorities. A more decentralized fiscal federal arrangement, a reform of the Senate and the electoral system are not in the agenda of any national party. The only decentralization formulas that are known to be effective for this kind of conflict are perhaps too deep to be realistic.**

2. Bernhard of the LA Times writes in 2017 that Catalan politicians will never support compromise because doing so would jeopardize the hardcore secessionist voters that constitute the most important part of their base

Meg Bernhard, 12-22-2017, "Spain's prime minister will work with a new Catalonia government, as long as it operates within the law," latimes,

<http://www.latimes.com/world/europe/la-fg-spain-catalonia-election-20171222-story.html>

election results confirmed the deep divisions among the region's citizens over secession or unity with the central government. Jose Fernandez-Albertos, a political scientist at the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas in Madrid, said the stand-off between pro- and anti-independence factions has made compromise nearly impossible. **"The distance between the two blocs is huge and that has made some extreme candidates from both sides viable,"** he said. **"Everyone perceived as being compromising with the other group is electorally unpopular."** To form a government, separatists need to combine their seats and select a president.

R/T BMI Card

1. Report concludes that instability and uncertainty is set to persist into the future. Admits that Neg can't solve, and killing political will to solve turns this into offense

BMI Spain Country Risk Report

Combined support for the anti-independence parties has increased somewhat over the course of the year in the run-up to the October 1 referendum. The most popular of these remains the centrist Ciudadanos (Citizens, C's), which has seen its support climb from around 15% to 19% in late October 2017. The centre-left Socialists' Party of Catalonia (PSC) and the centre-right People's Party (PP) have largely maintained their support levels around 13% and 10% respectively over the last 12 months. The primary unknown quantity in the anti/pro-independence party dynamic is the left-wing Catalunya en Comu (Catalonia in Common, CeC) movement, which incorporates the Catalanian faction of the Podemos movement alongside several other socialist groups. The movement's support ranges from around 9% to 12% in polls, and while it supports a referendum on Catalanian independence, it does not have a concrete stance on whether it supports the region's secession, instead looking to focus on economic and welfare issues. Without sustaining a level of support above 50% that translates into a majority in the regional parliament (which the pro-independence parties currently hold) as well as a majority of the popular vote (which pro-independence parties did not achieve in the last election in 2015), the argument for self-determination will remain a difficult one to put forward as a legitimate will of the Catalan people. Future Independence An Unlikely Prospect We continue to see Catalan secession from Spain as an unrealistic prospect, and we believe there is only around a 15% probability of Catalonia becoming an independent nation state over the coming years. Our core view remains that, at some point following the establishment of a new regional government, Madrid and Catalonia will eventually come to the table to negotiate, and certain concessions will be agreed in an attempt to appease separatists. Under this scenario, Catalonia would likely be granted greater fiscal autonomy, especially the ability to retain a greater share of its tax revenues and receive a larger percentage of central government

funding as per the redistribution mechanism of the National Tax Administration Agency. Of course we recognise the potential for other outcomes, including Madrid offering no concessions while maintaining the status quo, or indeed the possibility that Catalonia unilaterally secedes from Spain. While the latter would be the most damaging outcome, given that the region generates around 20% of Spanish economic output, **a protracted period of uncertainty and persistent tensions will take hold under virtually all plausible scenarios, representing a constant drag on Spanish economic activity in the quarters ahead. Furthermore, enduring deep divisions imply that a severe escalation of tensions at some point down the line cannot be precluded.**

2. BMI came out with an updated report 5 days later after Spanish imprisonment of Catalan ministers and said that as a result, tensions were set to escalate and "keeping the threat of secession high"

BMI Research. "Quick View: Imprisonment Of Catalan Ministers To Heighten Civil Unrest". November 3, 2017.

<https://www.bmiresearch.com/articles/quick-view-imprisonment-of-catalan-ministers-to-heighten-civil-unrest>

Implications: The latest move by the Spanish court is likely to heighten the risk of civil unrest and disobedience across Catalonia over the coming weeks. In the days following the central government's decision to implement Article 155 on October 27, which saw it dissolve the Catalan parliament and tentatively schedule regional elections for December, the reaction from separatist supporters had been relatively muted.

However, **we expect tensions will now begin to intensify in light of the latest decision to incarcerate several Catalan government ministers, with protests and mass demonstrations an increasingly likely prospect. Already, separatist organisations have called for a programme of actions leading up to a mass demonstration in Barcelona on November 12, and protests were held in the immediate aftermath of the decision. Furthermore, while overall support for independence in Catalonia has actually been falling in recent years, the perceived zealous persecution of separatists may in fact see independence sentiment begin to rise again in the months ahead. This could make it more likely that pro-independence parties come out with a majority of seats in the Catalan parliament when regional elections are eventually held, keeping the threat of secession high.** We should note that the high court ruling also leaves it unclear whether Puigdemont and various members of the previous Together For Yes (JxSi) government will be able to participate in upcoming regional elections. **As a result of this latest escalation, and signs that the crisis will continue to drag on, we have downgrade our proprietary short-term political risk score to 65.0 out of 100 from 67.1 previously, with reductions in both the 'social stability' and 'policy-making process' subcomponents.**

R/T Spanish Democracy

R/T Rule of Law

R/T Popular Support Against Independence

1. The pro independence parties won a majority in the regional elections. This is important because maintaining a majority is pivotal to keeping the movement alive.

2. Gonzalez of Foreign Policy explains that a majority of the pro Spain votes in Catalonia are from immigrants from the 1960s, meaning that the pro Spain group is about to die out, and as is support for Spain.

Ricard Gonzalez (Foreign Policy). "Catalonia's Crisis Is Just Getting Started." December 27, 2017.

<http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/12/27/catalonias-crisis-is-just-getting-started/>.

But the independence of Catalonia cannot be ruled out in the long run if the Spanish government continues to rely on painkillers rather than proposing a genuine remedy. According to polls, in addition to the roughly 50 percent who want independence, 20 percent of Catalans would like to have more autonomy; together, they represent a clear majority against the status quo. **In addition, support for**

independence is the weakest among older voters, probably because many of them were born in other regions of Spain and immigrated to Catalonia during the economic boom of the 1960s. Support for independence could therefore grow simply due to generational change over the next 20 years.

4. Even if you don't buy that, During the parliamentary election, the independence party had many of its leaders in jail from the referendum, and yet they still won the majority of seats in the Catalan parliament while just barely missing out on the majority of votes. In a world where this election were fair and campaigning were equal, pro independence most definitely would have won the popular vote.

5. INDICT: The polls they are referencing claiming that after december elections only 24% of people want independence is unreliable for 2 reasons.

- a. First, it uses data from el Pais, a Spanish newspaper which is obviously in favor of keeping Catalonia in Spain.
- b. Second, This poll was taken in November and predicted the pro independence party to lose their majority in parliament, which they did not.

Obviously this poll is not reliable.

6. WEIGHING: Obviously this argument means nothing in terms of real world impacts. A lot of countries are run by parties that do not enjoy the majority of support, such as our own and Britain, whereas if we could prove that you avoid massive economic harms by affirming then you should definitely affirm.

Reuters. "Only a Quarter of Catalans Support Independence after Referendum Fiasco." *Hürriyet Daily News*, 27 Nov. 2017,

www.hurriyetaidailynews.com/only-a-quarter-of-catalans-support-independence-after-referendum-fiasco-123111.

Barely a quarter of Catalans want to continue with a plan to claim independence from Spain in the wake of Dec. 21 regional elections, according to a poll published in El Pais newspaper on Nov. 27.

An illegal Catalan independence referendum on Oct. 1 plunged Spain into its worst political crisis in decades. It eased after the sacking of the secessionist Catalan authorities by the Madrid government elicited little resistance. **But uncertainty could return if the pro-independence camp wins in the**

Dec. 21 vote. Just 24 percent of those polled by Metroscopia said they would like to continue with the independence process after the elections, whereas 71 percent said they would prefer politicians to find an agreement based on Catalonia staying part of Spain. Pro-independence parties may fail to retain an absolute majority of seats in the Catalan parliament in next month's election, the first part of the poll published on Nov. 26 showed. However, the survey's margin of error at 2.4 percent and the fact support was evenly split between the two sides makes reading conclusions from polls difficult. **The telephone poll surveyed 1,800 Catalans between Nov. 20 and Nov. 22.**

R/T December Regional Elections

R/T Catalan Nationalists Xenophobic

Catalan nationalism is highly inclusive, not exclusive. Woolard at UC Davis explains: the Catalan society is highly diverse. The majority of the population are immigrants; support for independence cuts across social class lines, left-right politics, and even linguistic descent groups. That's why she explains: the mobilization for Catalan sovereignty has been organized not around xenophobic nativism but rather around a conscious social inclusiveness

Woolard 17 Kathryn Woolard [professor emerita and research professor of anthropology at the University of California, San Diego; author of "Singular and Plural; Ideologies of Linguistic Authority in 21st Century Catalonia"], 10-1-2017, "Catalan language, identity, and independence," OUPblog, <https://blog.oup.com/2018/01/catalan-language-identity-independence/> //DF

International news reports represent the independence movement as based both in economic tensions and in Catalonia's distinct language and culture, with the language as key to Catalan identity. These claims are not incorrect, but for many observers, such assertions about language evoke a backward nationalism emotionally tied to the mother tongue and yearning for a return to roots. This doesn't capture the linguistic dynamics of the Catalan identity or of the independence movement; even the banned ballot was multilingual. To the extent that Catalan identity is marked by the language, it's not reserved for native speakers; it also includes the many second-language speakers of Catalan. At least since the mid-20th century, the majority of the population has been of immigrant descent, mostly from the south of Spain but now joined by transnational migration. As a result of this influx, only about a third of the population speaks Catalan as a first language, and the majority of people who now can speak it learned it outside the home. Nonetheless, support for the right to decide on independence has consistently registered at 70 percent in polls in the last few years, and support for independence itself has approached 50 percent at peak moments. For a historically minoritized language, Catalan has been remarkably successful in becoming a public language since Catalonia regained political autonomy in 1979. That change has involved not only institutional policies, but also a shift in the ideological foundations of linguistic authority and identity. Consonant with its demographics, Catalonia is now framed and promoted as at one and the same time singular (with the Catalan language as its distinctive brand), and socially and linguistically open and pluralistic, with Catalan billed as a shared, "common language" among speakers of many mother tongues. Grasping this helps in understanding the complexity of the Catalan sovereignty movement and its surprising degree of acceptance in recent years even among some who are not actively Catalanist. Although concentrated most heavily among Catalonia-born Catalan speakers, support for sovereignty cuts across social class lines, left-right politics, and even linguistic descent groups. Given the nativist populism of Brexit, Trumpism, the French National Front, etc., mainstream media reports often reduce this complexity to a tale of nostalgic parochialism, and outsiders wrongly assume the Catalan movement is right-wing. The mobilization for Catalan sovereignty has been organized not around xenophobic nativism but rather around a conscious social inclusiveness. That's consistent with perspectives on language in both the public sphere and private lives in the 21st century. Catalan linguistic policy, especially the use of Catalan in education, disrupted a traditional form of Catalan linguistic authenticity associated with native speakers that made it hard for people of immigrant descent to take it up. The turn of this millennium brought a new emphasis on authentic identity not as given by birth or a mother tongue, but as a D.I.Y. project, a matter of what one

chooses to become, including language choice. This flexible, forward-looking, and even pleasurable formulation of language and identity, rather than a reactionary or nostalgic one, underpins the movement for Catalan sovereignty for many supporters. To the extent that the Spanish central government fails to understand this character of Catalan identity, it generates greater sympathy for independence. As Elena commented this autumn on the referendum crisis: Since the Popular Party has been governing Spain, Catalan nationalist sentiment...has become a mass movement. We feel denigrated and unloved by the rest of Spain. I was born in Catalonia of Andalusian parents who emigrated in 1966. I've always felt Catalan and Spanish, but that's changing, and it hurts me. It's not right... because Catalan society is very open, and has always been based on respect and solidarity.