

**The Effect of Catalonia Referendum Towards Spanish Football
Federation Position in FIFA**

THESIS JOURNAL



Written by: Gusti Restu Putra

20150510100

IPIREL

**DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
FACULTY OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCES
UNIVERSITAS MUHAMMADIYAH YOGYAKARTA**

2019

ABSTRACT

Catalonia is a semi-autonomous region in north-east Spain with a distinct history dating back almost 1,000 years. The wealthy region has about 7.5 million people, with their own language, parliament, flag and anthem. Catalonia also has its own police force and controls some of its public services. Catalan nationalists have long complained that their region sends too much money to poorer parts of Spain, as taxes are controlled by Madrid. They also say Spain's changes to their autonomous status in 2010 undermined Catalan identity.

In a referendum on 1 October, declared illegal by Spain's Constitutional Court, about 90% of Catalan voters backed independence. But turnout was only 43%. The ruling separatists in the Catalan parliament then declared independence on 27 October. Angered by that, Spanish government claim that Catalonia has breach the constitutional rule by declaring independence. The Spanish government sacked the Catalan leaders, dissolved parliament and called a snap regional election on 21 December 2017, which nationalist parties won.

A. History

On October 1 2017, more than two million people, or 90 percent of those who cast a ballot, voted "Yes" to Catalonia breaking away from Spain. The Spanish team joined a countrywide strike early October to protest against "the serious events which took place during the day of the Catalan referendum on independence". On Friday, the Catalan parliament declared independence, leaving the region's future hanging in the air. As developments unfold, FC Barcelona faces the possibility of an exit from La Liga, Spain's national football league. The team currently sits top of the league rankings and has won 24 La Liga titles. The club's president, Josep Maria Bartomeu, has said during Barcelona's annual general meeting that the club wants to stay in La Liga. Previously, Bartomeu said the club would have to consider the option of leaving the national league in the event of Catalonia's split from Spain.

The Catalan independence referendum of 2017, also known by the numeronym 1-O (for "1 October") in Spanish media, was an independence referendum held on 1 October 2017 in the Spanish autonomous community of Catalonia, passed by the Parliament of Catalonia as the Law on the Referendum on Self-determination of Catalonia and called by the Generalitat de Catalunya. It was declared illegal on 7 September 2017 and suspended by the Constitutional Court of Spain after a request from the Spanish government, who declared it a breach of the Spanish Constitution of 1978 and observed irregularities in the constitution of the electoral syndicate.¹

Catalonia's regional government intends to hold an independence referendum on 1 October. The Spanish government has vowed to stop the vote, which it says is unconstitutional, and the two governments one in Madrid, one in Barcelona are now on a collision course. The independence movement, led by the regional president, Carles Puigdemont, argues that Catalonia has a moral, cultural, economic and political right to self-determination. Its supporters feel their rich region of 7.5 million people has long put more into Spain than it has received in return.

Support for independence has grown over the past few years as Spain has endured a painful and protracted economic crisis. Many Catalans are still angry about the Spanish constitutional court's decision seven years ago to annul or reinterpret parts ²of the 2006 Catalan statute of

¹ Al-Jazeera.com (2018, Maret 26). Who Is Catalan Presiden Carles Puigdemont. Retrieved from E-International Relations

²<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/oct/02/catalonia-important-spain-economy-greater-role-size>

autonomy, which would have afforded the region greater independence. Catalonia accounts for 20% of Spain's economic output and 21% of Spain's tax revenue comes from Catalonia. However, people in Catalan believe that they give Spain too much but results in poor infrastructure and living condition. This view grows usually after the European economic crisis in 2008-2010. Referendum is a general vote by the electorate on a single political question that has been referred to them for a direct decision.

FIFA : The Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) was founded in the rear of the headquarters of the Union Française de Sports Athlétiques at the Rue Saint Honoré 229 in Paris on 21 May 1904. The foundation act was signed by the authorised representatives of the following associations:

Present at that historic meeting were: Robert Guérin and André Espir (France); Louis Muhlinghaus and Max Kahn (Belgium); Ludvig Sylow (Denmark); Carl Anton Wilhelm Hirschman (Netherlands); Victor E Schneider (Switzerland). Sylow also represented the SBF while Spir performed the same function for the Madrid Football Club.

The economic crisis in Spain has only served to magnify calls for Catalan independence as the wealthy Barcelona region is seen as propping up the poorer rest of Spain. The crisis in Catalonia began on 1 October after the Catalan parliament held a referendum on independence which the Madrid government had already declared illegal. The conservative Popular Party of Mariano Rajoy, the Spanish prime minister, is only the fifth-largest party in Catalonia³, and is strongly opposed to any moves for independence for the region. The president of Catalonia, Carles Puigdemont, is backed by a coalition of Catalan nationalist forces from the conservative CDC and the leftist Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (ERC) parties, which, together with the radical Left-wing CUP party, command a majority in the region's parliament. In September 2017, this majority approved the holding of a binding referendum on independence for Catalonia, but Spain's constitutional court suspended the process.

B. The inherent right to self-determination

In an ideal world, a region's secession should take place with the host state's consent. If the central government allows a region to initiate a process of self-determination then of course the issue is relatively straightforward. But allowing a region to initiate a process does not automatically mean the end result is secession. Referendums on independence in both Scotland and Quebec resulted in a no vote. In recent years, a number of states have declared independence with the consent of the host state – albeit reluctantly given after an initial refusal. These include Slovenia in 1991, East Timor in 2002 and South Sudan in 2011, when the results of a referendum on independence were eventually accepted by the host state. In a similar vein, Czechoslovakia peacefully separated into the Czech Republic and Slovakia in 1993 with the agreement of both regions.

Clearly, Catalonia is different given the Spanish government's refusal to allow a referendum to take place. But this poses a fundamental question: is a host state's approval essential if a country is to declare independence? The answer must be no, because to argue otherwise is contradictory – and clashes both with international law and common sense. Article 1.2 of the UN Charter recognises the principle of self-determination – making this a right which transcends any state's domestic laws. A fundamental principle of international law is that the provisions of a state's constitution cannot be deemed inherently legal – they must equate with

³ <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-spain-politics-catalonia/police-protesters-clash-for-catalan-referendum-anniversary-idUSKCN1MB27L>

international law. For example, a constitution may sanction racial discrimination or genocide, but this is superseded by the international laws which prohibit both. To claim that a state's constitution is the sole determinant on the legality of action taken within that state is to essentially reject the very idea of international law.

By definition, self-determination presents a challenge to the host state. To accept that there is a right of self-determination under international law but then claim that this right is conditional on host state consent – as is currently being argued by Spain and its allies with respect to Catalonia – is simply illogical. This is akin to saying that all women have the right to divorce their husbands but only if their husbands agree. Spain's refusal to accept the possibility of Catalan independence manifestly negates the very idea of self-determination. This position essentially denies self-determination is an inherent right by ceding all power to the host state. If applied globally, this principle would sanction the immutability of borders, and sentence millions of people across the world to remain permanently trapped under the jurisdiction of governments that they do not recognise.

Majority of people living in cities in Catalonia (like Barcelona) do not want independence because by becoming an independent country Catalonia must re apply for the membership of FIFA, which Catalonia is really dependent on.

C. Theoretical Framework

To examine more the reasons of Catalonia and Spain position regarding FIFA, The Writer will use the concept of Multi Track Diplomacy and using Realist Theory. Multi-track diplomacy is a concept developed and put into practice by Louise Diamond and myself, co-founders of the Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy. The concept is an expansion of the original distinction made by Joseph Montville in 1982, between track one (official, governmental action) and track two (unofficial, nongovernmental action) approaches to conflict resolution.

After writing the first book on track-two diplomacy in 1985 while at the State Department, I expanded the two tracks to five tracks in 1989. These new tracks included government, conflict-resolution professionals, business, private citizens, and the media. In 1991, I worked with Louise Diamond to expand the five tracks into nine, and we coined the term, "multi-track diplomacy." We founded the Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy (IMTD) in 1992.

The nine tracks are:

- Government.
- professional conflict resolution.
- business.
- private citizens.
- research, training and education.
- activism.
- religious.
- funding and public opinion/communication.

Catalanoia Conflict Resolution Theory and Practice discusses alternative approach to the realist view of international relations. It discusses the problem solving approach to international conflicts in particular. Michael Banks argues that political realism, which assumes that violent conflict between states is inevitable, promotes a threat and deterrence approach to international relations. This approach is unsatisfactory because it cannot support positive policies of conflict avoidance nor promote stable peace. When group conflict extends to nations or tribes, regality

theory argues that the collective danger leads citizens to start having strong feelings of national or tribal identity, preferring strong, hierarchical political system, adopting strict discipline and punishment of deviants, and expressing xenophobia and strict religious and sexual morality. Regarding realist considering the things that will happen, the referendum will not occur because some things will lose the position of Spain in few aspects.

D. FIFA DYNAMICS AND POLICIES

Fifa chooses who gets to hold the World Cup by visiting the nations who have asked to host it and deciding who has presented the best plan for the tournament. It runs world football and is in charge of organising and promoting big football tournaments around the globe - the biggest and most famous being the World Cup. As well as organizing every international tournaments, fifa has role to protecting and developing every game of football from entire world. Fifa has responsibility to keep the world football forward and forward with new innovation and new possible rule to increase the quality of the most watched sport in the world. Not just football, Fifa also has the obligation to maintain the football fans or supporters from around the world to make them easier to watch and engaged with their favourite football club or national team.

E. FIFA

FIFA : The Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) was founded in the rear of the headquarters of the Union Française de Sports Athlétiques at the Rue Saint Honoré 229 in Paris on 21 May 1904. The foundation act was signed by the authorised representatives of the following associations: Present at that historic meeting were: Robert Guérin and André Espir (France); Louis Muhlinghaus and Max Kahn (Belgium); Ludvig Sylow (Denmark); Carl Anton Wilhelm Hirschman (Netherlands); Victor E Schneider (Switzerland). Sylow also represented the SBF while Spir performed the same function for the Madrid Football Club.

When the idea of founding an international football federation began taking shape in Europe, the intention of those involved was to recognise the role of the English who had founded their Football Association back in 1863. Hirschman, secretary of the Netherlands Football Association, turned to the Football Association. Its secretary, FJ Wall, did accept the proposal but progress stalled while waiting for ⁴the Executive Committee of the Football Association, the International FA Board and the associations of Scotland, Wales and Ireland to give their opinion about the matter.

Guérin, secretary of the football department of the Union des Sociétés Françaises de Sports Athlétiques and a journalist with Le Matin newspaper, did not want to wait any longer. He contacted the national associations on the continent in writing and asked them to consider the possibility of founding an umbrella organisation. When Belgium and France met in the first official international match in Brussels on 1 May 1904, Guérin discussed the subject with his Belgian counterpart Louis Muhlinghaus. It was now definite that the English FA, under its president Lord Kinnaird, would not be participating in the foundation of an international federation. So Guérin took the opportunity and sent out invitations to the founding assembly. The process of organising the international game had begun.

With 211 affiliated associations, FIFA supports them financially and logistically through

⁴ <https://www.fifa.com/about-fifa/who-we-are/history/index.html>

various programmes. As representatives of FIFA in their countries, they have obligations to respect the statutes, aims and ideals of football's governing body and promote and manage our sport accordingly. The associations make up the varying Confederations. The AFC in Asia, CAF in Africa, the Football Confederation (CONCACAF) in North and Central America and the Caribbean, CONMEBOL in South America, UEFA in Europe and the OFC in Oceania all provide support to FIFA without encroaching on the rights of the national associations.

F. FIFA Principles

1. Democracy

The FIFA Council comprise no more than 25 people, with 21 positions, including the President and four Vice-Presidents, to be elected; and up to four positions to be appointed. Elections should be held for half of the elected positions every two years, including two Vice-President positions. Nominees for the elected members of the FIFA Council may be anyone who has held a football-related position in any capacity administrative, executive management, voluntary, professional or amateur player or media in the previous five years, subject to receiving the support of five member associations for nomination and to passing a 'fit and proper person' test.

There should be a minimum representation of former professional players on the FIFA Council. there should be a minimum representation of women on the FIFA Council. The three key stakeholders in the game the grassroots including players, officials and volunteers who are represented by the 211 football associations, the professional game and fans should have an input into the governance and management of the game via a capacity to vote for the President, as well as for the elected members of the FIFA Council via their Confederation. The four appointed members of the FIFA Council be persons who have had no involvement in any sport in any capacity for at least ten years prior to appointment. All FIFA Council members be limited to two terms of four years each.

2. Transparency

Nominees for elected positions on the FIFA Council to publish the budget and sources of funding for their election campaign, and the staff or consultants engaged by them or their Confederation or member association if applicable. All FIFA Council members, other Committee members and senior executives in decision-making positions to complete a pecuniary interests declaration that is published on the FIFA website within fourteen days of election. The salary and all other forms of compensation awarded to the FIFA Council, members of other committees, the Secretary-General and other key management personnel be disclosed in the annual financial report and published on the FIFA website. The minutes of the FIFA Congress, FIFA Council and all FIFA committees be published on the FIFA website within fourteen days of the meeting. Each member association continue to receive equal distribution from the Financial Assistance Programme (FAP), with amount designated for women and girls football and youth development, and subject to an annual report from each member association on distribution of their FAP monies. Grants under FIFA's *Goal* programme to be determined by a committee chaired by an appointed member of the FIFA Council on the basis of a published timetable with published guidelines, selection criteria, funding parameters, reporting requirements and performance criteria. All successful grant applications to be published on the FIFA website with annual progress reports provided on their implementation.

Tenders for marketing, broadcast, hospitality and licencing rights be conducted every four

years, with details of the conduct of the tender included in the relevant annual published financial report. Negotiations with sponsors be overseen by a non-elected member of the FIFA Council. A tender for the external auditor of FIFA be conducted every four years and chaired by a non-elected member of the FIFA Council, with details of the tender included in the relevant annual published financial report. Establish a one-off committee of relevant experts from around the world to investigate and recommend on the staging of future men's World Cup tournaments. The objective would be to ameliorate the World Cup as a vehicle for geopolitical soft power and brand building of nation states, as well as the construction of 'white elephants' and the demands of government guarantees made by FIFA to host nations that compromise and jeopardise international and domestic law.⁵

3. FIFA Goals and Purpose

For the first time in its history, FIFA has published a roadmap for the future of football: FIFA 2.0. The document was unveiled by President Infantino during the FIFA Council meeting on 13 October 2016 and sets the path forward for our work in football's best interests.

FIFA's new vision is to promote the game of football, protect its integrity and bring the game to all.

FIFA 2.0 sets out a number of principles, but also **concrete and measurable objectives**. For example, by the opening whistle of the 2026 FIFA World Cup™:

- More than 60% of the world's population will participate – play, coach, referee, or experience broadly – in the game of football.
- FIFA will invest more than USD 4 billion in developing football
- FIFA will double the number of female players to 60 million.
- FIFA will have optimised internal operations and external business relationships to improve revenue generation and financial efficiencies.

4. HOW TO REALISE THE VISION

Grow the game Through the implementation of the FIFA Forward Development Programme, FIFA will introduce football to new participants and regions. Working with member associations and confederations, FIFA will develop the game by increasing targeted investment for individual stakeholders while raising the standards to which all are held. FIFA's development efforts must also better engage all members of the football community regardless of gender, orientation, creed or ethnicity.

Enhance the experience **For all:** Modern technology has redefined sport and its relationship with fans. FIFA will work to ensure that those who cannot make it to the match will receive an equally impactful experience in their homes, and FIFA and its Commercial Affiliates must embrace innovation together.

For fans: FIFA must communicate with fans transparently and effectively, ensuring that more of them have access to more football through accessible channels.

For players, coaches and referees: Technological advances continue to aid the improvement of footballers' performances on the field, coaches' ability to strategise and referees' ability to protect the integrity of the game. In 2016, FIFA worked with The International Football Association Board (IFAB) to approve a detailed set of protocols guiding live experiments with video assistant referees and this is only the beginning. FIFA will continue to invest in

⁵ <http://www.newfifanow.org/guiding-principles.html>

technologies that benefit all those who grace the pitch.

For Commercial Affiliates: Working together, FIFA and its Partners have achieved great success. As technologies create new pathways for communication, FIFA's Commercial Affiliates will look for new ways to showcase their brands with maximum scale and impact.

Build a stronger institution **At the Home of FIFA:** The election of a new leadership has been accompanied by the overwhelming approval of sweeping reforms, and the organisation has built on these considerable improvements in governance, transparency and accountability by restructuring its internal operations.

In the football ecosystem: FIFA's new leadership has recommitted itself to human rights and diversity. The organisation will also heighten its oversight of member associations and ensure that all stakeholders are held to the appropriate standards of governance.

5. THE STRATEGY TO GET THERE

Investment: FIFA will dedicate significant resources and human capital to developing the game and enhancing the football experience.

Innovation: FIFA will leverage technological advances to improve the quality of the football experience for all.

Ownership: FIFA will assume greater responsibility for the governance, scale and effectiveness of its operation.

6. THE GUIDING PRINCIPLES

Transparency: FIFA will be transparent in how it governs and grows the game, operates its business and interacts with key stakeholders.

Accountability: FIFA will be held accountable by football stakeholders around the globe particularly member associations.

Inclusivity: FIFA will reflect the world and the communities in which it operates.

Cooperation: FIFA will actively engage with football's diverse ecosystem to shape the future of football

7. FIFA Organization Structure and Members

President

FIFA is run by a President. The President is elected by the Congress for a term of four years, and can be reelected indefinitely

The current president of FIFA is Gianni Infantino.

Executive Committee

In addition to the Congress, FIFA has an executive committee, which serves as the decision-making assembly when the Congress is not in session. The executive committee is made up of the President, a General Secretary, 8 vice presidents, and 15 members. Each member serves terms of 4 years and, like the President, can be reelected. Representation on the executive committee is "based on economic and social importance of football for the respective continent and region".

As it currently stands, OFC gets one vice president. CONMEBOL and CONCACAF get one vice president and two members. AFC and CAF get one vice president and three members UEFA gets

the most influence with two vice presidents and five members.⁶

Secretary General

The current Secretary General is Jérôme Valcke of France.

He is formally nominated by the executive committee, but responsible to the President. This means that the President is ultimately the one to decide who becomes Secretary General and how long they remain in that post.

Vice Presidents

Below the Secretary General are the vice presidents.

Standing Committees

Below the executive committee are various standing committees. FIFA currently has 22 standing committees that fall into three main categories: those dealing with FIFA tournaments, those relating to the rules of the game, and those that handle the more corporate and administrative sides. Each committee has a chairman, deputy chairman, and then various members, all of which are determined by the executive committee.

Judicial Bodies

The final main structural body of FIFA is their judicial branch. It has three main parts, the Disciplinary Committee, the Appeal Committee, and the Ethics Committee. They have recently worked together to produce the FIFA disciplinary code and Code of Ethics.

8. FIFA Legal Issues

Yet the fact FIFA has been able to build its own legal system, with minimal oversight, has left it vulnerable in the longer term. Recent scandals are in part a result of a power grab by some football bureaucrats who want to increase their own influence and extend their stay in office. In this regard, FIFA is similar to any other bureaucratic organization. The difference is that others are subject to transparency, media coverage, and the disciplining effect of civil society. For a long while, FIFA was mostly immune to these factors. Its success in building the⁷ legal system for football relied on states and supra-national organizations such as the EU giving away part of their monopoly on regulation. Implicit in this arrangement is the idea that FIFA's special status can be tolerated as long as it continues promoting the interests of broader stakeholder groups mainly clubs and players, but also others involved in the game.

But FIFA's credibility as an impartial regulator is weakened every time it gives priority to one group over another or even promotes special interests within a group, such as deferring to the demands of big clubs at the expense of smaller clubs. This is why external legal investigations such as the FIFA Gate corruption case are so damaging, and endanger the existence of football's bespoke legal system and even FIFA itself. Those investigations will keep coming, thanks to governance issues within the organization. Clubs and players sometimes lack formal channels to get involved in decisions that affect them directly, for instance while FIFA also has no proper mechanisms in place to consider the interests of anyone not related to football.

⁶ <https://www.fifa.com/about-fifa/who-we-are/committees/>

⁷ <https://sites.duke.edu/wcwp/tournament-guides/world-cup-2014/fifa-institutional-politics/the-structure-and-policies-of-fifa/>

As third parties have no say in the rules, their interests may be ignored. Consider, for example, the alleged use of forced labour in venues that will stage the 2022 World Cup in Qatar.

Building a better FIFA

So what should we do about elites with excessive powers? Within a nation state, it is well known that civil society plays a key role in limiting executive power. Modern democracies are successful because they have a democratic process in which the media, NGOs and campaigners oversee public decision-making. But there are no similar mechanisms in place for FIFA. But if football does not yet have an equivalent civil society, states themselves should step in.

9. DISCOURSE OF CATALONIA FREEDOM

The mounting tensions between Catalan nationalism and the Spanish state are like an encounter between an unstoppable force and an immovable object. The impending crash has been temporarily averted by the decision of Catalan President Carles Puigdemont to suspend declaring independence following Catalonia's October 1 referendum, in which a majority voted to break away from Spain (the Spanish government has declared the referendum illegal). Madrid's repression of democracy and protest during this period remains the most important reference point for Catalan nationalism today. In 2006, a popular campaign to improve the terms of Catalonia's 1979 Statute of Autonomy led to a new statute, approved in the Spanish parliament and by a referendum in Catalonia.

Catalonia Referendum efforts

The president of Catalonia Carles Puigdemont said the people in the region had decided to secede from Spain and agreed to sign a declaration of independence, but the plan of secession was postponed for the possibility of opening a dialogue first with the central government. The Catalan authorities went through with the vote, leading to violence inside and around polling stations as Spanish security forces seized ballot boxes and attempted to close down the vote. They said that 2.26 million votes had been counted, with 90 per cent in favour of independence. Mr Puigdemont says the result is a mandate for a unilateral declaration of independence, although he says he would prefer to negotiate the terms of secession from Spain with the government in Madrid. Polls show 70% of Catalans want to be able to vote in a referendum but they are more evenly divided when it comes to independence. A survey two months ago showed 49.4% of Catalans were against independence and 41.1% were in favour. The referendum turns out to be 90% in favour for Catalan independence. However, only 43% of the Catalan who are eligible to vote turn out to vote, meaning that the 90% in favour is coming from only a half of Catalan population. This makes the central government of Spain judges this referendum unilateral and void.⁸

The referendum was followed by around 43% of the total voters and from that figure more than 90% said they had supported Catalonia independence. speculation that Puigdemont would unilaterally announce Catalunya independence had circulated before. Puigdemont has on several occasions stressed that it would declare Catalunya independence despite widespread opposition, both from within Spain and from a number of countries in Europe. Politicians in Spain urged

⁸ <https://www.economist.com/the-economist-explains/2017/09/26/why-the-referendum-on-catalan-independence-is-illegal>

Puigdemont and PM Rajoy to hold a dialogue to resolve the crisis. Both were also asked to maintain an atmosphere conducive so that mediation or dialogue could be held.

Exclamations also came from the Mayor of Barcelona, Ada Colau, who specifically asked Puigdemont and Rajoy not to issue confrontational statements.

Colau also asked Rajoy not to eliminate Catalonia autonomy and urged thousands of police to withdraw.

The main reason for catalonia referendum:

Historical Aspects In its history Catalonia is an independent region of the Iberian Peninsula located between Spain and Portugal, with different languages, laws and habits.

During the war the Spanish succession led by King Philip IV ended with the defeat of Valencia in 1707, in Catalonia in 1714, and the last archipelago in 1715, then the birth of modern Spain. The subsequent kings tried to impose Spanish language and laws in the region. But in Catalonia there was a rebellion to separate from Spain. The peak was in 1938, when Spanish dictator General Francisco Franco massacred 3,500 separatist militias in Catalonia. During Franco's leadership efforts to isolate Catalonia could be muffled. Only in 1977 when democracy returned to the country, Catalonia was given broader special autonomy. This further made separatist groups free to campaign for independence.

In July 2010 independence efforts became even more round when the Constitutional Court in Madrid ruled out part of the autonomy law in 2006, which stated that there was no legal basis for recognizing Catalonia as a country in Spain.

1. Political

The parties formed by power in Madrid are very unpopular in Catalonia which has a population of more than 7 million. The people of Catalonia are staunch supporters of the far right party, Convergence and Union (CiU), head of the President of Catalonia, Artur Mas.

2. Economy

The Catalonia region has long been the heart of the Spanish industry and the first for maritime power and trade in goods such as textiles, finance, services and hi-tech companies.

Catalonia is one of the richest regions in Spain, contributing 18.8 percent of Spain's GDP, compared with 17.6 percent of Madrid.

Separating will generate gross domestic product of US \$ 314 billion according to calculations by the OECD. This fact will make Catalonia's 34th largest economy in the world and make it bigger than Portugal or Hong Kong. Per capita GDP will be US \$ 35,000 which will also make Catalonia richer than South Korea, Israel or Italy.

3. Food and football

Not only in politics, economics and language which according to Catalonia itself is different. They are very proud of food and their chefs, such as Ferran Adria, from El Bulli, and Jordi Cruz, who won their first Michelin star at the age of 25. El Cellar de Can Roca was named the best restaurant in the world for 2013, and was second in 2014.

Catalonia has an idol of its own soccer club, FC Barcelona, which became Real Madrid's main competitor representing the ruler of Spain. The second club duel called "El Clasico" was a big event for the two cities.

Spain effort to keep Catalonia

The Catalonia referendum was declared illegal and violated the constitution by a Spanish court. Thousands of additional police have been sent to Catalunya. Not only that, the Spanish government also filed regional forces, Mossos d'Esquadra, to help impose a referendum ban. The efforts of the Spanish government in banning referendums are indeed not playing games. Some time ago when the demonstration took place, Spanish authorities seized action material, imposed fines on officials, and detained dozens of politicians. Spain also need to prepared lost a lot amount of citizens as Catalonia itself hold a lot amount of Spanish citizens. The police also occupied the telecommunications center of the local government of Catalunya.

Spain has made various efforts to prevent catalonia from leaving its territory. The King of Spain King Felipe VI said that the referendum was not official. Many Spanish residents also reject the independence of Catalonia. The Spanish government has made various efforts to prevent Catalonia from declaring independence. Here are three ways that the Spanish government tried to stop the efforts of separatism:

Stopping Regional Parliament

The Spanish Constitutional Court suspended the Catalonia parliamentary session scheduled for Monday, October 9, 2017. It was announced on Wednesday, October 2, 2017 to prevent the declaration of independence of Catalonia from Spain which was planned to be held after discussion at a parliamentary session.

The Madrid government uses Article 155 in the Law which allows the central government to enter and take over regional autonomy if the area is deemed not to fulfill the obligations given in accordance with the law or take actions that cause serious harm to the general public of Spain.

Earlier the leader of Catalonia Carles Puigdemont expressed his disappointment at the King of Spain King Felipe VI who also intervned in the referendum process.

Pressing the Economic Sector

Catalonia is a rich region in Spain that is home to thousands of domestic and international companies with a number of employees reaching millions. A fifth of Spain's economy comes from there. One of Spain's efforts to prevent the declaration of Catalonia's independence was to apply the threat of economic sanctions. Many Catalans are still angry about the Spanish constitutional court's decision seven years ago to annul or reinterpret parts ⁹of the 2006 Catalan statute of autonomy, which would have afforded the region greater independence. Catalonia accounts for 20% of Spain's economic output and 21% of Spain's tax revenue comes from Catalonia. It will be big deficit for Spain since we the fact that catalonia holds the biggest contributor in Spain economical aspect.

Bank Sabadell, the fifth largest bank in Spain, decided to move their registration from Catalonia. It will automatically make euro currency weakens in Spain. On Wednesday, October 4, 2017, Bank spokesman Sabadell said the administrative process of moving their offices was expected to be completed in the next few days. The biggest creditor of Catalonia CaixaBank will also discuss the transfer of their official location out of the area today.

⁹<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/oct/02/catalonia-important-spain-economy-greater-role-size>

Military Actions

The Spanish Defense Minister, Maria Dolores de Cospedal, said the involvement of the security forces in the Catalonia referendum conducted on Sunday last week was a reasonable action. In a statement issued on Thursday, the Defense Minister also said the duty of the Spanish army was to maintain regional unity and statutory regulations. Unit forces also provided logistical assistance to officers sent to Catalonia.¹⁰

1. Football Aspect

Spain insists it will not approve any form of declaration of independence from Catalonia because it can have an impact on their position in FIFA. Instead of losing their biggest ever pride of football FC Barcelona and another 7 catalans team and few players for Spain National football team.

Some sanctions that Spain must face if they fail to maintain catalonia as part of their country:

1. frozen activities from all activities under the auspices of FIFA
2. It is forbidden to enter competitions and tournaments under FIFA auspices
3. do not get development activities, empowerment in any form from FIFA
4. revoked its membership from FIFA

Sanctions are certainly burdensome to Spain if it really materializes because given the position of Spain itself in FIFA is a big country and one of the European giants with the title of the world cup.

Spain's public debt closed out in 2016 at around \$1.18 trillion, some 98.98 percent of the country's gross domestic product, according to preliminary figures offered by the central bank on Friday. These provisional figures from the Bank of Spain suggested the government would achieve its objective of easing public debt to 99.4 percent of GDP. According to the bank, the combined debt of all public administrations grew 0.57 in Dec. 2016 from Nov., representing a 3.02 percent year-on-year increase.

The latest figures provided by the bank take into consideration the budget plan drawn up by the Spanish government at the request of the European Union.

Spain's national public debt in 2016 was priced at roughly \$1.18 trillion, according to central bank statistics. Meanwhile, Catalonia has amassed one of the largest public debts of Spain's regions, at roughly 72.2 billion euros (\$86.9 billion) in 2016. Around 6 billion euros of this is for long-term securities that have been issued and the rest being various loans from different institutions. Euro currency will be weakens because Catalonia Is one of productive city in Europe and of course it may affect the Euro Currency weakens in Spain.

CATALONIA REFERENDUM NEARLY IMPOSSIBLE

Conclusion

considerable the powers of self-governance handed to the region back to 1979. Yet 14 of its demands were vetoed by Spain's Constitutional Court, and separatists argue that the watered-down statute failed to give the region the level of independence it seeks by. It will be big blow for Spanish government if they let Catalonia separate from them because a lot of consideration

¹⁰ <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/spain/2017-10-18/brief-history-catalan-nationalism>

regarding catalonia position for Spain and also regarding FC Barcelona one of its successful club in Spain surface.

Nationalism and populism combined

The combination of nationalism with populism is not new in Europe and has been resurfacing in recent years. But the Catalan story is exemplary. If we accept such self-serving and irresponsible arguments in one case, the whole of Europe is gone. This is why both Vladimir Putin and Nigel Farage champion the Catalan cause, because it enfeebles Europe. Could something that propaganda channel Russia Today champions daily, the cause of Catalan independence, be good for the rest of us, Europeans? Perhaps it is time to think more critically of charismatic Catalan national heroes, before they rally all the separatists of Europe. In the early 1990s, Italy also had similar problems, when the Northern League (Lega Nord) party enjoyed an electoral breakthrough in Veneto and Lombardy precisely by campaigning against Rome and the “centralist state” allegedly ripping off the hard-working North to redistribute resources in the parasitic South.

When independentists moved to real action – civil disobedience, tax strikes, occupation of public places like San Marco bell tower in Venice, the government struck back by legal methods and eventually accused them of crimes ranging from tax evasion to terrorism. And no, Italy was not ruled by Fascists at the time, but by left-winger Eurocrats like Giuliano Amato and Romano Prodi.

A threat to their survival

Therefore, the insistence of the Catalan Parliament on being allowed a unilateral right to secede is anything but democratic. There is no iron law of democracy allowing the right to unilaterally vote to leave a nation state that one has subscribed to before without coercion. Catalonia was no colony. Therefore, the citizens of the rest of a Spanish state based on the 1978 democratic Constitution have as much right to vote on the future of their joint project as do those who reside temporarily in the autonomous Catalonia (of which many are Spanish).

But not so the Catalans. They have an advanced autonomous rule in a country ranked by OECD in the top ten in the world where fiscal decentralization (direct collection of taxes by the sub-national units) is concerned. Not only are their general human rights not infringed upon in democratic Spain, which also ranks among the most democratic countries in the world by Freedom House or Human Watch standards, but their linguistic policy had been, on the contrary, one of exclusion, not inclusion.

In Catalonia students are only taught in Catalan in their first years of schooling, English is more promoted than Spanish as a foreign language (although the majority of Catalans have long indicated that Spanish was the number one mother tongue, before this statistical item was dropped). The obligatory use of Catalan as the sole medium of instruction for all school subjects has been championed by Catalan nationalists over the past decades with little contestation, although in no other region of Europe has a group which does not have the linguistic majority managed to promote a monolingual model.

True, the Spanish dictator Franco had once banned Catalan in schools, but arguing in democratic Spain that one has to go completely in the opposite direction to do justice or make reparation, goes too far. In fact, in a bilingual society a bilingual model should be promoted to ensure social communication. Had a similar policy existed in Scotland, they would have gained independence by now. This long term linguistic policy is a proof of an exclusionary, not

inclusionary identity politics. Indeed, the many people who rally for independence are the products of such schools. Unfortunately, academics have long gathered evidence that organizing states on identity lines – giving each group each own police and army, for instance, does not result in anything else but secession.

The 1978 Spanish constitution already granted Catalonia a considerable degree of administrative and political autonomy. At the same time, however, it defined Spain as a unitary entity to be ruled from Madrid, with central powers remaining in full control of the key levers of the state.

This contradiction has resulted in a 40-year tug of war between recentralizing and decentralizing political forces that has rendered the whole constitutional system inoperative and has finally erupted in the recent Catalan crisis. Giving more of this same autonomy to Catalonia will only exacerbate the tensions.

Most political parties in Spain, both right and left, are strongly attached to the centuries-old project of building a centralized unitary state mirrored on France. Any concessions obtained by Catalonia would be perceived as an intolerable step in the wrong direction. Thanks to the support of a demographic majority in the country, these parties would be able to block or neutralize any advance in autonomy that Catalans are able to extract on paper.

Spanish government will block any attempt of referendum because it will be dangerous for them regarding their position in FIFA. It will breach FIFA statute about failure to control their internal football because football should be arranged between FIFA itself and the federation of the country. Meanwhile in Catalonia case it involving catalan governments also so it's 100% breach FIFA statute part 13 about arranging his own football without third party interference. The third party is catalan governments which used FC Barcelona as their shield in call for referendum actions.

REFERENCE:

BOOK

Muhammad, Ali. (2017). *Supranasionalisme Uni Eropa*. Yogyakarta: LP3M.

Robert Jackson, G. S. (2013). *Pengantar Studi Hubungan Internasional : Teori dan Pendekatan*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Belajar.

Alexis de Tocqueville. (1961). *Democracy in America*. New York..

Simon Kuper & stefan Szymansky. 2009. *Soccernomics*. Haymarket house.

Scott Burchill, A. L. (2005). *Theories of International Relations Third edition*. NewYork: Palgrave Macmillan.

Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, (1998). *Famflia i hereu a la Catalunya nord oriental*. Barcelona.

Scott L. Greer. (2007). *Nationalism and Self-Government: The Politics of Autonomy in Scotland and Catalonia*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Omar G. Encarnación,. (2008). Spanish Politics. Malden, MA: Polity Press.

ERC. (1993). Declaració ideològica. Barcelona.

John Hargreaves. (2000). Freedom for Catalonia? Catalan Nationalism, Spanish Identity and the Barcelona Olympic Games. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Alex White and Raphael Brun-Aguerre. (2012). "Catalan Challenge Asks Real Questions of Europe," Economic Research: Global Data Watch. London: JPMorgan Chase.

Ritva Reinikka, Svensson Jakob. (1999). "How Inadequate Provision of Public Infrastructure and Services Affects Private Investment," Policy Research Working Papers.

Encarnación, Omar G. (2008). Spanish Politics. Malden, MA: Polity Press.

Alexander Alland, Jr. Sonia Alland. (2006). Catalunya, One Nation, Two States: An Ethnographic Study of Nonviolent Resistance to Assimilation. New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan.

JOURNAL

Alexandrov, M. (2003). *The Concept of State Identity in International relations: A Theoretical Analysis*. Journal of International Development and Cooperation, Vol.10, No.1, 35-39.

Donald L. Horowitz (1981). *The Cracked Foundations Of The Right To Secede*. International Relations.

Christopher Harvie (2000). *Scotland And Nationalism : Scottish Society And Politics*. London Routledge, 7 – 111.

Maria M. Icovacs (1994). *Liberal Professions And Liberal Politics*. Oxford Washington Dc.

Michael John (.n.d). *The Peculiarities Of The German State : Bourgeois Law And Society In The Imperial Era*, 119.

Enrique Prat De La Riba (1896). *Revista Juridica de Cataluna* 2, 49.

Guillermo, M. (.n.d). *Instituciones del Derecho Civil Catalan Vigente*, Vol.2

See John (n.d). *Politics and The Law*, 15 – 41.

Manuel Duran (.n.d) *Sistema del Derecho Romano translated Ch. Guenoux*. Madrid

Mathias Reiman (.n.d). *The Historical School Against Cadifications*, 95 – 119.

Whitman (.n.d). *Legacy of Roman Law*, 66 150.

Donald R. Keley (1984). *Historians and The Law in Postrevolutionary France*. Princeton University Press. 72 84.

- Pella Y. Forgas (.n.d). *Llibertats Yantich Govern de Catalunya*, 310.
- Stephen Tierney (.n.d). *Reframing Sovereignty Sub-State National Societes and Contemporary Challenges to the Nation States*, 161 - 168
- Richard H. Steinberg (2004). *Who Is Sovereign*, 330.
- Donald L. Horowitz (.n.d). *Ethnic Groups In Conflict*, 249.
- Scot L. Greer (.n.d). *Nationalism and Self-Goverment : The Politics of Autonomy in Scotland and Catalonia*, 44.
- Allen Buchanan (.n.d). *Secession*. 98 – 100.
- Allen Buchanan (n.d). *Self Determination, Secession, and The Rule of International Law*.
- Donald L. Horowitz (.n.d). *Self Determination : Politics, Philosophy and Law*, 421 – 463.
- Chauvel, L. (1995). 'Valeurs régionales et nationales en Europe', *Futuribles*, 167-201.
- Coleman, J. (1988). 'Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital', *American Journal of Sociology*, 95 - 120.
- March, J.G. and Olsen, J.P. (1984). *The New Institutionalism: Organizational Factors in Political Life*, *American Political Science Review*, 734 – 748.
- Maíz, Ramón (1996). *Nación de Breogán: Oportunidades políticas y estrategias enmarcadores en el movimiento nacionalista gallego*. *Revista de Estudios Políticos*, 33 - 75.
- André Lecours (2001). "Regionalism, Cultural Diversity and the State in Spain," *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 215 – 216.
- Albert Barcelles (1996). *Catalan Nationalism*, (New York: St. Martin's Press), 45-46.
- Josep Maria Colomer (1995). *Game Theory and the Transition to Democracy: The Spanish Model*, England: Edward Elgar Publishing, 81.
- Alexander Alland (2006). *Catalunya, One Nation, Two States: An Ethnographic Study of Nonviolent Resistance to Assimilation*. New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan, 44.
- Miquel Noguer (2013). "El Independentismo Catalán Exhibe Su Fuerza Para Acelerar La Consulta," *El Pais*.
- Albert Barcelles (1996). *Catalan Nationalism*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 10 - 13.
- Alland (.n.d). *One Nation, Two States: An Ethnographic Study of Nonviolent Resistance to Assimilation*, 44 - 46.

Elisa Roller (2002). "When Does Language Become Exclusivist? Linguistic Politics in Catalonia." *National Identities* 4, no. 3, 274.

Roller (.n.d). "*When Does Language Become Exclusivist? Linguistic Politics in Catalonia,*" 276.

Earl L. Rees (1996). "*Spain's Linguistic Normalization Laws: The Catalan Controversy*", 314.

Roller (.n.d). "*When Does Language Become Exclusivist? Linguistic Politics in Catalonia,*" 274 - 275.

Kenneth McRoberts (2001). *Catalonia: Nation Building without a State*. Canada: Oxford University Press.

Jude Webber and Miquel Strubell i Trueta (1991). "The Catalan Language: Progress Towards Normalization," *The Anglo-Catalan Society Occasional Publications*, no. 7, 12.

Max Weber (1994). "The Nation," In *Nationalism*, edited by John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith, 20 - 22. New York: Oxford University Press, 20.

Guibernau (.n.d). *Catalan Nationalism: Francoism, Transition, and Democracy*, 89.

Desquens (.n.d). "Europe's Stateless Nations in the Era of Globalization: The Case for Catalonia's Secession from Spain."

WEBSITE

<https://www.fifa.com/about-fifa/who-we-are/history/index.html>

<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/spain/2017-10-18/brief-history-catalan-nationalism>

<https://www.efe.com/efe/english/business/spain-s-public-debt-in-2016-stood-at-1-18-trillion-98-percent-of-gdp/50000265-3182407>

Platt, Olivia Fandino (2013, Maret 1). Government to Challenge Catalonia Independence Declaration in Court. Retrieved from E-International Relations: <http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/articles/441159/20130301/spain-barcelona-catalonia.htm>

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/oct/02/catalonia-important-spain-economy-greater-role-size>

Álvarez-Rivera, Manuel (2000, Januari 2). "Election Resources on the Internet: Elections to the Catalan Parliament." Retrieved from E-International Relations: http://electionresources.org/es/cat/index_en.html.

Euractiv.com. "Catalonia Parliament Passes Sovereignty Declaration " Efficacité et

Transparence des Acteurs Européens. Retrieved from Euractiv Com <http://www.euractiv.com/elections/catalonia-parliament-passes-sove-news-517319>.

Al-Jazeera.com (2018, Maret 26). Who Is Catalan Presiden Carles Puigdemont. Retrieved from E-International Relations

<http://sciencenordic.com/there-solution-sight-catalonia>

<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/10/catalan-president-carles-puigdemont-171001122719197.html>

Reuters, CNN Indonesia (2017, Oktober 17). Spanyol Penjarakan Dua Pemimpin Separatis Catalonia. Retrieved from CNN Indonesia

<https://www.cnnindonesia.com/internasional/20171017091226-134-248921/spanyol-penjarakan-dua-pemimpin-separatis-catalonia>

VOA Indonesia (2018, Maret 24). Tiga Belas Tokoh Separatis Catalan Didakwa Lakukan Pemberontakan. Retrieved from E-International Relations
<http://baranews.co/blog/2018/03/24/tiga-belas-tokoh-separatis-catalan-didakwa-lakukan-pemberontakan/>

Milan Schreuer (2017, Desember 17). Catalan Separatist Want Independent. Who Else?. Retrieved from E-International Relations

BBC.com (2017, Desember 22). Catalonia Election: Separatis Parties Keep Their Majority. Retrieved from BBC <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-42450745>

Patrick Kingsley, Raphael Minder (2017, Oktober 5). Catalonia Separatism Revives Spanish Nationalism. Retrieved from Nytimes

<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/05/world/europe/catalan-independence-referendum.html>

Agency (2017, November 12). Catalonia Spanish PM Says Country Must Reclaim Region From The Havoc Of Separatism. Retrieved from Independent
<https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/spanish-pm-must-reclaim-catalonia-from-the-havoc-of-separatism-catalonia-spain-latest-a8050826.html>

Catherine Nicholson (2017, Desember 30). Talking Europe in 2017: Brexit, French Elections and Catalonia Separatism. Retrieved from France24 Com <http://www.france24.com/en/2017-talking-europe-2017-year-news-europe-brexit-elections-france-germany-catalonia-far-right.html>

<https://www.economist.com/the-economist-explains/2017/09/26/why-the-referendum-on-catalan-independence-is-illegal>

<https://nationalinterest.org/feature/trump-can-learn-morgenthau-6-principles-political-realism-19481>

<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-spain-politics-catalonia/police-protesters-clash-for-catalan-referendum-anniversary-idUSKCN1MB27L>

<http://theconversation.com/self-determination-is-legal-under-international-law-its-hypocritical-to-argue-otherwise-for-catalonia-86558>