The Compendium of

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JULIEN ANDREW STARR

STARTUP STATES SOCIETY · GENEVA

Recognition is a matter of two letters.

The Compendium of Unrecognised States

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A Taxonomy of Attempted and Contested Self-Governance, 1492 to the Present

Julien Andrew Starr

Founding Director, Startup States Society
Geneva

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Entries marked with a dagger (†) in Appendix A rest on a position that must be confirmed at the date of publication.

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Preface

The Compendium of Unrecognised States records attempts, chiefly from 1492 to the present, together with a small number of flagged earlier comparative cases, to create or defend a self-governing polity that the surrounding international order declined to acknowledge in full. It covers filibuster republics and breakaway governments, maroon communities and chartered companies, free cities and administered zones, micronations and, in its latest part, the network states and digital jurisdictions of the twenty-first century. It is arranged as a work of reference, so that a reader can find a case by name through the index and can read across cases through the parts and sections that group them.

The work now holds 628 entries across Parts I to XI, followed by a twelfth part that compares their outcomes in recognition, international standing and the passage to statehood. Every entry was written from the sources named in its notes. The compendium is meant to be cited, and it therefore states what its sources support, records where they disagree, and the notes show where a case rests on a single source. Where the evidence is thin the entry or its notes say so; where a claim is contested the entry attributes it.

Some entries, notably those on recent or self-declared projects, rest on the statements of the projects themselves because no independent account exists; the notes identify these. Corrections, and suggestions for cases that ought to be included, are welcome.

A declaration of interest is due. The author is Founding Director of the Startup States Society in Geneva, which works on the lawful creation of new states under public international law and takes an active interest in several of the projects recorded in the later parts of the book. One of the Society's advisers, Steve Clancy, is the principal of Eleutheria, the subject of an entry in Part X, and the author serves on that project's committee. The entries on these projects rest on the sources named in their notes and follow the same rules as every other entry.

Acknowledgements

This compendium rests on the published research of many scholars, archivists, journalists and compilers, whose work is cited in the notes to each part. It was also built with the help of large language models, chiefly Claude, developed by Anthropic, and Kimi, developed by Moonshot AI. These systems proposed leads, drafted passages and tested drafts against sources. The author chose the scope, directed the work and answers for its content, and each note gives the author or issuing body and the title of its source and, where the source is online, the web address at which it was retrieved; web addresses can change.

The author thanks James L. Erwin, whose Footnotes to History pages, first published on the BuckYogi website, gathered in the early years of the web short accounts of micronations, short-lived republics and forgotten claims that were hard to find elsewhere. The pages were an early guide to this subject. They survive in the archive of the Wayback Machine, at the address below.

https://web.archive.org/web/20040114230824/http://www.buckyogi.com/footnotes/index.htm

The author acknowledges three further early directories of the web, which survive in the archive of the Wayback Machine: the micro-nations.org site, in the capture of 29 January 2003; the directory titled Micronations & Model Countries, hosted on Angelfire; and that directory's page titled New Country Projects. They recorded in the late 1990s and early 2000s projects that left few other traces, and they guided the search for cases of that period. A reader can find each by entering its address in the Wayback Machine at web.archive.org: micro-nations.org for the first, and angelfire.com/nv/micronations for the second and third.

The author also acknowledges, more briefly, the compilers of the directories that catalogue the present generation of new-country and startup-city projects, among them free-cities.org, xyz.city, ns.com and nsnodes.com. They helped to identify recent projects, and Appendix D describes them for readers who wish to go further.

Thanks are due, finally, to the libraries and archives that keep their collections open to readers, and to the readers who will send the corrections and additions that a work of this kind needs.

Introduction

Scope and Definitions

This compendium takes as its subject attempted and contested self-governance. The test for admission is a national aspiration: the community, government or individual whose case an entry records presented itself as a country, or as the seed of one, and either held or sought territory, or sought recognition in law or in practice from other states. The claim may have taken the form of a declaration of independence, a charter, a constitution, a proclamation of kingship, a purchase of land, or the administration of a territory in the name of a government that did not control it. Movements for autonomy, cultural bodies, advocacy campaigns, special economic zones and settlements that asserted no claim to statehood fall outside the test, as do purely rhetorical gestures and wholly fictional polities.

To enter the compendium a case must be real and documented: a declaration, a functioning administration, a charter, or a substantial public claim, of which the entry can name at least one date, person or institution. Each entry rests on sources of a quality that a reader can check, and a case for which no such source could be found does not appear. The chronological limit is the year 1492; a small number of earlier cases are admitted in Part XI as flagged exceptions because they illuminate the later cases.

The Word Unrecognised

The title uses the word unrecognised in a broad sense, and the reader should not take it to mean that every entity in the book lacks recognition from every state. Some entries record entities that were never recognised by any state. Some were recognised by a single patron or a handful of states, as Northern Cyprus is by Türkiye, Abkhazia and South Ossetia by Russia and a few other states, and Somaliland by Israel. Some were recognised by many states and still lack a seat in the United Nations, as Kosovo and Palestine do, and Taiwan is recognised by a dozen governments that include the Holy See. Others held recognition for a time and lost it. Recognition is a matter of degree and of date, and Appendix A sets out, for the best-known contested cases, how the position stood when this edition was prepared and where the corresponding entries are to be found.

The title uses unrecognised as shorthand for the want of general, complete or lasting recognition, and the word carries no judgement on the merits of any claim. Entries record what each entity claimed, what it governed and how others answered, and they leave the question of legal status to the sources cited.

Nor is every entry a state in law, and the reader should not read the title as saying so. The compendium is a taxonomy of attempted and contested self-governance, and its cases differ in kind. Some are recognised states whose independence was contested, withheld or surrendered; some are de facto states that govern territory and are recognised by few or none; some

are breakaway governments, client states and governments in exile; some are micronations whose founders claim a statehood that no state has accepted; and some, in the latest parts, are network-state and seasteading projects that seek a jurisdiction of their own. A micronation is not an unrecognised state in any legal or political sense, and the compendium does not treat it as the equal of Transnistria or Somaliland. It enters because it presented itself as a country and because a reader tracing the history of that idea will want to find it beside its antecedents. The part and section in which an entry stands indicate the kind of case.

A few entries record peoples that held treaties with a recognised state, among them the Jamaican Maroons and the Cherokee Nation. They appear because the treaty acknowledged a measure of self-government that the other party later denied or withdrew, which is the sense in which the claim was contested; the entry in each case says what the instrument granted.

Arrangement of the Book

The parts of the compendium run from the core to the periphery of the subject. The core is the unilateral secession, in which a people or a government declares a territory separate from the state that claims it, and the first four parts present these cases by continent: the Americas, Africa, Asia with the Middle East and the Pacific, and Europe with Eurasia. A continental division is used because the legal setting, the colonial inheritance and the identity of the opposing state differ from region to region, and because the cases within a region illuminate one another. An entry sits in the part that covers the territory it claimed; where a case has a strong tie to another region, the text says so.

The fifth part turns to polities whose independence was the creation of settlers, of a patron state or of an external power: the Voortrekker republics, the post-Soviet de facto states and the client and puppet states. The sixth and seventh parts treat territories under international administration and free cities, and the settlements and dominions created by colonisation societies, chartered orders and individuals. The eighth part gathers the filibusters, self-proclaimed monarchs and maritime outlaws who acted on private initiative. The ninth part treats the offshore ventures and micronations, including the internet-era jurisdictions of the 1990s and 2000s, and the tenth the network states, seasteading projects and digital-nation programmes of the present century. The eleventh part gathers cases that fit no other: abortive unions, flagged pre-1492 comparisons, unrealised secession proposals, recognised governments that surrendered their self-government, and governments in exile.

The twelfth part differs in kind from the others. It contains no entries. It reads the entries of the preceding parts together and asks what became of each claim: which of them reached recognition by other states or membership of the United Nations, by which routes, and what separates those cases from the cases that did not. It sets matched pairs side by side, compares the treatment of Montenegro and of Kosovo by their common parent state, and draws the lessons that the record offers to those planning new ventures. Its figures rest on a coded reading of the entries that is preliminary, and the part says where the evidence is thin.

Within each section the entries run in alphabetical order by title. Each case appears once.

The Form of an Entry

Each entry begins with a title, which gives the name by which the polity styled itself or by which it is best known, followed where useful by a date or a place. The title follows the name that the people or the body concerned used of their own polity. Where no such name is recorded, the title is a neutral description, and the names by which the case has been known appear in the index with a direction to the entry. The compendium gives no polity a name that its members did not use, and it does not carry terms of colonial origin that they did not use of themselves. The body describes the origins of the claim, its institutions, its fate and, where the sources allow, its legacy. Superscript numbers in the text refer to the notes at the end of the part in which the entry stands; a number links to its note in the electronic edition. A note gives the source and, where one exists, an address at which the source can be read.

Where a case is still in progress, the entry states its position at the date given in the entry and records the sources on which that statement rests. Dates are given in the form 14 April 1931. Place names follow current English usage, with the historical name added where the case turns on it. The index lists every entry by its title and gives its part, its section and its page, and it also lists alternative names under which a reader may look.

Completeness and Corrections

The compendium aims at accuracy before completeness. A case that does not appear is absent because it falls outside the test described in Scope and Definitions, because no source of adequate quality could be found for it, or because it has not yet been found. The author invites readers who know of such a case to propose it, with sources, through the Startup States Society in Geneva. Corrections to existing entries are equally welcome. Each later edition will record the entries added and the entries corrected. Readers who look for a recent project that has no entry will find it more fully catalogued in the directories described in Appendix D, which list far more projects than a work of this kind can treat.

Sources and Standards

The compendium prefers primary documents, court and tribunal records, archival collections, newspapers of record, museum research and peer-reviewed scholarship. Encyclopaedias and general reference works are used sparingly and only where no better source could be found. Where a source is partisan, as a government's, a movement's or a rival's account of a dispute inevitably is, the entry says so and, wherever possible, sets a second account beside it. Where sources disagree on a date or a figure, the entry gives both with attribution instead of choosing silently between them.

The compendium avoids the word sovereign in its own voice, because the question whether a particular entity possessed sovereignty is often the point at issue, and uses the terms independence, self-government, authority and statehood instead. The word appears where it forms part of a proper name or a quotation.

Method and Verification

Large language models were used in making this work, as the Acknowledgements record, and their output was treated as a lead and never as a source. Each entry was drafted or revised against sources that were retrieved and read, and a sentence that no adequate source supported was deleted. The entries then passed through successive rounds of review in which each factual claim was tested again against sources, some of them prompted by outside readers. On 19 October 2026 a further sample of forty entries, chosen at random across the parts, was checked afresh; it turned up a small number of errors, in dates, numbers and attributions, and these were corrected.

The result is a work whose entries have been checked more than once. It is not a work that an independent specialist has examined entry by entry. A reader should treat an entry that rests on a single note, or on the statements of a project about itself, as provisional, and should send corrections to the address given under Completeness and Corrections.

Atlas of Entries

The four plates that follow show the position of nearly every entry in the compendium; the few whose subjects name no territory are left off. Each dot marks one entry, placed at the seat or centre of its polity or at the place where a venture was based, and the position is approximate. Blue dots mark secessions and breakaway governments (Parts I to IV). Orange dots mark states made, administered or governed by others, and colonial dominions (Parts V to VII). Green dots mark self-declared ventures: filibusters, monarchs, maritime outlaws, micronations and network states (Parts VIII to XI). The Geographical Index in Appendix C lists the entries by present-day territory, with their pages.

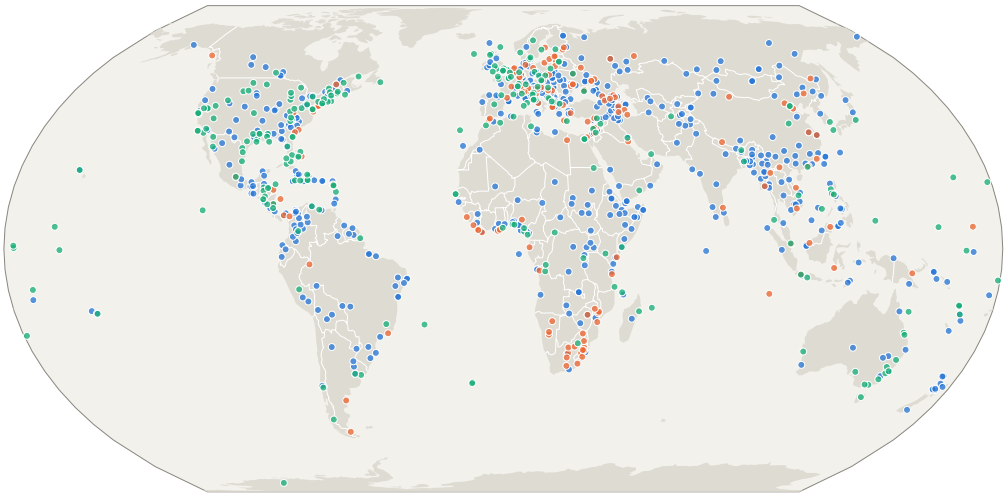


Plate 1. All entries.

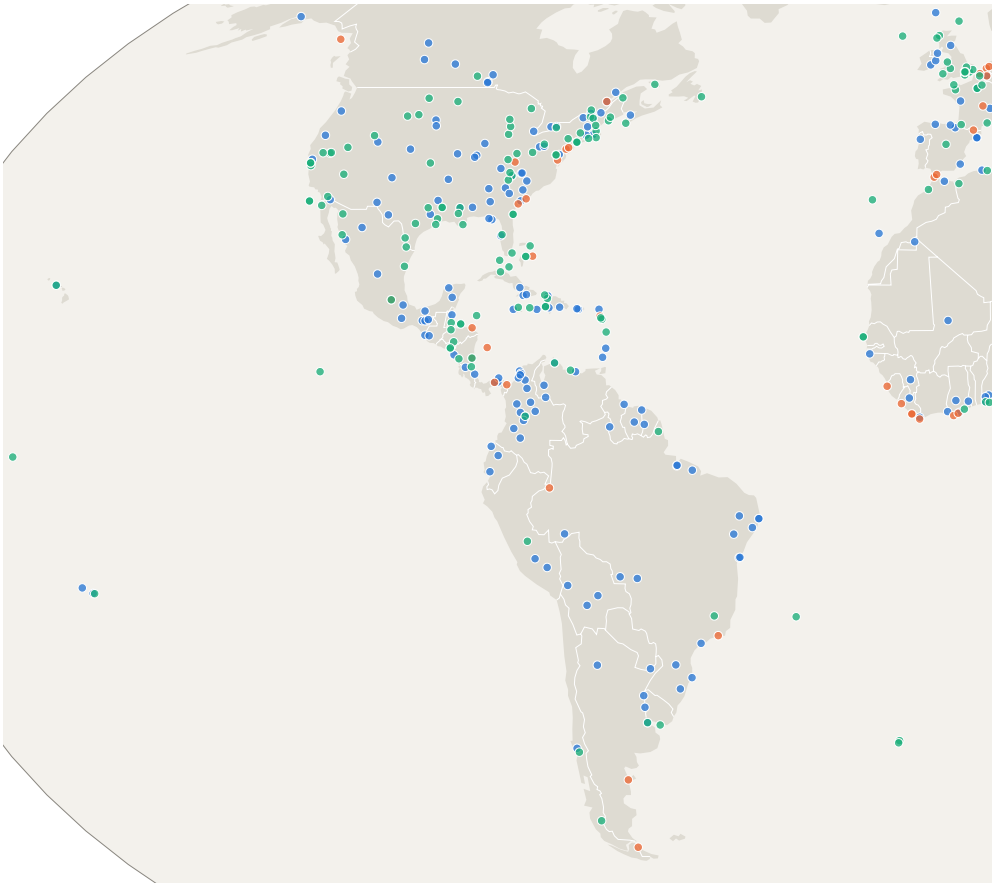


Plate 2. The Americas.

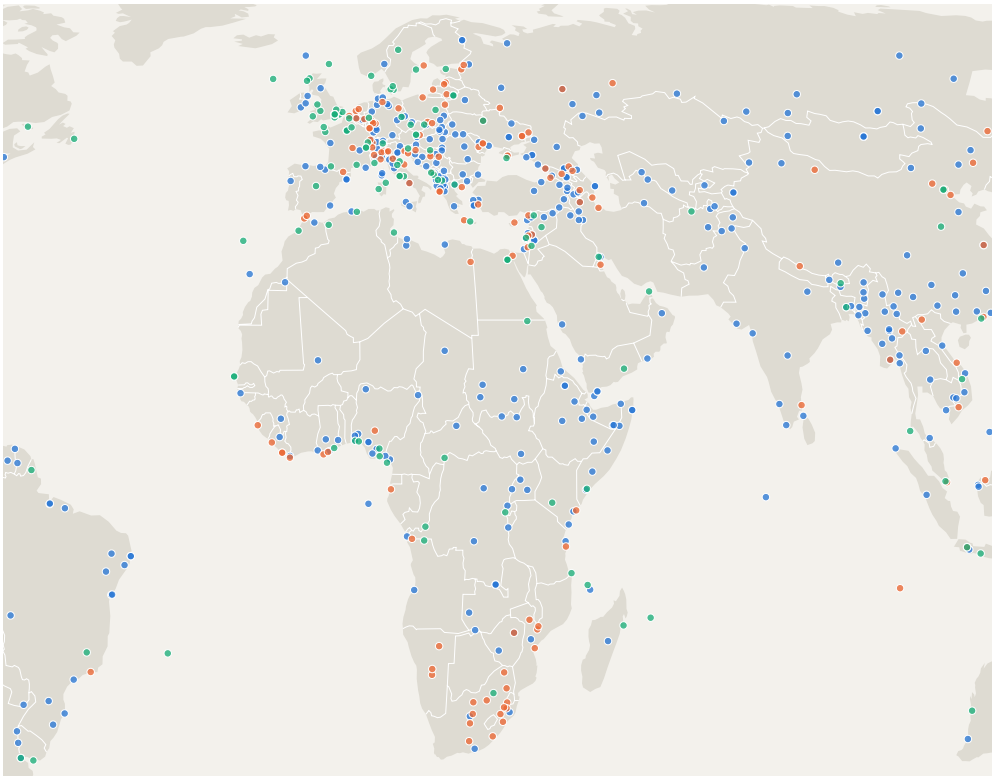


Plate 3. Europe, Africa and the Middle East.

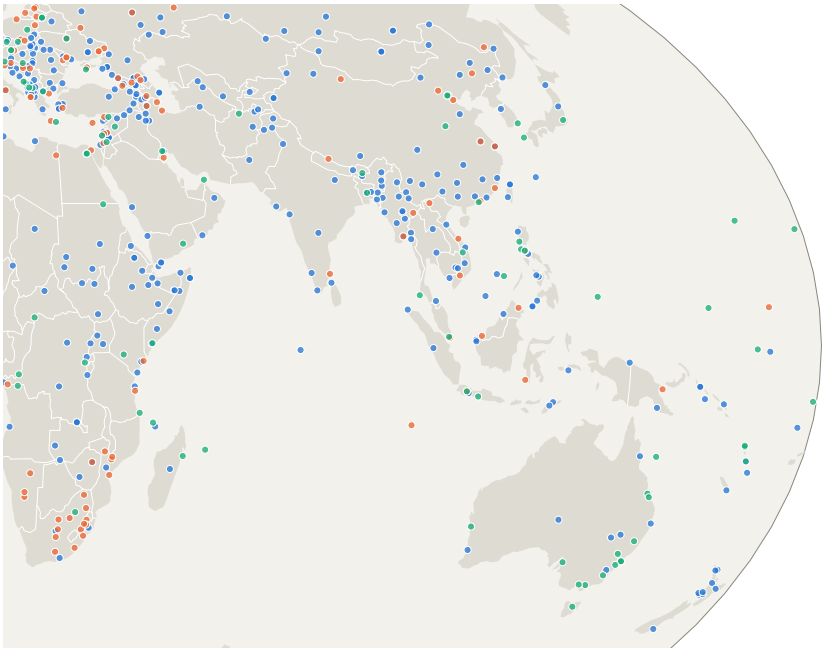


Plate 4. Asia and the Pacific.

Part I

Unilateral Secessions of the Americas

The unilateral secession is the central case of this compendium: a territory whose people or governing elites declare themselves separate from the state that claims them, and sustain at least some institutions of their own. This part and the three that follow gather those cases by continent, because the legal setting, the colonial inheritance and the identity of the opposing state differ sharply from one region to another. The Americas supply the longest run of examples, from the revolutionary regional republics of Spanish and Portuguese America and the maroon communities of the plantation colonies to the nullification crises, rival state governments and Indigenous and nationalist claims of North America. An entry sits in the part that covers the territory it claimed; where a case has a strong tie to another region, a cross-reference in the text says so.

Section I.1

The United States and Canada

Entries in this section chronicle communities within the United States and Canada, and their colonial and territorial precursors, that organised an administration of their own in repudiation of the recognised authority claiming the same territory. Most had a written constitution, elected officers and a militia. They include state conventions that asserted a right to nullify federal law, rival state governments raised during the Civil War, free-state governments in contested territories, Indigenous and Black nationalist proclamations of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, the modern secessionist parties, and the Canadian provisional governments and referendums. Some cases show a duration and institutional seriousness that exceed those of the brief or notional cases found elsewhere in this compendium, while others, such as the State of Jefferson, are included chiefly as comparative boundary cases that show how far a purely rhetorical gesture falls short of self-government.

Alaskan Independence Party

The Alaskan Independence Party was founded in 1973 by Joe Vogler to press for a vote on whether Alaska should remain in the United States.[1] Vogler's hostility to federal authority sharpened in the early 1970s during construction of the trans-Alaska pipeline, and in a 1977 interview he called Alaska a federal "colony".[2] He stood for governor in 1982 and 1986 and lost both times.[2] The party reached its peak in 1990, when Vogler persuaded Wally Hickel, a former Interior Secretary, to stand on its ticket. Hickel won the governorship with Jack Coghill of the party as lieutenant governor, the party's sole statewide victory, on just under 39 per cent of the vote.[2,3] Hickel later rejoined the Republican Party and did not seek re-election.[2]

Vogler disappeared from his Fairbanks home on Memorial Day 1993, having been scheduled to present the case for Alaskan secession to the United Nations General Assembly in late spring of that year, with sponsorship from Iran according to Type Investigations.[1,2] Remains found in a shallow grave north-east of Fairbanks in October 1994 were thought to be Vogler's.[4]

On 7 December 2025 the party's leadership voted to dissolve it, on the finding of a board elected in April 2024 that members were indifferent to its goals, believed it to be part of the Republican Party or had registered with it by mistake. The board described the party as "legally alive yet spiritually dead". The Alaska Division of Elections began notifying about 19,117 registered members in January 2026 that the party was no longer recognised.[3] According to the Fairbanks Daily News-Miner, two former party officers afterwards reconstituted it as the Alaskan Party, retaining its bylaws and mission.[5]

Alberta, Independence Petitions and the Referendum of 19 October 2026

In 2026 a citizen petition titled A Referendum Relating to Alberta Independence, organised by Stay Free Alberta and led by Mitch Sylvestre, asked whether the Province of Alberta should cease to be a part of Canada to become an independent state.[6,7] Supporters delivered the petition to Elections Alberta on 4 May 2026. The threshold for success was 177,732 verified signatures, or 10 per cent of the votes cast in the 2023 provincial election.[7] On 5 December 2025 Justice Colin Feasby had ruled the referendum proposal unconstitutional, and an amendment to the Citizen Initiative Act that took effect on 11 December removed the requirement that proposals be compatible with rights under the Constitution Act, 1982.[8] On 10 April 2026 Justice Shaina Leonard stayed verification of the petition, accepting that the absence of consultation could cause irreparable harm to First Nations, and on 13 May 2026 Justice Leonard quashed the petition because the chief electoral officer had not consulted First Nations before accepting it.[9,8]

Both the petitioners and the Alberta government appealed, and in June 2026 another judge ruled that signatures should still be counted in case an appeal succeeded.[7,10] On 24 July 2026 Elections Alberta deemed the petition successful, with about 223,000 of 286,593 submitted signatures verified; the appeals against the quashing of the petition remained pending.[7] On 21 May 2026 Premier Danielle Smith had announced a separate question for the ballot of 19 October 2026, asking whether Alberta should remain a province of Canada or whether the Government of Alberta should commence the legal process required under the Canadian Constitution to hold a binding provincial referendum on separation.[11] A vote for that process would not itself separate Alberta.[12] Smith has said that she does not support separation, that she will vote for Alberta to remain in Canada and that her government will respect the outcome.[12,11] A pro-unity petition, Forever Canadian, collected more than 400,000 signatures.[9] The provincial government launched a C$4 million advertising campaign on 10 September 2026 urging a vote to stay in Canada, and a University of Calgary report published on 16 September 2026 estimated the initial five-year cost of an independent Alberta at C$50 billion to C$170 billion.[9] The vote on that question was set for 19 October 2026; the result was not available when this entry was written.[9]

Arizona, Confederate Territory of

Citizens' conventions at Mesilla and Tucson voted in 1861 to secede from the United States and join the Confederacy.[13] On 1 August 1861 Lieutenant Colonel John R. Baylor, whose troops had won victories at Mesilla, Fort Fillmore and San Augustin Spring, declared the territory organised as a military government with himself as governor; it covered all of New Mexico Territory south of the 34th parallel.[13,14] On 14 February 1862 Jefferson Davis issued a proclamation declaring in force the Confederate Act to organise the Territory of Arizona.[13,14] By July 1862 Confederate forces had withdrawn to Texas, taking the territorial government with them.[14] The United States then created its own Arizona Territory by an Act of 24 February 1863, which divided New Mexico Territory along a north-south line instead of the east-west line of the Confederate territory.[13,14] Mesilla, the Confederate territory's centre, remained in New Mexico.[14]

California Republic (Bear Flag Revolt)

On 14 June 1846 a party of about 33 American settlers gathered before dawn outside the house of General Mariano Vallejo at Sonoma, in Mexican Alta California, arrested him and proclaimed an independent California republic.[15,16] The flag, made by William L. Todd from unbleached muslin, bore a bear and a star above the words CALIFORNIA REPUBLIC.[15] The settlers elected William Ide their commander in chief.[17] Captain John C. Frémont, whose survey party was camped nearby, took no open part at first. On 5 July, after discussion at Sonoma with Ide, a signed compact formed the California Battalion under Frémont's command.[17] On 7 July 1846 Commodore John D. Sloat took Monterey and raised the American flag, and on 9 July Lieutenant Joseph W. Revere of the United States Navy replaced the Bear Flag at Sonoma with the Stars and Stripes.[18,19] California adopted the Bear Flag as its state flag in 1911.[19]

Cherokee Nation (Removal-Era Claim to Self-Government)

The Cherokee Nation adopted a written constitution in 1827 and kept its capital at New Echota, in Georgia, where its National Council met and its Supreme Court sat.[20] Georgia extended its jurisdiction over Cherokee land, annexed it and abolished the Cherokee government, courts and laws.[21] In Cherokee Nation v. Georgia (1831) the Supreme Court under Chief Justice John Marshall held that it lacked original jurisdiction and described the Cherokee as "domestic dependent nations".[22] In Worcester v. Georgia (1832) the Court ruled, with Justice Henry Baldwin dissenting, that the Georgia law under which missionaries had been jailed was unconstitutional, Marshall writing that Cherokee territory was a distinct community in which "the laws of Georgia can have no force".[21,22] Georgia ignored the ruling, and President Andrew Jackson did not enforce it.[21]

In December 1835 twenty Cherokee, none of them an elected official of the Nation, signed the Treaty of New Echota, which ceded all remaining Cherokee land in the southeast.[23] Principal Chief John Ross collected more than 15,000 signatures on a petition against ratification, and the Senate approved the treaty by a single vote in May 1836. President Jackson signed the instrument of ratification on 23 May 1836.[24,23,25] Between October 1838 and March 1839 the Cherokee were moved to Indian Territory: about 15,000 began the journey and an estimated 4,000 died.[24] On 12 July 1839 representatives of the Ross party and of the Old Settlers, the Western Cherokee already in Indian Territory, adopted an Act of Union that declared the two groups "one body politic, under the style and title of the Cherokee Nation", and a constitution for the reunited Nation was signed on 6 September 1839.[26]

Confederate States of America

The Confederate States of America was formed on 4 February 1861 at Montgomery, Alabama, where delegates from six Deep South states, joined within weeks by Texas, wrote a provisional constitution, sat as a provisional congress and elected Jefferson Davis president and Alexander H. Stephens vice president.[27] Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Arkansas seceded after the bombardment of Fort Sumter and Abraham Lincoln's call for volunteers.[27] By mid-March 1861 the government had made provision for its own currency.[27] It sought British and French support through what has been called King Cotton diplomacy but never gained diplomatic recognition from any foreign government.[27,28] After the Union declared its blockade in April 1861, Britain issued a proclamation of neutrality in May 1861 and other European powers followed, which gave the Confederacy belligerent rights, including the ability to take loans, buy supplies in neutral states and act on the high seas.[28]

Robert E. Lee surrendered the Army of Northern Virginia to Ulysses S. Grant at Appomattox Court House on 9 April 1865.[29] Further Confederate forces surrendered over the following weeks, and Davis was captured at Irwinville, Georgia, on 10 May 1865.[30] The last Confederate unit to surrender was the crew of CSS Shenandoah, at Liverpool on 6 November 1865.[30]

Fifty, Council of (Nauvoo, 1844)

In March 1844 Joseph Smith and a group of prominent elders of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints met at Nauvoo, Illinois, to consider a proposal for a gathering place in the Republic of Texas. On 11 March 1844 the group organised itself as a council whose purpose, in the clerk William Clayton's record, was to "establish a Theocracy" somewhere in western North America.[31] A revelation of 14 March 1844 named the body the Kingdom of God and his Laws, and members called it the Kingdom or the Council. It became known as the Council of Fifty after reaching that number by 18 April 1844, three of its members not being Latter-day Saints.[31] On 11 April 1844 the council voted to receive Smith as "our Prophet, Priest & King", and a revelation of 25 April 1844 declared the council to be the constitution of the political kingdom of God on earth.[31,32] The editors of the Joseph Smith Papers record that the council petitioned the United States government, sought information on possible gathering places in the West and sponsored a memorial to Congress, delivered by Orson Hyde, asking that Smith be authorised to lead a military force to protect settlers in the western part of the continent.[31,32] Most members left Nauvoo in May 1844 to campaign for Smith's candidacy for the presidency of the United States.[31] After his death the council reassembled on 4 February 1845, sustained Brigham Young as its standing chairman and helped supervise the exodus from Nauvoo.[31] It met at intervals in Utah from the late 1840s to the 1860s, helped establish civil government there, was reorganised by John Taylor in 1880 and held its last meetings before the end of the 1880s.[31,33]

Franklin, State of

The State of Franklin was a separatist government formed in 1784 by settlers in the western counties of North Carolina, in what is now eastern Tennessee. In April 1784 the North Carolina legislature ceded its western lands to the Continental Congress. When news of the cession reached the west in August, delegates from Washington, Sullivan and Greene Counties met at Jonesborough, chose John Sevier as president and moved towards forming a new state.[34] In November North Carolina rescinded the cession, but the news did not reach a second convention in December 1784, which adopted a provisional constitution prefaced by a declaration of independence from North Carolina. The constitution did not define the state's boundaries but claimed the ceded territory by implication.[34] The first general assembly met in March 1785, elected Sevier governor and petitioned the Continental Congress for admission to the Union;[34] in May 1785 the petition failed to win the two-thirds majority of states that the Articles of Confederation required.[35] In June 1785 Sevier and other commissioners made the Treaty of Dumplin Creek with Cherokee chiefs, which the Treaty of Hopewell, made by commissioners of Congress in November, nullified.[34] In February 1788 a dispute over property of Sevier's seized for North Carolina taxes led him to march on the farm of John Tipton, a leader of the settlers loyal to North Carolina, and an armed clash followed.[35,36] Sevier's term as governor expired on 1 March 1788 and the legislature never met again.[34] Sevier was arrested on a charge of treason in 1788, and in February 1789 he took an oath of allegiance to North Carolina.[34,36] The territory became part of Tennessee on that state's admission to the Union in 1796.[34]

Ganienkeh, North American Indian State of

In May 1974 a convoy of Mohawks from the Kahnawake and Akwesasne reservations occupied Moss Lake, a 612-acre former girls' summer camp in the Adirondacks, and gave the site the name Ganienkeh, meaning "Land of the Flint".[37] They argued that the treaties under which New York State had acquired about nine million acres in 1797, including the Moss Lake site, were illegal.[37] Louis Hall, a Kahnawake member and the principal architect of the occupation, had written in February 1974 to leaders of the American Indian Movement seeking help to "establish an Independent North American Indian State", and his manifesto called for "an area of land for our own territory and state".[37]

The standoff lasted about three years. In July 1977 the state and the Mohawks announced an agreement under which the occupiers would leave Moss Lake for about 5,000 acres in Clinton County, bought by private donors and placed in a trust. The Mohawks were absolved of legal culpability, and the state granted title to no land claim.[37] The community settled at Miner Lake, near Altona.[37,38] According to Adirondack Life in 2022, it is a closed community with a school, a longhouse and farmland; a bingo hall opened in 1990 provides much of its income, and Mohawk land claims in New York remain unresolved.[37]

Hawaiian Kingdom, Council of Regency and Restoration Claims

The Kingdom of Hawaii was overthrown on 17 January 1893, when a Committee of Safety deposed the monarchy; the United States annexed the islands by a joint resolution of Congress in 1898, and Hawaii became a state on 21 August 1959.[39,40,41] In Public Law 103-150, approved on 23 November 1993, Congress apologised to Native Hawaiians on behalf of the people of the United States for the overthrow, which it described as carried out with the participation of agents and citizens of the United States, and the text refers to the "illegal overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii"; section 3 of the resolution states that nothing in it is intended to serve as a settlement of any claims against the United States.[39]

The claim that the Hawaiian Kingdom continues to exist in international law reached an international forum in Larsen v. Hawaiian Kingdom, an arbitration administered by the Permanent Court of Arbitration, which began on 8 November 1999 and concluded with an award dated 5 February 2001.[42] The claimant, Lance Paul Larsen, a resident of Hawaii, alleged that the Hawaiian Kingdom, represented by its Council of Regency, had failed to protect him from the application of American municipal law within Hawaiian territory.[42] A tribunal of Gavan Griffith, Christopher Greenwood and James Crawford, the last as president, declined jurisdiction, holding that deciding whether the respondent had discharged its obligations would require a ruling on the rights and obligations of the United States, a state not party to the proceedings.[42] The award lists among the propositions on which the parties agreed that no incorporation of Hawaii into the United States was lawful at any time, and that the continued existence of the Hawaiian Kingdom was not in dispute; the tribunal held that it was precluded from considering the issues because the United States was not a party and had not consented, and it decided neither question.[43]

Indian Stream, Republic of

The Republic of Indian Stream was a settler polity that governed itself from 1832 to 1835 in a strip of territory at the head of the Connecticut River, between New Hampshire and Lower Canada. Its status depended on the 1783 Treaty of Paris, which ran the boundary west to "the northwesternmost head of the Connecticut River". New Hampshire's surveyors read the phrase to include Hall's Stream, which placed the settlement in New Hampshire, whereas the Canadian reading took only the Connecticut itself and placed it in Lower Canada, which had included the area in the Township of Drayton in 1792 and 1793.[44]

On 9 July 1832 the settlers adopted a constitution that provided for an Assembly, a five-member Council, statutes and courts.[44] They drove off New Hampshire sheriffs sent to collect debts and assert jurisdiction in 1834 and 1835. On 13 November 1835 New Hampshire ordered a militia company to occupy the territory, and it arrested local leaders.[44] The Webster-Ashburton Treaty, signed at Washington on 9 August 1842, fixed the boundary between the United States and British North America.[45] It left Indian Stream in New Hampshire, and the area is now the town of Pittsburg.[44]

Kentucky, Confederate Provisional Government of

Confederate troops under General Simon B. Buckner seized Bowling Green on 18 September 1861, and General Albert Sidney Johnston established his headquarters there.[46] After Kentucky's Unionist legislature condemned secession, George W. Johnson of Scott County and other secessionists left the state. At the Russellville Convention of 18 to 20 November 1861, held in territory occupied by Johnston's army, delegates established a provisional government, elected Johnson governor and chose Bowling Green as capital.[46,47] The Confederate States admitted Kentucky as a member on 10 December 1861.[46] Following the Confederate defeats at Forts Henry and Donelson, the government retreated to Tennessee in February 1862. Johnson died of wounds received at Shiloh in April 1862, and Richard Hawes succeeded him.[47] Hawes was inaugurated as Confederate governor at the Old State Capitol in Frankfort on 4 October 1862, during General Braxton Bragg's invasion of Kentucky, but Union troops were approaching and the Confederates left the town; after the battle of Perryville, a few days later, the Confederate army withdrew from the state.[48,49] Hawes spent the rest of the war in exile within the Confederacy and did not return to Kentucky until 1866.[49] The government never controlled the state.[46,47]

Lakotah, Republic of (Russell Means Declaration of 2007)

In December 2007 a delegation led by the activist Russell Means delivered to the United States Department of State a letter announcing the "unilateral withdrawal" of the Lakota Nation from treaties signed with the United States in the nineteenth century, among them those of 1851 and 1868.[50] The delegation cited the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties as the legal basis for the step, and Means said of it: "This is all completely legal."[50] The territory claimed as the Republic of Lakotah comprised parts of North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Wyoming and Montana, and the delegation asked Bolivia, Venezuela, Chile and South Africa to recognise it.[50] Foreign Policy reported that the Department of State never responded.[50]

Elected tribal leaders repudiated the claim. The presidents of the Rosebud Sioux Tribe and the Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe said that the group was not authorised to speak for their nations.[51] A spokesman for the Bureau of Indian Affairs said that the withdrawal "doesn't mean anything".[51]

Lower Canada, Republic of (Robert Nelson)

On 28 February 1838 Robert Nelson, a physician and veteran of the rising of 1837, crossed from Alburg, Vermont, into Lower Canada at the head of between 300 and 400 Patriotes and issued a declaration of independence for Lower Canada.[52] The text, adapted from the American Declaration of Independence, listed the alleged crimes of British rule, asserted the right to overthrow the government and added eighteen further declarations, among them the separation of church and state, the abolition of seigneurial tenure and the end of imprisonment for debt.[52] The invasion failed at once: the Patriotes were attacked on reaching Canadian soil and driven back into the United States, where Nelson and others were jailed for breach of American neutrality law and acquitted by a sympathetic jury.[52]

Nelson, designated president of the planned republic, then led the Frères chasseurs, a secret society of Patriote exiles formed to end British rule, in a second invasion in November 1838, which held an armed camp at Napierville for about a week.[53] The Patriotes were defeated at Odelltown on 9 November 1838, Nelson leaving the field before the fight ended, and the rising dispersed.[52,53] Many of the society's leaders in Lower Canada were arrested afterwards and several were executed, among them François-Marie-Thomas Chevalier de Lorimier, who had helped plan the invasion.[53] Nelson died in exile at Gifford, Staten Island, New York, on 1 March 1873.[52]

Manitobah, Republic of (Thomas Spence, 1867 to 1868)

In 1867 Thomas Spence proclaimed at Portage la Prairie, a settlement outside the judicial district of Assiniboia, a government first styled the Republican Monarchy of Caledonia and later Manitobah, with himself as President.[54] According to the Dictionary of Canadian Biography, the settlers reorganised their informal council as the government of New Caledonia in January 1868, and the territory proposed ran from Lake Manitoba south to the American border and from the District of Assiniboia west to the 100th meridian.[55]

To pay for a court house and jail the government planned taxes and an import tariff, and the Hudson's Bay Company factor at Portage la Prairie refused to pay unless the Council of Rupert's Land instructed him to do so.[54] A shoemaker named MacPherson alleged that the revenue was being spent on liquor and was charged with treason; the Dictionary records that he was tried before Spence and that the proceedings ended in a brawl and gunfire.[55] Spence wrote to London in February 1868 as "President-elect", and the Duke of Buckingham replied that the government was "a so-called self-supporting Government" whose members were "acting illegally".[54] A Colonial Office reply of 30 May told the settlers, in the Dictionary's words, that they had "no authority to create or organize a Government or even to set up Municipal Institutions" without reference to the Hudson's Bay Company or the Crown.[55] Roland Michener records that the settlers began to ignore the government, which "broke the back of the Republic completely as a popular institution", and Spence withdrew to the shore of Lake Manitoba to extract salt.[54,55]

Missouri, Confederate Government of

The Missouri State Convention voted 98 to 1 against secession on 19 March 1861, but Governor Claiborne Fox Jackson pursued a Confederate course. After the Camp Jackson affair of 10 May and the departure of Jackson from Jefferson City on 13 June before the arrival of Union forces under Nathaniel Lyon, the convention declared the state offices vacant on 31 July and appointed Hamilton Gamble provisional governor.[56] On 5 August 1861 Jackson declared Missouri a free republic, dissolving its ties with the Union, and on 28 October 1861 the ousted legislators meeting at Neosho adopted an act of secession; the Confederacy recognised Missouri as its twelfth state, although Missouri never left the Union.[56] The Neosho legislature could not reach a quorum and later set up offices in Marshall, Texas.[56] The rival government thus had a governor, a rump legislature and Confederate recognition, but no control of the territory it claimed.[56]

Muskogee, State of

The State of Muskogee was the project of William Augustus Bowles, an adventurer born, according to most sources, on 2 November 1763 in Frederick County, Maryland.[57] Bowles returned to the Creek country in 1799 and styled himself Director General of Muscogee.[58] The Florida Department of State records that a congress of Creeks and Seminoles elected him director general in that year and that the capital of the state was the village of Mikasuke, near present-day Tallahassee.[59] In 1800, with Lower Creek and Seminole support, he took the Spanish fort of San Marcos de Apalache, which surrendered on 19 May 1800 after a siege of five weeks; he could not hold it, and a Spanish force under Juan Vicente Folch y Juan retook it on 23 June 1800, whereupon Bowles and his followers withdrew to Miccosukee.[57,58] In May 1803 his Seminole followers surrendered him to the Spanish at Hickory Ground, in present-day Elmore County, Alabama, in the presence of the United States agent Benjamin Hawkins.[57] He died a prisoner in the Castillo del Morro at Havana, on 23 December 1805 according to the Encyclopedia of Alabama.[57,60] Gilbert Din concludes that Bowles "attempted and failed to build the indigenous nation of Muskogee under his direction".[61]

Navy Island, Provisional Government of (1837 to 1838)

After the failure of his rising at Montgomery's Tavern outside Toronto in December 1837, William Lyon Mackenzie occupied Navy Island, a small island on the Canadian side of the Niagara River, with about 200 American and Canadian followers.[62] He established a provisional government there and issued a proclamation calling for reform on a republican model; a proclamation by Mackenzie survives in the Brock University archives dated at Navy Island.[62,63] Contemporary newspaper reports described an American, Rensselaer Van Rensselaer, as chief of the Patriot forces on the island.[64]

On the night of 29 December 1837 a British party under Commander Andrew Drew, acting on the orders of Colonel Allan MacNab, seized the steamer Caroline at Fort Schlosser on the American shore, set it on fire and sent it over Niagara Falls. An American, Amos Durfee, was shot dead on the dock.[65] The destruction of the vessel produced a diplomatic dispute between Britain and the United States, which was closed in August 1842 when Lord Ashburton expressed regret for the violation of American territory and Daniel Webster accepted the assurance.[65] Mackenzie's force left the island in January 1838.[64]

New Afrika, Republic of

The Republic of New Afrika originated in the Malcolm X Society, founded in Detroit in 1967 by two brothers who took the names Gaidi and Imari Obadele, and took shape in 1968, when supporters meeting at a Black Government Conference in Detroit adopted a declaration of independence.[66,67] The movement claimed five states of the Deep South (Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina) as the territory of a separate Black nation, and demanded reparations of $400 billion.[66,67] Robert F. Williams was the first president of the provisional government.[67] On 18 August 1971 Jackson police and agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation raided the movement's headquarters in Jackson, Mississippi, and a police officer was killed.[66] According to Dan Berger, writing in 2018, the provisional government still exists and holds annual celebrations of New Afrikan Nation Day.[67]

Oglala Nation, Independent (Wounded Knee, 1973)

The occupation of Wounded Knee, a hamlet on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, began on 27 February 1973, when followers of the American Indian Movement seized the town.[68] According to Matthias Voigt, the occupiers sought to draw attention to the conflict over governance at Pine Ridge and to call for a return to the treaty-making era; about halfway through the siege they declared the Independent Oglala Nation, separate from the United States government, and organised what they called a modern-day warrior society.[69] A radio report broadcast by Pacifica station KPFA on 29 March 1973 and held in the archive of the National Museum of the American Indian covers the Oglala Nation's declaration of independence.[70] The United States Marshals Service describes the confrontation as the longest civil disorder in its history: two Indians were killed, and a United States marshal and an agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation suffered serious wounds.[68] The two occupiers who died were Frank Clearwater and Lawrence (Buddy) Lamont.[71,72] The occupation ended on 8 May 1973, after 71 days and "ten weeks of para-military action and negotiations", when the occupiers surrendered their arms.[68]

Oregon, Provisional Government of

In May 1843 American settlers in the Oregon Country, which the United States and Britain occupied in common, established the Oregon Provisional Government at Champoeg in the Willamette Valley after a series of settler meetings.[73] The Oregon Treaty of 1846 later fixed the boundary between the United States and British territory at the forty-ninth parallel. The Provisional Government lasted until 3 March 1849, when Joseph Lane was appointed governor of Oregon Territory.[73]

Prospect Bluff, Maroon Community of (Apalachicola River, 1815 to 1816)

The community known to Americans as the Negro Fort occupied Prospect Bluff on the Apalachicola River in Spanish Florida from 1815 to 1816. British forces under Edward Nicolls built a fort there in the autumn of 1814 during the War of 1812.[74] When the British withdrew in May 1815 they left the fort, with its artillery and military supplies, to about 500 of the Black recruits whom Nicolls had trained, and to a few Indians; the residents farmed plantations around it.[75,76] According to the historian Nathaniel Millett, most of the occupants were people who had escaped slavery across the Southeast, together with Red Stick and Seminole allies, and three former Pensacola slaves, Garçon, Prince and Cyrus, whom Nicolls had commissioned as officers, governed alongside other officials and commanded a militia in British uniforms. Millett puts the population at 400 to 500 over about fifteen months.[76]

In April 1816 General Andrew Jackson authorised General Edmund P. Gaines to destroy the fort, and the task passed to Duncan Clinch.[77] On 27 July 1816 a force under Clinch, with Creek allies, attacked it, and a heated shot fired from United States Gunboat No. 154 struck the magazine and blew up the fort.[74,75,77] The nomination form puts the dead at about 300, whereas Millett argues that most of the maroons had left before the assault.[74,76] Clinch reported that survivors claimed as Spanish property were handed to an agent of Forbes and Company, that those claimed as American property were confined at Camp Crawford, and that chiefs allied with his force executed the commandant, whom he called Garson, and a Choctaw chief.[75]

Pueblo Revolt (New Mexico, 1680 to 1692)

In August 1680 the Pueblo peoples of New Mexico rose against Spanish rule and drove the colonists out of the province. Spanish rule had brought forced labour, taxation and Franciscan efforts to suppress traditional religion, and the Pueblo population had fallen from about 100,000 at the start of colonisation to about 30,000 by 1680, against a Spanish population of about 4,000.[78] Popé, from Ohkay Owingeh (San Juan Pueblo), coordinated the rising, and on 10 August 1680 warriors from nineteen villages attacked Spanish missions and settlements, ahead of the planned date after two messengers were killed.[78] In all, 21 priests and 401 settlers were killed, and the survivors fled south to El Paso del Norte.[78]

Eric Powell gives the length of the period of Pueblo independence as a decade, twelve years and fourteen years in different passages.[78] Diego de Vargas made a peaceful entry in 1692, an episode known as the Bloodless Reconquest, and on 14 September 1692 held a ceremony at Santa Fe in which the Pueblo inhabitants submitted to Spanish authority.[78,79] He returned in 1694 with an army; his forces took the mesa-top villages in a violent reconquest, and the warriors who held out on Black Mesa came down in September 1694 on their own terms, according to the archaeologist Joseph Aguilar.[78] A further rising followed in June 1696, in which all but five of the pueblos took up arms against the colonists.[79] The threat of a further revolt meant that the encomienda and repartimiento systems were never reinstated and that the Spanish had to tolerate Pueblo religious practice.[78]

Quebec Independence Movement and the Secession Reference

The modern Quebec independence movement took organised electoral form with the Parti Québécois, founded by René Lévesque in 1968. The party won the provincial election of 1976 and held a referendum on 20 May 1980 on a mandate to negotiate a new agreement with the rest of Canada based on the equality of nations; the No side won with 59.56 per cent of the vote on a turnout of 85.61 per cent.[80] A second referendum, on 30 October 1995, produced a No vote of 50.58 per cent.

The federal government then referred questions on unilateral secession to the Supreme Court of Canada, which delivered its opinion on 20 August 1998.[81] The Court held in a unanimous opinion that Quebec could not secede by unilateral act under the Canadian constitution or under international law, relying on the unwritten principles of federalism, democracy, constitutionalism and the rule of law, and respect for minorities, and that Quebec, as a people with meaningful access to government, did not fall within the colonial or alien-domination categories in which external self-determination arises.[81,82] The Court held also that a clear majority on a clear question in favour of secession would create a reciprocal obligation on the other parties to Confederation to negotiate, and it left the assessment of clarity to political actors.[81]

Parliament responded with the Clarity Act, which received assent on 29 June 2000. It requires the House of Commons to determine within thirty days of the release of a referendum question whether it would yield a clear expression of the will of the population on whether the province should cease to be part of Canada, and after a vote to assess whether a clear majority has been expressed, taking account of the margin, turnout and other circumstances; it also provides that secession would require a constitutional amendment negotiated among all governments.[83] Quebec's National Assembly enacted Bill 99 on 13 December 2000, declaring that the Quebec people may decide in full freedom the political regime and legal status of Quebec, that a referendum is won by 50 per cent of valid votes plus one, and that the territory of Quebec cannot be altered without the National Assembly's consent.[84]

In the Quebec general election of 5 October 2026 the Parti Québécois, led by Paul St-Pierre Plamondon, won the largest number of seats and is to form the government, according to Al Jazeera, which adds that it was not yet clear whether the party had a majority in the 127-seat National Assembly.[85] The report states that Plamondon has promised a third referendum during his first term and has said that he will wait until President Donald Trump leaves office in January 2029.[85] The position stated here is as at 8 October 2026.

Red River Resistance (Manitoba)

The Red River Resistance of 1869 and 1870 was the response of the Métis, and of part of the settler population, to the transfer of Rupert's Land by the Hudson's Bay Company to Canada, which was set for 1 December 1869. On 11 October 1869 Métis horsemen led by Louis Riel stopped a Dominion land survey, and in mid-October a Métis National Committee formed under John Bruce. On 25 October Riel told the Council of Assiniboia that the committee would block any governor unless union with Canada were negotiated with the Métis and the wider population, and on 2 November a Métis patrol turned the incoming Lieutenant-Governor back at Pembina.[86]

A Provisional Government formed on 8 December 1869 with Bruce as president and Riel as secretary, and Riel replaced Bruce as president on 27 December.[86,87] Its Declaration of that date stated that the transfer had left the people "free and exempt from all allegiance" to the Hudson's Bay Company government, refused to recognise Canadian authority, described the Provisional Government as "the only and lawful authority now in existence in Rupert's Land and the North-West", and declared it ready to negotiate with Canada on terms favourable to the territory's good government and prosperity.[87] A Convention of Forty, with twenty English-speaking and twenty French-speaking delegates, met from 25 January to 10 February 1870, agreed on a list of demands to take to Ottawa and named the Provisional Government with Riel as president.[88] The List of Rights was approved on 10 February as the basis for negotiating provincial status.[86] Father Ritchot, John Black and Alfred Scott were chosen to negotiate in Ottawa.[89] Thomas Scott was executed on 4 March 1870, and Riel refused to intervene.[86]

The Manitoba Act received royal assent on 12 May 1870, the Provisional Government accepted its terms on 24 June, and the Act took effect on 15 July 1870.[86] It gave Manitoba provincial status, recognised bilingualism, and set aside 1,400,000 acres for the Métis; a general amnesty was promised in private but could not be announced in public because of Ontario opposition.[89] When the Wolseley expedition reached Upper Fort Garry on 24 August 1870, Riel left the fort for the United States.[86]

Sources differ in emphasis on what the movement sought. The language of the Declaration, which refused Canadian authority and claimed to be the only lawful authority, asserted self-government. The accounts consulted nonetheless describe the aim as terms of entry into the Dominion. The Gabriel Dumont Institute states that the Provisional Government sought to "negotiate terms of entry with the Canadian government", and Gerhard Ens describes a government elected in January 1870 to negotiate entry into the Dominion.[88,90] Thomas Berger presents it as a Métis governing body that negotiated terms on which the inhabitants would accept the transfer.[91] The Dictionary of Canadian Biography adds that Riel "never seriously considered annexation" to the United States, which some Americans promoted.[92] None of these sources attributes to the Provisional Government an aim of separate statehood.

Saskatchewan, Provisional Government of

Louis Riel returned to the Saskatchewan District in the summer of 1884 at the invitation of Métis residents and settled at Batoche.[86,93] Préfontaine describes his purpose as the building of a coalition of English and French Métis, Euro-Canadian settlers and First Nations around shared grievances: the non-recognition of Métis land tenure, unfulfilled treaty obligations, starvation on reserves, and the lack of political representation, agricultural markets and transport for settlers in the West. The coalition dissolved when the federal government played the groups against one another and others hesitated to take up arms.[93] Charlene Porsild lists the grievances of settlers and Métis as land tenure, hunting reserves, government surveys, tariffs and lack of representation.[94]

In March 1885 Riel proclaimed a provisional Métis government at Batoche, which, in Porsild's words, challenged "the legitimacy of the Canadian government in the Northwest".[94] The Encyclopedia of Saskatchewan gives the date of the proclamation as 19 March and records that Riel appointed an "exovedate", a council of fifteen men that included Gabriel Dumont.[95] The first engagement of the North-West Resistance, at Duck Lake on 26 March, set Dumont and about 300 Métis against about 100 North-West Mounted Police and special constables led by Superintendent Leif Crozier; twelve of Crozier's force were killed and eleven wounded, against five Métis dead.[95] A skirmish at Tourond's Coulee followed on 24 April.[93] From 9 to 12 May at Batoche the entrenched Métis were defeated; Canadian forces took the settlement on 12 May, and Riel surrendered on 15 May, according to Porsild, to Middleton.[86,94]

Riel was convicted of treason on 31 July 1885 and hanged at Regina on 16 November 1885, at the age of 41.[86,94] Préfontaine calls the trial unfair, citing an Anglophone Protestant jury and a judge with close ties to the governing Conservatives, and notes that the jury recommended mercy.[93] Porsild concludes that the Métis gained little from the rebellion.[94]

The sources consulted describe the government of 1885 as a challenge to Canadian authority in the North-West and a means of pressing the grievances listed above. None of them records a claim to independent statehood or a request for recognition by any other government, and it held ground at Batoche until the Canadian forces took the settlement on 12 May.

Second Vermont Republic

The Second Vermont Republic was founded in 2003 by Thomas H. Naylor after he self-published The Vermont Manifesto.[96] According to the Southern Poverty Law Center, the movement advocated Vermont's peaceful withdrawal from the United States on grounds of sustainability, ecological balance and an end to military entanglements, and envisaged a small state, perhaps allied with other Atlantic maritime entities, resembling Switzerland or Luxembourg.[96] Its first conference, held at Middlebury in November 2004, produced the Middlebury Declaration; it held a North American separatist convention in the Vermont State House in November 2006 and a second secession conference at Chattanooga, Tennessee, in October 2007 that produced the Chattanooga Declaration.[96] The independent newspaper Vermont Commons, founded in 2005, served as the movement's sister organisation.[96] A 2006 University of Vermont poll cited by the Southern Poverty Law Center found 8 per cent of Vermonters supportive of secession.[96] Naylor died in December 2012.[97] In January 2017 Seven Days reported that the group, under new leadership, had adopted the acronym 2VR as the second iteration of the Second Vermont Republic.[98]

Six Nations of the Grand River (Deskaheh Mission to the League of Nations, 1923 to 1925)

Deskaheh (Levi General), a Cayuga chief installed as a hereditary chief in 1917, deputy speaker of the council in 1918 and speaker in 1922, travelled with the American lawyer George Palmer Decker to London and then to Geneva, where he stayed for over a year seeking recognition of the Six Nations as an independent state under article 17 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.[99] He sought recognition of the Six Nations as "allies, not subjects" of the Crown, a status that would carry immunity from federal control and which he tied to the proclamation of Governor Frederick Haldimand in 1784.[99] Independence would have meant that "ties with Ottawa would be cut", that the Indian Act would no longer control local government and that the Six Nations would have their own laws, funds, employees and police.[99] Access to the League proved difficult, and "British objections to a review of what it regarded as a domestic Canadian matter were decisive".[99] After the inquiry report of Andrew Thorburn Thompson, which was ready in November 1923 and withheld for nine months, the Canadian government deposed the hereditary council without consultation, and a new elected council was chosen in October 1924.[99] Deskaheh died on 27 June 1925 on the Tuscarora Reservation in New York.[99] The author of the Dictionary of Canadian Biography entry, Donald B. Smith, describes the Geneva mission as the first attempt by North American First Nations to take claims of independent status to an international forum.[99]

Texas Nationalist Movement

The Texas Nationalist Movement was established in 2005 by Daniel Miller, a technology consultant based in Nederland, Texas, to advocate Texan independence, a goal styled Texit.[100] Miller presents Texas as a stateless nation possessing a distinct culture, history, economic outlook, territory and claim to self-rule, and compares its position with that of the Kurds.[100] The movement works through electoral and legislative channels rather than through any parallel administration: in 2021 the then state representative Kyle Biedermann introduced a bill to create a referendum on independence, and delegates secured a plank in the Republican Party of Texas platform calling for a voter referendum on the subject.[100] In January 2024 the Supreme Court of Texas declined to hear an emergency petition from the movement to compel the state party chairman, Matt Rinaldi, to accept its petition for a Texit question on the Republican primary ballot of 5 March 2024; the party had rejected the petition as filed after the deadline and as containing some invalid electronic signatures, whereas the movement said that it had collected more than 139,000 signatures.[101] Miller denies that the Constitution bars secession and questions the clarity of the holding in Texas v. White, the decision cited against unilateral withdrawal, whereas historians and budget analysts consulted by the Texas Tribune warned of severe economic consequences, noting that about one third of the state budget depends on federal funds.[100] As reported in November 2023, more than 100 officeholders and candidates had pledged support for secession should voters approve it.[100] The position stated here is as at January 2024.

Trans-Oconee Republic (Elijah Clarke, 1794)

In May 1794 Elijah Clarke, a former Georgia militia officer who had resigned in February of that year and held a French commission as major general, led settlers across the Oconee River onto Muscogee (Creek) land, in what are now parts of Greene, Morgan, Putnam and Baldwin counties.[102] Clarke believed that settlers whom the Muscogee could not expel should be allowed to stay west of the river, a view that the Treaty of New York of 1790, which limited Georgia's westward expansion and returned some land to the Muscogee, had not accepted.[102] Clarke and his followers wrote a constitution, elected their own officials and erected as many as six fortified settlements.[102] Few Georgians joined him, although he promised land to recruits.[102]

President Washington's administration opposed the scheme because it threatened relations with the Muscogee and the Spanish, and Governor George Mathews issued a proclamation condemning Clarke in July, after Judge George Walton's charge to an Augusta grand jury had pressed him to act.[102] In late September 1794 about 1,200 militiamen under Generals Jared Irwin and John Twiggs marched to the Oconee; Irwin offered amnesty to those who returned east of the river, and Clarke and almost all his men accepted. Mathews reported that the business had ended "without the loss of blood".[102]

Vermont Republic

The Republic of Vermont existed as an independent polity from 1777 to 1791 on the territory known as the New Hampshire Grants, which New York and New Hampshire both claimed. On 15 January 1777 a convention meeting at Westminster declared a new state under the name New Connecticut. A convention at Windsor adopted the name Vermont on 4 June 1777 and accepted a constitution on 8 July 1777.[103] The constitution ended slavery for men over twenty-one years of age and women over eighteen, unless they were bound by their own consent or by law for the payment of debts, gave men the vote without a property qualification and created a Council of Censors to review and propose changes every seven years.[104] The republic had its own coinage: on 15 June 1785 its legislature granted Reuben Harmon Jr. the exclusive right of coining copper within the state for two years.[105] The first four post offices in Vermont that later joined the federal service are thought to have been established by the independent state around March 1784.[106] Vermont militiamen fought alongside those of New Hampshire and Massachusetts at Bennington in 1777.[107] The dispute with New York ended in 1790, when commissioners agreed a treaty on 7 October 1790 and Vermont undertook to pay land claimants under New York patents a total of $30,000.[103,108] Congress admitted Vermont as the fourteenth state by an act signed on 18 February 1791 and effective on 4 March 1791.[109] The editors of the Papers of George Washington observe that, having been an independent republic since 1777, Vermont stood under no state or territorial government, so that a second act, signed on 2 March 1791, extended federal law to it.[109]

Watauga Association

The Watauga Association was a self-governing settlement of white colonists on the Watauga River in what is now north-eastern Tennessee, organised in 1772 on land that lay outside the authority of the British colonial governments and within territory the Cherokee recognised as theirs.[110] Its constitution incorporated the Virginia code of laws and placed government in a court of five elected magistrates.[110] The settlers obtained from the Cherokee a ten-year lease of the country on the waters of the Watauga, which their leaders later converted into a purchase.[110,111] Michael Toomey describes the settlements as the first autonomous government of white settlers in the British colonies, although the association did not claim independence from Great Britain.[111] In 1777 North Carolina created Washington County, and the association was no longer needed.[111]

Section I.2

Latin America

Entries in this section chronicle the regional republics that appeared as Spanish and Portuguese America fragmented, together with the self-governing communities of escaped enslaved people, known as maroon, quilombo or palenque settlements, that held territory against the surrounding colonial or national authority. The section also records Indigenous confederations, mission polities and the regional revolts of the Mexican and Southern Cone republics, many of which lasted for months and some for decades.

Acre, Republics of

Between 1899 and 1903 the Acre region, which Bolivia held and which Brazilians had settled in large numbers, was the scene of separatist republics.[112] Luis Gálvez Rodríguez de Arias proclaimed the first, the Estado Independente do Acre, at Puerto Alonso on 14 July 1899.[113] Rubber planters expelled him on 28 December 1899, he regained command on 30 January 1900, and the Brazilian government removed him a month and a half later.[112,113] A second rising began under a revolutionary junta formed on 1 July 1902 and led by José Plácido de Castro; its forces took Xapuri on 6 August 1902, and independence was proclaimed there the next day.[113] The Bolivian delegate surrendered Puerto Alonso on 24 January 1903, and a third republic was proclaimed on 27 January 1903.[113] Brazil then settled the question with Bolivia by the Treaty of Petrópolis of 17 November 1903, an exchange of territories under which Brazil paid Bolivia £2,000,000, because the areas exchanged were unequal, and undertook to build the Madeira-Mamoré railway.[113,114] Acre became a Brazilian state in 1962.[115]

Airrecú, Republic of

Airrecú was a republic proclaimed by separatists over about 170 square miles of swampland on the border between Nicaragua and Costa Rica. According to a report by Tim Rogers in The Christian Science Monitor, the name means friendship in the language of the region's Malekú people, and the area held about 5,000 residents, among them poor farmers, crocodile poachers and former Sandinista and Contra combatants.[116] The separatists argued that the 1858 border treaty placed the land in Costa Rica. Omar Jaén, a co-founder of the movement, said that surveyors in 1905, unable to set border stones in the flooded ground, placed provisional markers several miles to the south on dry ground, and that both governments then treated them as the frontier. Costa Rica's attorney general for international affairs, Francisco Villalobos, told the newspaper that the border was wrong and called the matter a historical error.[116] A first declaration of independence in 1995 attracted no recognition and a threat of military action from Nicaragua.[116,117] In 2003 Augusto Rodríguez styled himself president, with Jaén as honorary vice president, and the movement proposed ecotourism as the basis of an independent economy.[116] LatinNews reported in August 2003 that neither Costa Rica nor Nicaragua intended to recognise the republic.[118]

Antioquia, State of

On 11 August 1813 the province of Antioquia, in what is now Colombia, declared absolute independence under the presidency-dictatorship of Juan del Corral.[119] The act rejected the authority of Ferdinand VII and held that no authority would be accepted unless it came from the people or their representatives.[120] Del Corral organised the provincial army, issued a regulation for infantry and cavalry militias, expelled royalists and seized their property, and sent troops south to assist the patriots of Popayán, since Antioquia feared the royalist forces operating there under Juan Sámano.[120]

Del Corral died in 1814. Rivalry between Rionegro and the old capital over the seat of government then divided the province, and the republican authorities left Medellín when the Spanish commander Warleta was about to enter it.[121]

Bahia, Independent State of (Sabinada)

The Sabinada was a liberal separatist rising at Salvador, the capital of the Brazilian province of Bahia, that began on 7 November 1837 and set up an independent Bahian state, which Lopes calls the Estado Independente.[122] The movement took its name from its principal organiser, Francisco Sabino Álvares da Rocha Vieira, and João Carneiro da Silva Rego was acclaimed its governor.[122] The leaders declared that the state would return to the Empire on the coronation of Pedro II.[122]

The rebels left slavery in place. From 3 January 1838 they raised a battalion, the Libertos da Pátria, and a decree of 19 February offered conditional freedom to enslaved Brazilian-born men who took up arms, while the proposal excluded Africans.[122] Imperial forces retook Salvador in the final fighting of 13 to 16 March 1838.[122]

Buenos Aires, State of

After the defeat of Juan Manuel de Rosas at Caseros on 3 February 1852, the province of Buenos Aires rejected the Acuerdo de San Nicolas and constituted itself as an autonomous state, outside the Argentine Confederation organised by Justo José de Urquiza.[123] The Confederation sanctioned its constitution on 1 May 1853; Buenos Aires adopted its own in 1854 and remained apart for almost a decade.[123,124]

The two powers came to arms at Cepeda on 23 October 1859, where the forces of Buenos Aires under Bartolomé Mitre were defeated.[124] The defeat obliged Buenos Aires to sign the Pact of San José de Flores in November 1859, by which it agreed to join the Confederation.[123,124] The settlement did not last. At Pavón on 17 September 1861 Urquiza again commanded the Confederate troops against Mitre, and his withdrawal left Mitre in political control.[123] Buenos Aires prevailed, President Santiago Derqui resigned and the Confederation was dissolved; unification then proceeded under the leadership of Buenos Aires, and Mitre became the first constitutional president of the unified country on 12 October 1862.[123,124]

Buraco do Tatú

The quilombo of Buraco do Tatú was a fortified maroon community near Itapuã, on the outskirts of Salvador, Bahia, founded in the 1740s.[125] According to the Impressões Rebeldes project of the Universidade Federal Fluminense, it grew to about one hundred escaped enslaved people, Brazilian-born and African-born, living in thirty-two rectangular dwellings along a defended central street. Two male leaders, Antônio de Sousa as captain of war and Teodoro as administrator, governed with two women recorded as queens (rainhas), and the settlement was protected by concealed traps, ditches and a swampy approach canal.[126]

The interim government of Bahia ordered an attack, which was led by Joaquim da Costa Cardoso, capitão-mor da conquista do gentio, with a force of about two hundred. It took place on 2 September 1763, the settlement was destroyed, and sixty-one people were captured.[125] The captives were jailed and tried; according to Pedreira, those whose only offence was flight were returned to their owners on payment of a share of the cost of the expedition.[125] A manuscript plan of the assault, drawn by an unnamed military cartographer, is held at the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino in Lisbon.[127]

Cancuc

In August 1712 the Tzeltal town of San Juan Cancuc, in the highlands of Chiapas, became the centre of a rebellion that grew out of a cult. In May of that year María López, a Tzeltal girl of thirteen, later known as María de la Candelaria, had reported an apparition of the Virgin; a priest called it an invention of the Devil, and she was whipped in public.[128] The townspeople raised a shrine nonetheless, which drew pilgrims from the highland pueblos, and when the colonial authorities moved against the cult it became a rebellion whose leaders raised an army of about five thousand "soldiers of the Virgin".[129] The rebel order drew on Tzeltal, Tzotzil and Ch'ol speakers, although many neighbouring Indigenous communities refused to join it.[128] Indigenous fiscales and maestros de coro held offices that allowed them to lead services, and the fiscales and maestros sang the litanies at the shrine; a Spanish lieutenant reported that the rebels held baptisms and marriages under the direction of Indigenous maestros.[128] The colonial army defeated the rebels at Cancuc in November 1712, burned the shrine and sang a Te Deum in the church. According to Green and Alonso-Bolaños, the reprisals that followed killed hundreds of Indigenous people.[128]

Cartagena de Indias, Republic of

On 11 November 1811 the Junta Suprema of Cartagena de Indias, pressed by the city's people and their delegates, adopted an act declaring the province a free state with absolute independence from Spain ("Estado libre, soberano, con independencia absoluta de España"); twenty signatories are recorded.[130] The Junta's mandate was extended to 21 January 1812, when a convention was to establish the bases of the new government, and a mutiny of the Getsemaní lancers on 23 February 1812 tested the new order.[130]

Cartagena was represented in the United Provinces of New Granada, whose Act of Federation of 27 November 1811 bears the signature of Henrique Rodríguez as deputy for Cartagena.[131]

A royalist expeditionary army under Pablo Morillo landed at Arroyo Grande on 19 August 1815 and besieged the city; the defenders evacuated on 5 December 1815, and the royalist army entered the walled city on 6 December.[132,133] According to a review of Rodolfo Segovia's study of the siege, the city and province lost more than a third of their population, and the besieged ate animals and hides.[132] A press account puts the dead at six thousand or more.[134] Two of the republic's leaders, Manuel del Castillo y Rada, who directed the defence, and José María García de Toledo, who left by sea and was captured, were executed at Cartagena on 24 February 1816.[135]

Chuquisaca, Revolutionary Junta of

On 25 May 1809 a coalition of audiencia ministers, town councillors, members of the university senate and townspeople seized power in Chuquisaca (La Plata, present-day Sucre), in Upper Peru. Serulnikov records that popular sectors joined after bloody clashes with the military garrison, that the coalition deposed the intendant of Charcas and that the archbishop was forced to flee.[136] Costa Arduz gives a narrower account of the same days: the oidores urged the president of the audiencia, Ramón García Pizarro, to resign, he refused twice and agreed on the third attempt, and a public proclamation of his resignation at midnight calmed the crowd.[137]

Historians dispute the character of the event. Serulnikov presents it as a sharp break with established governing traditions, with strong revolutionary overtones.[136] Costa Arduz argues that no change of authority occurred, that the Junta General held at the university, signed by about ninety lawyers, was loyal, and that its Acta contains no mention of liberty or independence.[137]

Baptista Gumucio reports from Gabriel René Moreno a syllogism that circulated in private for fear of denunciation: obedience in the colonies was owed to the person of the king and not to Spain; Ferdinand VII had abdicated and was in France; the throne was therefore vacant, the existing government illegal and a government of the colonists' own legitimate.[138] The same author records that the oidores accused Pizarro, the archbishop and José Manuel de Goyeneche of wishing to sell the country to Princess Carlota, sister of Ferdinand VII, who was in Brazil.[138] Francisco de Paula Sanz, intendant of Potosí, went to La Plata to control the uprising, and the 1809 movement at Chuquisaca was put down by troops sent from Buenos Aires under Vicente Nieto.[139]

Confederation of the Equator

The Confederation of the Equator was proclaimed on 2 July 1824 in Recife, in the Brazilian province of Pernambuco, by Manuel de Carvalho Paes de Andrade, who issued a manifesto the same day.[140] Its leaders reacted against the imperial constitution of 1824 granted by Pedro I, and the movement sought a federal and republican alternative to the Empire's centralised order.[141] Support was uneven: Pernambuco and Ceará were its strongest bastions, Ceará joining on 26 August 1824, while Paraíba, Rio Grande do Norte and Piauí saw events of lesser weight.[140] Among its thinkers was Frei Joaquim do Amor Divino Caneca, who led the movement according to Simões and Continentino.[141] Its provisional government suspended the slave trade until a new assembly could regulate it.[141]

An imperial naval division under Admiral Cochrane reached Recife on 18 August 1824, and mediation failed. Imperial troops under Brigadeiro Lima e Silva reached Recife on 12 September 1824 and defeated the last resisters in the capital on 17 September.[140] Frei Caneca and his companions refused the surrender, withdrew towards Ceará, and surrendered on 29 November 1824.[140] Thirty people were sentenced to death in Pernambuco, Ceará and Paraíba, of whom sixteen were executed, four were pardoned and ten fled; Frei Caneca was shot on 13 January 1825.[140,141]

Cundinamarca

The Free and Independent State of Cundinamarca arose from the Bogotá cabildo's rejection of Spanish authority in 1810, and its constitution was proclaimed on 4 April 1811.[142] Its president Jorge Tadeo Lozano resigned a few months later and Antonio Nariño succeeded him. Nariño led the centralist cause, arguing that Santafé, as the viceregal capital, should be the seat of authority.[142] The provinces that favoured a loose federation proclaimed the United Provinces of New Granada on 27 November 1811, and the rivalry developed into the civil war of the period known as the Patria Boba, which the source dates from 1810 to 1816.[142] In December 1814 forces under Simón Bolívar approached Santafé, and Cundinamarca's acting president, Manuel Bernardo Álvarez, signed a capitulation under which Cundinamarca recognised the government of the Union, surrendered its arms and received a general amnesty.[142]

Entre Ríos, Republic of (Ramírez, 1820 to 1821)

The Republic of Entre Ríos was proclaimed in 1820 by Francisco Ramírez, a federalist caudillo of the province, and comprised Entre Ríos, Corrientes and part of Misiones.[143] Ramírez and Estanislao López of Santa Fe defeated the forces of Buenos Aires at Cepeda in February 1820, and on 23 February 1820 they signed the Treaty of Pilar, which dissolved the Directorate and set Artigas aside.[144] On 29 September 1820 Ramírez created the Republic with himself as Supreme Chief (Jefe Supremo); the historian Felipe Pigna observes that, despite the federal name, the regime was centralised.[144] Ramírez had defeated his former ally José Gervasio Artigas at Rincón de Ábalos on 29 July 1820, and Artigas went into exile in Paraguay.[144] López defeated Ramírez at Coronda on 26 May 1821, and a further defeat followed on 16 June 1821.[144] The government of Entre Ríos gives 10 July 1821 as the date of his death, near Villa de María del Río Seco in Córdoba.[143] By the Treaty of the Quadrilateral of 1822 Entre Ríos agreed to pay indemnities in cattle and money to Santa Fe and Corrientes for the losses that Ramírez had caused.[144]

Esmeraldas, Afro-Indigenous Polity of

In 1553 a ship sailing from Panama to Lima was wrecked on the coast of Esmeraldas, in present-day Ecuador. The white passengers set out on foot for Manta, while seventeen enslaved men and six enslaved women escaped into the forest.[145] Their leader, named in the sources as Antonio or Alonso de Illescas, was a man from Seville who formed alliances with the indigenous peoples of the coast through marriage and became their de facto lord.[145] Until 1570 seven Spanish military expeditions failed to subdue the coast, and the colonial authorities then opened negotiations.[145] Illescas was recognised as governor of Esmeraldas, which in practice meant the acceptance of an autonomous territory of free zambos exempt from tribute, whose people undertook to help build a road, found settlements for religious instruction, aid shipwreck survivors and warn of pirate ships.[145] A second Afro-descendant chiefdom was led by Francisco de Arobe.[145] In 1599 Andrés Sánchez Galque painted Arobe with his sons Pedro and Domingo, aged twenty-two and eighteen.[145] According to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Arobe pledged loyalty to the Spanish king in exchange for the governorship of a large region with African-descended and allied indigenous populations.[146]

Free Peoples, League of the (Liga de los Pueblos Libres)

The Federal League, known as the League of Free Peoples (Liga de los Pueblos Libres), was an association of Río de la Plata towns and provinces that stood against the Buenos Aires government under José Gervasio Artigas, Chief of the Orientals and Protector of the Free Peoples.[147] Ana Frega describes it as an alliance of autonomous towns and provinces, built in opposition to Buenos Aires on a confederal model of equal provinces, and traces it to Artigas's Congress of Tres Cruces of 1813 and his 1814 agreement with the towns of Entre Ríos.[147]

In March 1815 Santa Fe broke its dependence on Buenos Aires with the support of Artigas's troops, an event that, in the words of Rondina, president of the Instituto Artiguista de Santa Fe, "determinó nuestro ingreso a la Liga de Pueblos Libres".[148] A Congress of the Free Peoples met from 29 June 1815 at Concepción del Uruguay, in Entre Ríos, with delegates invited from Entre Ríos, Corrientes, Misiones and Santa Fe, from Córdoba and from the territory of present-day Uruguay.[148] Frega notes that Córdoba and Santa Fe later left the alliance for different reasons, and that Santa Fe rejoined it in 1816.[147]

The League did not survive 1820. Estanislao López of Santa Fe and Francisco Ramírez of Entre Ríos defeated Buenos Aires at Cepeda on 1 February 1820, and the Treaty of Pilar of 23 February ended the war between Buenos Aires and the Litoral provinces; Artigas opposed it.[149] Defeated by Ramírez later in the year, Artigas took refuge in Paraguay.[149]

Guayaquil, Free Province of

The Free Province of Guayaquil (Provincia Libre de Guayaquil) arose from the uprising of 9 October 1820, which ended Spanish administration in the city.[150] A governing junta presided over by José Joaquín de Olmedo ruled under the Provisional Rules of Government (Reglamento Provisorio de Gobierno).[150] The province covered most of the coast, including Tumbes, Machala, Naranjal, Puná, Guayaquil, Santa Elena and Manabí, but not Esmeraldas.[150] According to the historian Gabriel Fandiño, a member of the Academia Nacional de Historia del Ecuador, the Reglamento did not call itself a constitution and the territory was a province in form; its government worked as a republic in practice, with separation of powers, equality before the law and free trade.[150] Simón Bolívar rejected the province's transitional autonomy and derided it as a 'republiqueta'.[150] Guayaquil was annexed to Colombia on 31 July 1822.[150]

Juliana Republic (Republic of Santa Catarina)

The Juliana Republic was a short-lived republic proclaimed in 1839 at Laguna, in the Brazilian province of Santa Catarina, during the Farroupilha War. In July 1839 Farroupilha forces and Santa Catarina republicans took Laguna and proclaimed a republic in Santa Catarina.[151] The capture is attributed to forces under David Canabarro, to whom Giuseppe Garibaldi, who had organised the rebel navy in 1838, was attached.[151,152] A study of Santa Catarina's part in the war describes the new republic as a 'república irmã' of the Riograndense Republic, intended for a confederation with it.[153] Garibaldi met Anita Ribeiro at Laguna, and after the imperial forces retook the town he left with her for Rio Grande do Sul.[152] The imperial recapture in November 1839 ended the republic.[154] The Farroupilha War itself ended with the peace of Ponche Verde in 1845.[151]

La Paz, Junta Tuitiva of

The Junta Tuitiva was the revolutionary government of the city of La Paz in Upper Peru, which held power from 16 July 1809 until royalist forces from Peru overcame it in October of that year. The movement began on the feast of the Virgen del Carmen, when insurgents took the barracks and deposed the intendant and the bishop. The cabildo then convened an open session, which created the Junta Tuitiva y Representativa de los Derechos del Pueblo and issued a Plan de Gobierno.[155] Pedro Domingo Murillo was named president. It ordered tax records burned and invited indigenous nobles to join.[156]

Historians dispute whether it claimed independence. The anonymous proclamations of 1808 and 1809, among them the Proclama of the Junta Tuitiva, turned on pact, usurpation, tyranny and independence, and a long patriotic tradition treats 16 July as the first cry of independence in America.[157] José Luis Roca reads the whole process as revolutionary and independentist.[155] Against this, recent work stresses that the juntas of the period acted in the name of the king during the crisis of the Spanish monarchy. Javier Mendoza argued in 1997 that the leaders remained loyal to Fernando VII and that the subversive image of the Plan was built by the Spanish authorities at the trial.[155] Mariano Baptista Gumucio notes that the first juntas of La Plata and La Paz invoked the rights of Fernando VII, while arguing that the throne had become vacant.[156] Barragán observes that the radical proclamations circulated unsigned.[155]

In October 1809 an attempt to reach terms with the advancing royalists exposed divisions within the Junta, and one group chose armed defence. A force of about 5,000 men under Goyeneche, president of the Audiencia of Cuzco, crossed the Desaguadero on the order of the viceroy of Peru, and the defenders were beaten at Chacaltaya.[155,156] The leaders were arrested and tried. The sentence is dated 27 January 1810, and Murillo was hanged on 29 January.[155]

León, Independence Act of (Acta de los Nublados, 1821)

On 28 September 1821, after the Kingdom of Guatemala had declared its independence from Spain, the provincial authorities of León, in the province of Nicaragua, met in session and issued the Acta de los Nublados (Act of the Clouds).[158] The act, addressed to the inhabitants of the provinces of Nicaragua and Costa Rica, responded to events in Guatemala on 15 September and declared absolute independence from Guatemala and independence from the Spanish government until the uncertain situation was clarified.[158] It confirmed all authorities in office under the constitution and the laws and promised punishment for those who disturbed the peace or disobeyed them.[158] The signatories included the Intendant Miguel González Saravia and the Bishop of Nicaragua.[158] The separation from Guatemala did not last. On 5 January 1822 the Junta Provisional Consultiva of Guatemala declared Central America annexed to the Mexican Empire of Agustín de Iturbide, and after the Mexican Congress abolished the empire on 19 March 1823 the Constituent Assembly of Central America proclaimed, on 1 July 1823, the absolute independence of the United Provinces of Central America.[159]

Lower California, Republic of (Ferris and the Magonistas, 1911)

In December 1910 Ricardo Flores Magón of the Partido Liberal Mexicano sent followers to the Imperial Valley to prepare a revolution, and the invasion of Baja California began in January 1911.[160] On 28 January 1911 José María Leyva led about thirty men in the capture of Mexicali; the force later grew to about 150 men, about half of them Anglo-American volunteers.[160] On 9 May 1911 troops under Caryl ap Rhys Pryce occupied Tijuana after a battle of about sixteen hours that left thirty-two dead and twenty-four wounded, though other accounts give different figures.[160] Pryce left Tijuana on 1 June 1911 and was succeeded by Jack Mosby.[160] The Industrial Workers of the World and the Socialist Party supplied the largest groups among the non-Mexican volunteers, and estimates of the Mexican share of the army ranged from 5 to 50 per cent.[160] In June 1911 Richard Wells Ferris, a San Diego promoter of the Panama-California Exposition, proclaimed a New Republic of Lower California from his office in San Diego, but the Magonistas removed him and the Junta disavowed him.[160] On 14 June 1911 the Junta rejected a peace offer from Francisco Madero, and within weeks Madero's forces recaptured Tijuana, the last military stronghold of the Partido Liberal Mexicano, which ended the campaign.[160]

Marquetalia, Independent Republic of

Marquetalia was one of several enclaves in isolated, neglected rural areas of Colombia that emerged in the 1950s and were known as 'independent republics'. InSight Crime describes them as communist in outlook.[161] Marquetalia was home to around fifty families of communists, outcast Liberals and other outsiders, and a small band of guerrillas led by Pedro Antonio Marín, known as Manuel Marulanda or 'Tirofijo', protected it.[161] Luis Morantes, known as Jacobo Arenas, a trade unionist, Communist Party leader and Marxist theorist, led the political wing alongside Marulanda.[161] On 27 May 1964 up to one thousand Colombian soldiers, backed by fighter aircraft and helicopters, attacked fewer than fifty guerrillas.[161] The operation lasted close to two months, and Marulanda's fighters resisted and then slipped away.[161] Five months later the survivors held a First Conference, and the Southern Bloc led by Marulanda became the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) in 1966.[161] InSight Crime describes the result as the birth of the longest running communist insurgency in Latin America.[161]

Mérida, Declaration of Separation of (1810)

On 16 September 1810 an open town council (cabildo abierto) at Mérida, convened the previous day by Antonio Ignacio Rodríguez Picón, President of the Ayuntamiento and Teniente de Justicia Mayor, declared the separation of Mérida from the province of Maracaibo and, in the account of López Bohórquez, from Spain.[162] The meeting brought together councillors, clergy, representatives of the Real Colegio Seminario de San Buenaventura, merchants, farmers and officers, who were informed of events in Spain since 1808 and of the juntas of Santa Fe de Bogotá, Caracas and Barinas, which defended Ferdinand VII.[162] Mérida joined the movement begun at Caracas on 19 April 1810, while Maracaibo stayed loyal to Spain until 1823.[163] On 21 September 1810 the Junta Superior Gubernativa raised the seminary to university rank as the Real Universidad de San Buenaventura de Mérida de los Caballeros.[162]

Mompox, Independence of

On 6 August 1810 the town of Santa Cruz de Mompox, on the Magdalena River in New Granada, declared itself the first town of the kingdom to seek full independence from Spain, according to the Cartagena newspaper El Universal, and adopted the motto 'ser libres o morir'.[164] On 14 August 1810 the declaration was reaffirmed, establishing Mompox and the towns under its jurisdiction as an independent province.[164] The junta of Cartagena, which recognised the Regency Council at Cádiz, did not accept the step. It first sent a commission asking the Mompox leaders to reconsider and rejoin the province of Cartagena.[164] According to the historian Adelaida Sourdis Nájera, Cartagena then repressed the movement with severity; Cartagena itself declared absolute separation from Spain on 11 November 1811.[165]

Moskitia, Communitarian Nation of

The Communitarian Nation of the Moskitia (Nación Comunitaria de la Moskitia) was an independence claim proclaimed on 19 April 2009 by the Miskitu Council of Elders at Bilwi (Puerto Cabezas), the capital of the North Atlantic Autonomous Region on Nicaragua's Caribbean coast. The Council announced the rebirth of the Moskitia as a nation, and an assembly in Bilwi named Reverend Héctor Williams as its Wihta Tara, or "Great Judge".[166,167] According to the Latin American Weekly Report of 14 May 2009, the Council announced that the Atlantic coast, including both autonomous regions, was seceding, declared Nicaraguan government land titles, concessions and contracts invalid, ordered taxes to be paid to the new indigenous authorities, and named an ambassador to the United States. The report attributed the declaration to frustration with the autonomy process begun in 1987.[168] Representatives of the southern Miskitu announced their support, as reported in June 2009.[169] A scholar at URACCAN later analysed the concept of a "Communitarian Nation".[170]

The government of Nicaragua rejected the claim. According to the Latin American Weekly Report it argued that the declaration had little support among other indigenous groups, and according to Envío the President blamed "the oligarchic Right and foreign embassies" and anti-riot police were sent to Bilwi.[167,168] The separatists set 19 October 2009 as the date for the handover of regional government. On that day police used tear gas outside the regional government building, and an elder aged 85 died after inhaling it.[166] Williams said afterwards that the supporters had dispersed, that the movement had not abandoned its aim, and that it no longer regarded the seizure of government buildings as essential.[171]

No state recognised the claim. The leaders wrote to the United Nations, the United States and the British monarch, and received support from international indigenous organisations alone.[166] The sources located end in 2011, and none records the movement's position in 2025 or 2026.

Ndyuka (Okanisi) Maroon Polity

The Ndyuka (Okanisi), called Aucaners or Djuka in Dutch colonial usage, were one of several self-governing maroon communities formed by escaped enslaved people in the interior of Suriname.[172] In the early eighteenth century maroon groups raided plantations for weapons, equipment and food and to free kin.[173] On 10 October 1760 a government delegation led by Major E. Meyer concluded a peace with the Ndyuka at Steenkreek, near Djuka Creek. It was the first of three such treaties, followed by those with the Saamaka in 1762 and the Matawai in 1767.[172,173]

According to Pakosie, the colony recognised the maroons' autonomy and supplied guns, gunpowder, iron utensils and clothes; in return the maroons undertook to deliver later runaways, to refrain from aggression against the plantations and not to negotiate with Amerindians, Europeans or other maroons without colonial approval.[173] De Groot's account of the treaty adds that the maroons were to stay in settlements away from the plantations, to return runaways for a reward of 10 to 50 guilders each, and to refer death sentences to the government.[172]

New Granada, United Provinces of

The United Provinces of New Granada were constituted by the Act of Federation signed at Santafé de Bogotá on 27 November 1811, amid the collapse of Spanish royal authority.[131] The Act provided that the provinces recognised one another as equal and independent, guaranteed one another's territorial integrity, internal administration and republican form of government, and reserved to each its own government, courts, militia and treasury, delegating to the Union only the national powers and foreign relations that required a common representation (Articles 6 to 8).[131] Deputies for Antioquia, Cartagena, Neiva, Pamplona and Tunja signed.[131] Camilo Torres, an advocate of federalism, was chosen to draft the Act and presided over the congress of the Provinces from 1812 to 1814; he was opposed by Antonio Nariño, president of the State of Cundinamarca, who held a centralist position, and the congress remained in conflict with Nariño's centralists.[174]

A Spanish expeditionary force of more than ten thousand men under Pablo Morillo left Cádiz in February 1815 and reached Santa Marta in July.[175] It landed at Arroyo Grande on 19 August and besieged Cartagena, whose defenders evacuated on 5 December 1815; the royalist army entered the city on 6 December.[132,133] Morillo entered Santafé de Bogotá on 26 May 1816, and Torres was executed there on 5 October 1816 after a council of war.[174,133,176]

Oaxaca, Sovereign State of (1915 Movement)

On 3 June 1915 the State Congress of Oaxaca issued Decree No. 14, by which the state declared that it would 'resume its sovereignty' and be governed by the federal Constitution of 5 February 1857, the Reform Laws, its own constitution and its other laws 'until such time as peace and constitutional order should be reestablished'.[177] A statement of the Government of the Free and Sovereign State of Oaxaca, dated 28 August 1915, set out the declaration, and a United States consular agent forwarded it to the Secretary of State on 1 September 1915.[177] José Inés Dávila, the governor, initiated the movement; Isaac M. Ibarra and Fidencio Hernández were among the leaders of the movement of 13 July 1914 that had replaced the previous governor, Bolaños Cacho.[178] The government of the state held out against the Constitutionalists until their occupation of Oaxaca on 5 March 1916, and the movement's forces re-entered the capital in May 1920 and signed a unification agreement at San Agustín Yatareni.[178] Dávila was killed on 31 May 1919 at San Lucas Ixtayutla.[178]

Panama, Isthmus State of (1840 to 1841)

On 18 November 1840, during the War of the Supremes in New Granada (1839 to 1842), a popular assembly at Panama issued an act declaring the Isthmus a free and independent state; Colonel Tomás Herrera drafted it and headed the new government.[179,180] The act made reintegration into New Granada conditional on a federal system and declared the new authorities provisional; Veraguas, under Carlos Fábrega, opposed the proclamation.[180] Among the grievances were central customs and protectionist laws that harmed Panamanian merchants and the wish to keep customs revenue on the isthmus.[179] In March 1841 a Constituent Convention, at Herrera's urging, kept the goal of joining a federal New Granada and rejected centralism.[179,180] The constitution of the Isthmus State was signed on 7 June 1841 and promulgated by Herrera on 8 June.[181] Herrera wrote to General Herrán on 8 July 1841 setting out conditions for reincorporation.[179] After the central government won the civil war, General Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera was charged with restoring the provinces that had separated, and envoys from Bogotá negotiated the return of the Isthmus.[179,182] An agreement of reincorporation was signed on 31 December 1841, and Herrera issued the decree of reincorporation the same day.[179,182] The separation lasted about thirteen months, the longest before the final separation of 1903.[179] Olmedo Beluche argues that earlier acts of 1830 and 1831 expressed loyalty to Bolívar and autonomy within Colombia rather than independence.[180]

Pernambuco, Republic of (Revolution of 1817)

On 6 March 1817 an alliance of politicians, clergy, soldiers, planters and merchants at Recife, the capital of the captaincy of Pernambuco, declared a republic and installed a provisional government.[183] Five councillors governed the insurgent territory, among them Domingos José Martins for commerce, Domingos Theotónio Jorge for military affairs and José Luís de Mendonça for justice, with Frei Miguelinho as secretary of state, and the rising spread to Alagoas, Paraíba, Rio Grande do Norte and Ceará.[183] The government lasted 74 days.[184] Royal forces blockaded Recife and arrested the leaders, and the authorities in Bahia under the Conde dos Arcos helped to suppress the movement and made Salvador a centre of detention and execution, holding more than three hundred insurgents.[183]

Peru-Bolivian Confederation

The Peru-Bolivian Confederation was proclaimed in October 1836 by Andrés de Santa Cruz, President of Bolivia, who, after defeating his rivals in Peru, divided that country into two states and united them with Bolivia under his authority as Protector.[185] The Fundamental Law signed at Tacna on 1 May 1837 gave the union a federal framework: the republics of Bolivia and of North and South Peru confederated, were equal in rights and shared a common citizenship, and each kept its own government beneath a general government with legislative, executive and judicial branches. Executive power lay with a Protector, who held office for ten years and was Generalissimo of the land and sea forces.[186]

Chile saw the Confederation as a threat to its own security and resolved to fight it. A first Chilean campaign in 1837 ended in the Treaty of Paucarpata of 17 November 1837, which Chilean opinion rejected, and the government ordered the war to continue.[185] A second Chilean expedition under General Manuel Bulnes won the battle of Yungay on 20 January 1839; its political aim, in the words of a Chilean military historian's summary, was to dissolve the Confederation.[187]

Piratini Republic (Riograndense Republic)

The Riograndense Republic, also called the Piratini Republic, was proclaimed on 11 September 1836 by Antônio de Sousa Neto after the rebel victory at Seival, and declared the separation of Rio Grande do Sul from the Empire of Brazil.[151] The proclamation came during the Farroupilha War, which began on 20 September 1835 under Bento Gonçalves with the seizure of Porto Alegre.[151] According to Jéferson Mendes, Gonçalves led the majority faction that defended an independent republican state and kept contacts with River Plate caudillos.[188] Captured in October 1836, Gonçalves escaped in September 1837, took the presidency and command of the army, and resigned in August 1843, disheartened and ill.[151] Giuseppe Garibaldi organised the Farroupilha navy on the Lagoa dos Patos in 1838, and in July 1839 the rebels took Laguna and proclaimed a republic in Santa Catarina.[151] Luís Alves de Lima e Silva, later Duke of Caxias, took office on 9 November 1842 as president of the province and commander of arms, and used diplomacy with Oribe, Rivera and Paraguay to limit outside support for the rebels.[188] Peace came at Ponche Verde in 1845. No treaty was signed by Caxias and the rebels together; the republican leaders signed an act of pacification dated 28 February 1845 on terms negotiated with Caxias, which provided a general amnesty, freedom for enslaved people who had served the republic, and the reintegration of rebel officers, other than generals, into the imperial army.[151]

Quilombo do Quariterê (Tereza de Benguela)

The Quilombo do Quariterê was a community of escaped enslaved Africans and Indigenous people in the Guaporé valley of the captaincy of Mato Grosso, formed in the 1730s according to the Universidade Federal Fluminense project Impressões Rebeldes.[189] Its earliest records date from 1748.[190] It was governed by an assembly that sources compared to a parliament ("a modo de parlamento"), whose councillors met in a dedicated house on set days each week; José Piolho, described as its senior counsellor, was succeeded in leadership by Tereza de Benguela, whom the records style queen and who presided over the council.[189,190] The principal primary source is the Anais de Vila Bela, written by the town's councillors.[189,190]

On 22 July 1770 an expedition under sargento-mor Inácio Leme da Silva, sent by the governor of Mato Grosso from Vila Bela, attacked the settlement, which then numbered about a hundred people, 69 of them African; Tereza was captured after injuring her foot and died in custody.[189] Accounts of her death differ: some record that her head was displayed on a pole in the settlement's square, and a report of the Rádio Senado states that she is said to have taken her own life after her arrest.[189,190] The community was resettled and became known as the Quilombo do Piolho; a further expedition destroyed it in 1795.[189,190] Since Lei 12.987 of 2 June 2014, Brazil has observed 25 July as the Dia Nacional de Tereza de Benguela e da Mulher Negra.[191]

Quilombo dos Palmares

Palmares was a fortified settlement of fugitives from slavery in the interior of north-eastern Brazil, formed in the early seventeenth century, whose residents called it Angola Janga.[192] The first expedition against it was mounted in 1612.[192] Portuguese documents record two thousand houses in a fortified village in 1675, and in 1676 a polity of more than sixty leagues with ten villages.[192] Pedro Paulo Abreu Funari estimates its population at its peak at 10,000 to 20,000; a source of 1644 reports about six thousand.[192] Contemporary Europeans called it a "República", a term that in the seventeenth century meant a political organisation or state and did not exclude monarchy, and Funari, following Kent, describes an African political system governing a pluralist society.[192]

Ganga Zumba, a moderate king, was deposed by his nephew Zumbi, who from 1678 adopted an aggressive policy towards the Portuguese.[192] In 1694 bandeirantes led by Domingos Jorge Velho conquered the capital and captured five hundred people.[192] Zumbi was captured and executed on 20 November 1695.[192] Brazil observes 20 November as the Dia Nacional de Zumbi e da Consciência Negra, a national holiday under Lei 14.759 of 21 December 2023.[193]

Quito, Free State of (Junta of 1809 to 1812)

Leaders in Quito installed a governing junta on 10 August 1809 with Juan Pío Montúfar, Marquis of Selva Alegre, as president, professing loyalty to Ferdinand VII while assuming the powers of government.[194] Within days its interior secretary, Juan de Dios Morales, circulated a directive stating that the new government would act on the two axes of independence and liberty, and the junta raised a military force, the Falange de Quito, of three infantry battalions under Colonel Juan Salinas.[194] The junta returned power to the president of the Audiencia, Manuel Ruiz de Castilla, in late October 1809, and royal troops occupied the city in November 1809; a rising on 2 August 1810 was put down with heavy loss of life.[194] A second junta took office in September 1810. On 11 December 1811 the Congress proclaimed independence, and on 15 February 1812 it approved the Articles of the Solemn Pact of Society and Union between the Provinces that form the State of Quito, regarded as Ecuador's first constitutional document, which recognised the State of Quito and its need for an armed force.[194,195] General Toribio Montes, dispatched by the Viceroy of Peru, defeated the patriot forces in several engagements and, after his victory at El Panecillo on 7 November 1812, compelled the revolutionary government to evacuate Quito.[194] The last patriot defeat came at Yahuarcocha, near Ibarra, on 1 December 1812.[194]

Republic of Yucatán

The Republic of Yucatán was a state proclaimed by the legislature of the Yucatán peninsula in its dispute with the centralist governments of Mexico. On 1 October 1841 the Chamber of Deputies adopted an Act declaring the peninsula a free and independent republic.[196] Mexico imposed trade sanctions and sent troops in 1842 and 1843, which Yucatecans repelled with Maya support, and on 5 December 1843 President Antonio López de Santa Anna agreed to restore Yucatán's autonomy on condition that it rejoin Mexico. Mexico then declared the agreement void, and on 1 January 1846 the Yucatecan assembly declared independence again.[196]

The Caste War began in 1847 with a Maya uprising that, in the account of Nelson Reed, came close to expelling the white settlers from the peninsula.[197] Miguel Barbachano governed from Mérida and favoured rejoining Mexico, while Santiago Méndez Ibarra led a rival government at Campeche that wished Yucatán to remain independent and neutral and sought military help from the United States and Spain; a bill advancing annexation passed the United States House of Representatives but stalled.[196] Méndez resigned, and Barbachano asked the Mexican government for military help in exchange for Yucatán's return to the republic. On 17 August 1848 a decree of Barbachano's government reincorporated Yucatán into the Mexican nation, and federal resources then pushed the Maya back to the south-east of the peninsula.[196,198]

San Basilio de Palenque

San Basilio de Palenque, near Cartagena de Indias on Colombia's Caribbean coast, descends from the maroon settlement of San Miguel Arcángel, which a chronological listing of the Colombian palenques places under Domingo Criollo in 1684, in the district of Tolú.[199] Spanish forces conquered and destroyed San Miguel in 1694, but its survivors repopulated it and secured an amnesty in December 1713, after which the settlement was renamed San Basilio de Palenque.[199,200] UNESCO's register records that the cultural space of Palenque de San Basilio was first proclaimed in 2005 and inscribed on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2008, and it names the community's language as central to that space.[201] Palenquero is a creole with a Spanish lexicon whose African element the linguist Yves Moñino traces to Kikongo; he describes the share of fluent speakers as small, despite efforts at revitalisation.[202]

Santa Cruz, Republic of (Chan Santa Cruz)

Chan Santa Cruz was the capital of a Maya polity that emerged in the south-east of the Yucatán peninsula, in what is now the Mexican state of Quintana Roo, during the Caste War of Yucatán, which began in 1847. Its rebels, known as the Cruzob, formed a breakaway state within Yucatán.[203] According to Nelson Reed, they owed their endurance to the protection of dense forest, to weapons and ammunition obtained from neighbouring British Honduras, to a prophet who founded a new religion, and to a later leader who used that religion to build an independent society.[197]

Juan de la Cruz founded the religion of the Speaking Cross in October or November 1850, combining Catholic and Maya belief, and José María Barrera served as his general until Barrera's death on 31 December 1852.[203] Venancio Puc then took control of the oracle, was in full command by 1857 and captured the old Spanish fort at Bacalar in 1858.[203] In December 1863 rival generals overthrew Puc and executed him. Bernardino Cen, Crescencio Poot and Bonifacio Novelo then took control, and in 1875 Poot and the followers of Cen fought one another, after which Cen fled the territory.[203] Britain ended its diplomatic relationship with Chan Santa Cruz under the government of Porfirio Díaz.[203] On 4 May 1901 the Mexican army under General Ignacio Bravo occupied the town, an occupation that ended the Caste War in the official account.[204] Fighting continued until a peace treaty with the last holdouts in 1935.[196]

Socorro, Free and Independent State of (1810)

The province of Socorro in New Granada established a governing junta on 10 and 11 July 1810 following confrontations with Spanish authorities, with José Lorenzo Plata Martínez as president of the supreme junta.[205] On 15 August 1810 delegates from the province's municipalities promulgated a provincial constitution, which the cited study describes as the first constitutional text in New Granada.[205] The document rejected the authority of the Spanish Regency and declared that the province reassumed all its rights pending the restoration of Ferdinand VII or the meeting of a national congress, while presenting Socorro as a brother ready to defend common American interests against despotism.[205] It vested legislative power in a Representative Junta, left executive functions to ordinary alcaldes, provided for annual rotation of representatives, proclaimed Christianity, individual liberty, free commerce and annual elections, and declared the indigenous population free from tribute, with communal lands distributed as private property.[205]

State of Los Altos

The State of Los Altos was set up in 1838 by Creole leaders in Quetzaltenango, in the highlands of western Guatemala, and is known in Guatemalan history as the Sexto Estado, the sixth state.[206] Earlier moves towards autonomy had failed: in November 1821 the council of Quetzaltenango declared support for the Mexican empire of Agustín de Iturbide, and a further attempt in 1824 came to nothing.[206] The movement of 1838 made Quetzaltenango its capital and ended in January 1840, when Rafael Carrera defeated it and ordered liberal leaders executed in the city. Later attempts to restore the state also failed.[206]

Tolú, Palenques of

The district of Tolú, a Spanish-held coastal town in the province of Cartagena de Indias, gave its name to some of the earliest sustained maroon settlement in the region. Fugitives under Domingo Biohó, called Benkos, formed a palenque in the thicket of the Ciénaga de la Matuna near the town in the years around 1600, and after a failed attack on it by forces from Cartagena and Tolú in 1605 Biohó's authority in the zone received formal recognition.[207] In 1622 the town's authorities recorded a rising of enslaved Africans who gathered in the upper Sierra de María, the highland on which the later palenques of San Miguel, Limón and others stood.[207] The later fate of San Miguel, which became San Basilio de Palenque, is set out under that name.[208]

Tucumán, Republic of (1820 to 1821)

The Republic of Tucumán was created in 1820 in north-western Argentina, in the period of provisional provincial autonomies that followed the fall of the central government. Bernabé Aráoz, governor of the Province of Tucumán from 1817 to 1819, convened a provincial congress after the battle of Cepeda, and the congress promulgated a constitution and created the republic.[209] According to the historians María Puig and Marta de Ezcurra, Aráoz called for the new state on 22 March 1820, and its constitution was sanctioned on 24 September 1820.[210]

The republic was proclaimed to cover the territories of present-day Tucumán, Catamarca and Santiago del Estero, joined earlier in the intendancy of San Miguel de Tucumán.[210] Santiago del Estero took no part: Felipe Ibarra made it independent of Tucumán in April 1820, and Catamarca remained integrated until the following year.[209] The same account states that the statute had no separatist intention, the independence being meant to last only until a congress determined the form of government.[210] The experiment ended in August 1821, when a rising led by Colonel Abraham González overthrew Aráoz. One account dates the overthrow to 25 August 1821; another places González's manifesto on 28 August and his assumption of office on 29 August.[210,209]

Tule, Republic of (San Blas/Kuna Revolution)

In 1925 the Guna (Kuna) people of the San Blas archipelago, on the Caribbean coast of Panama, rose against the Panamanian police and proclaimed a Republic of Tule. The rising came after years of state pressure on Guna dress and custom: on 2 April 1919 President Belisario Porras ordered the intendant of San Blas to abolish the mola clothing and adornments worn by Guna women.[211]

Nele Kantule and Simral Colman coordinated resistance from Ailigandí, and a congress there in early 1925 discussed armed action to expel the police, according to the historian James Howe.[212,213] Armed Guna attacked police posts on several islands on the night of 21 to 22 February 1925, and the leaders then proclaimed the Republic of Tule.[212] The American Richard Marsh is named as the author of its declaration of independence.[214] About twenty people, police and Guna, died in the fighting, although estimates vary.[212] On 4 March 1925 a peace agreement was signed that guaranteed respect for Guna customs and forms of organisation in exchange for an end to hostilities.[211,212] John Glover South, head of the United States legation, took part in arranging the peace.[214] On 11 April 1925 the Panamanian intendant Luis Hernández arrived at Narganá in command of the police, the flag of the rebellion was lowered, and several Guna were arrested.[211] The territory was later given recognition as a special administrative entity, now the Comarca Guna Yala,[212] and legislation of 1938, obtained through lobbying by Nele Kantule, extended the territory claimed and made it a comarca while it remained an indigenous reserve.[214]

Vilcabamba (Neo-Inca State)

The Neo-Inca State of Vilcabamba was the remnant of Inca rule that survived in the forested Vilcabamba region, near Cuzco, after the Spanish conquest of Peru, which began in 1532. Manco Inca Yupanqui fled the conquest and established the Inca resistance there, in a dense forest region with few tracks, where the Inca kept a smaller but functioning state.[215] A Peruvian study describes Vilcabamba as the last free and autonomous refuge of the Incas, protected by its geography and its jungle approaches.[216]

Titu Cusi and Túpac Amaru continued the resistance after Manco Inca, combining guerrilla raids and open battle against Spanish forces and officials with diplomacy, sending envoys to seek recognition of their authority and ancestral rights.[215] Negotiations over a final surrender continued for decades without success.[215] Viceroy Francisco de Toledo declared war on 14 April 1572, and a Spanish force under Captain Martín García de Loyola tracked down Túpac Amaru as he retreated deeper into the forests of Vilcabamba and brought him in chains to Cuzco, where he arrived on 21 September 1572.[215] He was executed in the main square on 24 September after a trial that Kolata describes as a sham.[215] The population of Vilcabamba was moved to San Francisco de la Victoria, a settlement founded by Toledo, and no institutional continuity of the Inca state remained.[216]

Wallmapu, Autonomy and War Declaration of the Coordinadora Arauco-Malleco (2009)

On 20 October 2009 the Coordinadora Arauco-Malleco (CAM) issued a declaration, signed by its Órganos de Resistencia Territorial, that renounced Chilean nationality and declared the territory south of the Biobío River an autonomous Mapuche nation. The text cited Article 19 of the Treaty of Tapihue of 1825 as the Chilean state's recognition of the existence of that nation.[217] It ended all dialogue with the Chilean Republic and declared war from that day.[217]

Yanga (San Lorenzo de los Negros)

The maroon settlement later known as San Lorenzo de los Negros arose in the sugar-growing region of Veracruz, in colonial Mexico, where Gaspar Yanga, who had escaped during an uprising of the 1570s, became leader of a palenque near Mount Orizaba.[218] In 1607 and 1608 the viceroy, Luis de Velasco II, sent Friar Alonso de Benavides and Captain Manuel Carrillo to negotiate. In March 1608 Carrillo delivered Yanga's demands: freedom for all who had fled slavery before September 1607; the return of later runaways by the community; recognition as a free town, with a Franciscan priest and church furnishings at the viceroy's cost; payment of tribute like other free blacks and mulattos, and military assistance against foreign invasion; and the governorship of the town for Yanga and his descendants.[218]

The truce collapsed in 1609, and in 1610 Captain Pedro González de Herrera led some 550 men against the palenque. The Spanish overran the camp, but Yanga had already retreated.[218] The date of the truce from which San Lorenzo de los Negros arose is uncertain, although 1618 seems most likely.[218] The town was renamed Yanga in 1932, and its residents honour him as the first liberator of the Americas.[218]

Yaqui Republic Project of Juan Banderas (1826 to 1833)

Juan de la Cruz Banderas led a Yaqui rising in the 1820s and early 1830s that, according to a published review of Evelyn Hu-DeHart's study, aimed at an Indian republic independent of Mexican rule.[219] He came to prominence in 1826 with a messianic appeal to return Mexico to the golden age of the Aztec empire and to drive whites from Indian lands; his followers raided haciendas and ranches along the Yaqui River and harassed the Mexican authorities.[219] Short of ammunition and food, he was captured and executed in 1833. His revolt set the pattern for almost continuous Yaqui revolt until the early twentieth century.[219]

Section I.3

The Caribbean and the Guianas

Entries in this section chronicle the island and coastal polities of the Caribbean and the Guianas that governed themselves against colonial or national authority. They include the maroon governments of Jamaica, Suriname and French Guiana, the slave rebellions that briefly held a colony, as at Berbice, the republics proclaimed in the Spanish, French and British islands, and the late-twentieth-century secession movements within British Caribbean federations.

Anguilla, Republic of

The Republic of Anguilla grew out of resentment at the small island's subordination to Saint Kitts within the associated state of Saint Christopher-Nevis-Anguilla, a status Britain conferred on 27 February 1967.[220] Anguillans expelled the Saint Kitts police from the island on 30 May 1967, and a referendum that July produced a vote of 1,813 to 5 for secession; Ronald Webster emerged as the republic's principal leader.[221] A second referendum on 6 February 1969 returned 1,739 to 4 in favour of independence, followed by a second declaration the next day. When the British envoy William Whitlock arrived in March with a proposed interim administration he was expelled from the island, and Britain launched Operation Sheepskin on 19 March 1969, landing paratroopers of the 2nd Battalion, the Parachute Regiment, together with police officers, to restore order. A series of interim agreements followed. The Anguilla Act 1971 empowered the Crown to provide for the government of the island by Order in Council and to appoint a Commissioner.[222,223] From 19 December 1980 Anguilla had separate status from Saint Kitts and Nevis as a British dependent territory.[221]

Berbice, Slave Rebellion and Government of

In February 1763 enslaved people rose on plantations along the Berbice and Canje rivers in the Dutch colony of Berbice, in present-day Guyana. Their leader, Coffij (known in Guyana as Cuffy), had been shipped to Berbice as a child from present-day Ghana and took his name from the Lelienburg plantation where he was enslaved.[224] The rebels burned Fort Nassau to prevent its use by the Dutch, who kept only the Dageraad plantation and the fort of St Andries near the coast.[225] Coffij declared himself governor and named Accara captain for military affairs. The rebels set up a government with administrative duties and ceremonies, put trusted supporters in charge of plantations they kept in production, formed army units and stockpiled supplies.[224,225]

The Dutch governor, Wolfert Simon van Hoogenheim, asked neighbouring colonies and the Netherlands for reinforcements more than once. For months he exchanged letters with Coffij without negotiating in good faith, and he stalled until help arrived.[225] Coffij proposed to partition the colony, with the self-emancipated holding the south and the Dutch the north,

and with both sides keeping plantation slavery.[225] After his strategy lost support Coffij took his own life; Atta became leader and enslaved Accara.[225] Soldiers from Suriname and St Eustatius arrived, Amerindian groups closed the routes of escape and hunger drove many rebels back to the Dutch. The revolt was defeated after more than a year, when its leaders had been killed or captured. The colonial authorities then conducted close to 900 interrogations and sought to punish the ringleaders while sparing as many others as possible, because the enslaved were valued as property.[225]

Boni (Aluku) Maroons of French Guiana

The Boni, who also call themselves the Aluku, are a Maroon people whose leader, Boni, brought them from Dutch Guiana (Suriname) across the Maroni river into French Guiana. After they crossed in 1776 and 1777 they settled on the French bank and kept peaceful relations with the French.[226] The Ndyuka Maroons, allies of the Dutch, exercised a form of tutelage over the Boni that both the Dutch and the French recognised, and in 1793 Ndyuka killed Boni in a massacre of Boni refugees on the Marouini, after a provocation involving his son Agosu.[226]

The tie between the Boni and France formed in the nineteenth century, and the Boni are the sole Maroon people regarded as linked to France. An 1836 Franco-Dutch convention treated the Maroni as the frontier and recognised French authority over its right bank; in 1860 both colonial powers recognised Boni freedom with the abolition of slavery; and the link with France was confirmed in 1892.[226]

Cuba in Arms, Republic of (Guáimaro Constitution)

On 10 April 1869 delegates of the insurgents who had risen against Spanish rule since Carlos Manuel de Céspedes's Grito de Yara of October 1868 met at Guáimaro and adopted a constitution for the Republic of Cuba in Arms. The constitution subordinated the executive to the legislature: the House of Representatives held the power to appoint and remove the chief of the army, and the President lost customary executive powers such as the grant of pardons. Céspedes was elected the first President.[227] The Administrative Organisation Law of 7 August 1869 created prefectures and sub-prefectures to govern the territory under insurgent control.[227] The House approved a civil marriage law in 1869, which Céspedes vetoed.[227] Conflict between the assembly and the military command led to the removal of Céspedes from the presidency in 1873, and the Pact of Zanjón, signed on 10 February 1878, ended the Ten Years' War without Cuban independence and with it the Republic in Arms.[228] On 15 March 1878 General Antonio Maceo, meeting the Spanish captain general Arsenio Martínez Campos at Mangos de Baraguá, refused to accept a peace that lacked independence and the abolition of slavery.[228]

Essequibo Free State (Rupununi Uprising)

On 2 January 1969 armed ranchers and their followers in the Rupununi district of southern Guyana attacked Lethem, the district's administrative centre. David Granger records that they fired on the police station with a bazooka and automatic weapons, that police officers and a civilian employee were shot dead, that six people were killed at Lethem in all and that the district commissioner and other residents were held prisoner in the abattoir.[229] A BBC Mundo account reports that contemporary reports put the dead at more than twenty.[230]

Valerie Hart, who had lost a 1968 bid for a seat in Guyana's parliament, declared herself president of the "Essequibo Free State" (Estado Libre del Esequibo).[229,230] Guyanese forces advanced on Lethem on 3 January and met no opposition; the rebels drove off to Brazil, and some fled to Venezuela.[229,230]

Venezuela denied involvement in public.[230] Granger states that some ranchers and their vaqueiros had been flown to Venezuela in December 1968 for about seven days of weapons training in a military camp.[229] According to BBC Mundo, citing the historian Guillermo Guzmán Mirabal and Granger, Venezuela trained, financed and supported the rebels, and most of those who reached Venezuela received citizenship and land near the Essequibo.[230]

Garifuna Polity of St Vincent

The Garifuna, whom the British called Black Caribs, held land on St Vincent against European settlement. Christopher Taylor describes them as descendants of Carib Indians and of Africans who had been shipwrecked or had escaped, and as a society without central authority whose leaders, Joseph Chatoyer among them, organised resistance once the Treaty of Paris of 1763 gave the island to Britain, which wanted the land for sugar.[231] After hostilities that began in September 1772 ended in stalemate the following February, the Caribs and the British signed a treaty in 1773 that reserved land for the Caribs in return for their acknowledging British authority.[232]

In 1795 France armed and supported a joint rebellion by French settlers and the Caribs, and Chatoyer was killed early in the conflict, though many Caribs, his son among them, fought on.[232,233] After the rebels were overcome in June 1796 the Black Caribs were deported to Baliceaux, where overcrowding and disease reduced their numbers, and in 1797 to Roatán, off Honduras.[232] According to the West India Committee, 4,195 Caribs were exiled to Baliceaux and 2,248 remained when they were transported to Roatán, where most landed on 12 April 1797.[234] Michael Stone puts the survivors sent to the Honduran coast at about 2,300.[235] In 2001 UNESCO named the Garifuna language, dance and music among the Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity.[235]

Grenada, Fédon's Rising of (1795 to 1796)

On 2 March 1795 Julien Fédon and his followers rose against the British colonial government of Grenada. Rebels surrounded Grenville (La Baye) and killed eleven British inhabitants, while at Gouyave they captured more than forty British residents, among them Lieutenant Governor Ninian Home and the planter Alexander Campbell.[236] The insurgents, French planters, free people of colour and enslaved people backed by the French Republic, rose under the cry "Liberté, égalité ou la mort"; about 7,000 enslaved people joined, in a population of about 30,000.[236,237] After a British attack on the rebel camps failed on 8 April, Fédon had 47 hostages executed.[236] By early 1796 the rebels held most of the island, and the British needed fifteen months to end the rising, with General Abercromby arriving with reinforcements on 19 June 1796.[236] A special court opened on 27 June 1796 and declared the first 48 men traitors; Governor Alexander Houstoun chose fourteen for execution and respited the rest, and executions continued into 1797.[237] In October 1796 Houstoun reported that most of those executed were of mixed race, and about 400 others were transported or banished.[237]

Haiti, Republic of the South under Pétion (1807 to 1818)

After the assassination of Jean-Jacques Dessalines in 1806, Haiti divided between Henri Christophe in the north and Alexandre Pétion in the south. The constitution of 1806, which resembled the United States Constitution in many respects, created a weak presidency and a strong legislature, including a Senate of twenty-four members, and the Senate elected Pétion on 9 March 1807.[238,239] On 21 April 1807 the Senate approved Pétion's plan to distribute land to citizens, with a minimum of ten carreaux (about 31 acres) per recipient.[240] From 1809 Pétion granted state land in small parcels, first to soldiers, and lowered prices so that almost anyone could buy, and the south became a region of smallholders.[238] The constitution of 1816 replaced the elected presidency with a presidency for life.[238] Pétion died in 1818 without naming a successor, and the Senate selected Jean-Pierre Boyer, who took over the northern kingdom after Christophe's death in October 1820.[238]

Jamaican Maroons, Treaties and Self-Government of

The Leeward Maroons under Captain Cudjoe concluded articles of pacification with the British colonial government dated 1 March 1738, a treaty that later accounts date to 1739. The articles recognised the Maroons as free, granted them 1,500 acres of Crown land, gave them liberty to hunt except within three miles of any settlement, and bound them to return runaways and to fight future rebellions.[241,242] The Windward Maroons concluded a similar treaty in 1740.[242] The self-government granted was limited: Cudjoe and his successors were to wait on the Governor each year if required, and two white men were to reside with the Maroons.[241] Maroon towns have since been governed by elected chiefs styled Colonel, assisted by a council that the Colonel appoints, and neither the land nor the income-generating activity within their boundaries is subject to government tax, according to a Smithsonian researcher.[243] The Second Maroon War of 1795 to 1796, which began with a dispute at Trelawny Town, ended with the surrender of the Trelawny Maroons on terms that they would not be deported; in breach of those terms Governor Balcarres deported close to six hundred of them to Nova Scotia in 1796, and most were later resettled in Sierra Leone.[244] Accompong Town continues to mark the signing of its treaty on 6 January each year.[243]

Jayuya, Republic of (Puerto Rican Nationalist Uprising of 1950)

On 30 October 1950 Puerto Rican Nationalists led by Blanca Canales took the town of Jayuya as part of an armed insurrection called by the Nationalist Party under its president, Pedro Albizu Campos. The National Archives of the United States records that Albizu Campos orchestrated armed uprisings in six towns that day.[245] In Jayuya the insurgents burned the Insular Police station, the post office and Selective Service records, and, according to Harry Franqui-Rivera, Canales proclaimed the Republic of Puerto Rico from atop a hotel.[246] The Puerto Rico Air National Guard bombed and strafed the town while a National Guard infantry company surrounded it; the insurgents who escaped fled to the hills, and the rest surrendered on 2 November 1950.[246] On 1 November 1950 two members of the party's New York chapter, Oscar Collazo and Griselio Torresola, attacked Blair House in Washington, where President Truman was staying. The National Archives states that the two men may have decided to act after hearing of the military reprisals in Torresola's hometown of Jayuya, and presents this as a belief and not as established fact.[245] Torresola was killed in the attack, and Truman commuted Collazo's death sentence to life imprisonment in 1952.[245]

Leonor's Palenque (El Limón)

The palenque of El Limón (also El Limonar), a maroon settlement in the Sierras de María (also called the Montes de María), lay some twelve to fifteen leagues from Cartagena de Indias.[247] Around 1632 people arriving from the neighbouring palenque of Polín allied with Leonor, a creole woman of Angolan paternal descent, and persuaded her to become queen of the palenque; a witness testified that the queen commanded all the Black inhabitants.[247] Francisco de Murga, governor and captain general of Cartagena, spent more than 14,000 pesos on attempts to subdue El Limón and destroyed it between the end of 1633 and the start of 1634; his Testimonio of 1634 records the proceedings against the palenques of Limón, Polín and Zanaguare.[247,248] Some inhabitants fled to other palenques, among them one across the Río Grande de la Magdalena, and survivors later returned to the Montes de María.[247]

Nevis, Secession Referendum of 1998

The constitution of Saint Kitts and Nevis, adopted on independence in 1983, contains a secession clause (section 113) that requires a two-thirds majority in a Nevis referendum.[249] The Nevis Reformation Party was created in 1970 with a secessionist agenda.[249] Tensions rose after the return to power in 1995 of the Saint Kitts and Nevis Labour Party, which had never won a seat on Nevis and which, according to André Lecours, was to establish a federal office on the island and centralise the management of financial services.[249] On 10 August 1998 Nevisians voted on the Nevis Constitution (Secession) Order, 1998, and 61.7 per cent voted in favour, short of the required two-thirds.[249] The creation in 1983 of an autonomous Nevis Island Administration had given the island institutions of its own, and Lecours argues that this experience of autonomous political action made the older secessionist narratives less attractive to younger Nevisians.[249]

Puerto Rico, Republic of (Grito de Lares)

On 23 September 1868 about a thousand men gathered at Manuel Rojas's coffee estate in Barrio Pezuela, chose Juan Terreforte as commander general and Rojas as chief general, and raised the cry "Muerte a España. Viva la Libertad. Viva Puerto Rico Libre". They took the town of Lares around midnight, and the military leaders, with popular acclamation, installed a provisional government of the republic with Francisco Ramírez Medina as president.[250] Francisco Moscoso, whose account of the revolution is followed here, describes a declaration of independence of Puerto Rico on the same day. All enslaved people who took part were freed, and day labourers destroyed their labour booklets (libretas) with machetes.[250]

Ramón Emeterio Betances was a leader of the revolutionary committee, but the armed expedition he planned never arrived, which, together with poor coordination with the high command, contributed to the failure of the revolt.[250] On 24 September a force led by Rojas marched from Lares on San Sebastián del Pepino, found that Spanish forces had prepared their defence, failed in several charges, retreated to Lares and dispersed into the mountains of the west.[250] Spain decreed the abolition of slavery and of the libreta in 1873.[250]

Saramaka Maroons (Suriname)

The Saramaka, one of the Maroon peoples of the Suriname interior, concluded a peace treaty with the Dutch colonial government on 19 September 1762 at the junction of Sara Creek and the Suriname River, negotiated for the colony by Louis Nepveu and signed by the Saramaka captains.[251] The treaty required the Saramaka to remain in their existing villages and to obtain the Governor's permission to move, to report the names of their village captains, to return runaways, to send armed men when the Governor asked, to refrain from allying with the Mapana or Auka Maroons against the colonists, and to give four captains' children as hostages.[251] It limited trade to journeys by up to fifty people each year, of whom no more than ten might go to Paramaribo, and allowed the Saramaka to punish their own offenders or hand them over to the colonists, while disputes with the colonists went to the Governor.[251] In its judgment of 28 November 2007 in Saramaka People v. Suriname the Inter-American Court of Human Rights held that Suriname had violated the Saramaka's right to property by granting logging concessions within their territory.[252]

Spanish Haiti, Independent State of

On 1 December 1821 José Núñez de Cáceres led a conspiracy against the Spanish Captain General of Santo Domingo and constituted the Spanish part of Hispaniola as a free and independent state, the Estado Independiente del Haití Español, which renounced Spanish rule.[253] The act closed with the words "Viva la Unión de Colombia"; Dominican historians cited in the press say that Núñez de Cáceres sought union with Bolívar's Gran Colombia, whereas Allan Brewer-Carías argues that the phrase uses "Colombia" in the continental sense of Francisco de Miranda.[253,254] Support for the movement was weak: the Junta Central Provisoria of Santiago rejected Núñez de Cáceres's acts and asked the Haitian President, Jean-Pierre Boyer, to intervene, and on 9 February 1822, two months and eight days after the declaration, the Spanish part was annexed to the Republic of Haiti after an army led by Boyer occupied it.[253] Haitian rule lasted until the Dominican declaration of independence in 1844. Historians cited by Diario Libre attribute the brevity of the independent state to weak economic foundations and to the decision of Núñez de Cáceres not to abolish slavery, other than for the slaves he owned himself.[254]

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Part II

Unilateral Secessions and Breakaway Governments of Africa

Africa's unilateral secessions fall into three groups, treated here in three sections. The first comprises the breakaways of the postcolonial period, in which a region of a newly independent state declared itself independent, most often over the control of resources or the terms of a settlement imposed at independence. The second turns back to the colonial conquest and gathers the precolonial and early colonial kingdoms and empires that resisted annexation and, in doing so, asserted or defended a self-government that colonial law refused to acknowledge. The third gathers the rival, exile and diaspora governments that claimed the whole of a state, or the loyalty of a dispersed people, without controlling the territory at issue.

Section II.1

Postcolonial Secessions and Breakaway Governments

Entries in this section chronicle territories that declared or attempted secession from a newly independent African state, or whose colonial-era separatism outlasted independence, usually asserting control over a resource-rich or ethnically distinct region against the surrounding government. Two decades of declarations from Katanga and Biafra to Azawad and Southern Sudan show a consistent pattern: the Organisation of African Unity and its successor, the African Union, defended inherited colonial borders, and a breakaway region without a patron could rarely obtain recognition.

Ambazonia (Southern Cameroons)

Southern Cameroons, the British-administered part of the former German colony of Kamerun, joined Cameroon in 1961. The United Nations plebiscite gave Anglophone voters a choice between integration with Nigeria and with Cameroon; independence was not an option.[1] In 1966 President Ahmadou Ahidjo banned all parties except the ruling Cameroonian National Union, and a national referendum in 1972 replaced the federal structure with a unitary system, in breach, according to the Council on Foreign Relations, of a 1961 agreement on constitutional revisions.[1] Protests over perceived discrimination in education and the judicial system, which Crisis Group dates from October 2016, were followed by strikes and a security response that included an internet shutdown.[2]

On 1 October 2017, the anniversary of the 1961 reunification, separatists proclaimed the independence of "Ambazonia"; Sisiku Ayuk, described by Agence France-Presse as its "president", made the declaration on social media.[3] Crisis Group reports that tens of thousands took part in peaceful marches in Bamenda, Buea and dozens of other towns, that security forces responded with disproportionate force, and that between 28 September and 2 October at least 40 people died and more than 100 were injured, with other estimates higher.[2]

Anjouan, State of

In August 1997 the island of Anjouan declared unilateral independence from the Comoros.[4] Inter Press Service reported that some residents, finding that independence since 1975 had brought poverty, civil strife and repeated coups, wished to return to French rule, and that the rebels were drawn to the higher living standards, social security and regular civil service pay of Mayotte, which had chosen in a 1974 referendum to remain French; labour disputes over unpaid salaries, with arrears reported at twelve months, had shaken the islands.[5] About 300 federal troops landed in early September 1997 and were reported to have been repulsed.[5] The Organisation of African Unity opposed the secession and backed the territorial integrity of the Comoros, and France ruled out restoring French administration.[5] The Anjouan leader, Abdallah Ibrahim, called a referendum on secession for 26 October 1997, which the Organ-

isation of African Unity and the Arab League urged him not to hold.[4] The vote took place on that date, and the island's 150,000 inhabitants were reported to have voted by a large majority for independence;[6] the Central Organ of the Organisation of African Unity called on member states to declare the result null and void.[7]

In 2001 Mohamed Bacar became the leading figure on the island, and Anjouan negotiated the terms of a renewed Union of the Comoros.[8] The Fomboni Agreement of 17 February 2001 provided for a new Comorian Ensemble in which the islands would manage their own affairs.[9] The constitution that resulted gave each of the three islands its own semi-autonomous government and president, with a rotating presidency of the Union.[10] On 25 March 2008 the Comorian army, supported by African Union troops, landed on the island.[11] The army announced that day that it controlled the island.[12] Before the landing Bacar said: "I am still determined to defend Anjouan despite my concern that people are ready to come here and fire on the Anjouanese."[11]

Annobón, Independence Declaration of (Ambo Legadu, 2022)

On 8 July 2022 the liberation movement Ambo Legadu declared the independence of Annobón, an island in the Gulf of Guinea that forms one of the eight provinces of Equatorial Guinea. The movement styles Orlando Cartagena Lagar its prime minister. The declaration has not been recognised. According to Chequeado, the authorities cut all communications and internet services to the island; the accusations of pollution and repression rest on statements by the movement. In May 2025 the movement asked Argentina for political support and for recognition as an "associated state", and stated that Annobón did not seek annexation.

Awdal Republic

The Awdal Republic was proclaimed in an open letter to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, circulated by email on 13 February 1995 and signed "the people of Awdal Republic".[13] The text presents its authors as descendants of the inhabitants of the Awdal (Adel) empire and describes the republic as "the heart of the DIR clan (GADABOURSI and ISSA)", with boundaries matching those of nineteenth-century Awdal.[13] It asserts that the British breached their treaties with the Awdalians and divided their territory, and that the remainder joined Somalia on 1 July 1960 in a union into which the people were "duped".[13] Its grievances are that Awdal received no development projects after independence, that its tax revenue went to Mogadishu, that aircraft killed 84 civilians, 35 of them children, at Borama on 31 January 1984, and that forces of the Somali National Movement, supported by Ethiopian troops, killed 550 people in Borama, Dila and Zeila on 4 February 1991.[13] The authors declare that they reject Somali nationalism and will not belong to a nation "kept together by coercion".[13] The letter is a statement of its authors' claims; it does not record any institutions of government.[13]

Azawad, Republic of

The National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad (MNLA), a Tuareg-led movement, proclaimed the independence of Azawad on 6 April 2012 in a declaration dated Gao and signed by its secretary-general, Billal Ag Acherif, after its forces had taken Gao, Timbuktu and other northern towns in the days following the military coup in Bamako of 22 March 2012.[14] The declaration invoked the right of peoples to self-determination, citing Articles 1 and 55 of the United Nations Charter, recalled massacres and atrocities of 1963, 1990, 2006, 2010 and 2012 and more than fifty years of bad governance, and asserted that France had attached Azawad without its consent to the Malian state that it had just created. It also pledged respect for the borders of neighbouring states.[15,16]

No state recognised Azawad. The African Union called the declaration "null and of no value whatsoever", and the French defence minister, Gérard Longuet, said that a unilateral declaration not recognised by African states would have no meaning.[16] The MNLA's control was short-lived: by June 2012 the Islamist groups Ansar Dine, al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb and the Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa had pushed it out of the main northern towns.[17] Al Jazeera reported on 29 June 2012 that Ansar Dine had driven the MNLA out of Gao on 27 June, in a gun battle that killed at least 20 people, and out of Timbuktu on 28 June, and that the Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa patrolled Gao after the battle.[18] French military intervention (Opération Serval), begun on 11 January 2013 at the request of Mali's interim government, was followed by the entry of French and Malian troops into Gao and Timbuktu.[17] The interim president, Dioncounda Traoré, had appealed for French help to halt the advance of the armed groups, and President Hollande said that he had agreed to Mali's request.[19] French and Malian forces took control of Gao on 26 January 2013, and Malian troops, backed by French paratroopers and helicopters, entered Timbuktu on 28 January after the militants had left.[20,21] The French ambassador told the Security Council that members expressed support and understanding for the operation under Security Council Resolution 2085.[22]

Bakassi, Republic of (Bakassi Movement for Self-Determination, 2006)

The International Court of Justice decided the dispute over the Bakassi peninsula in favour of Cameroon on 10 October 2002.[23] On 12 June 2006 the presidents of Nigeria and Cameroon signed the Greentree Agreement, which provided for Nigeria to withdraw its armed forces within sixty days and, under its first annex, to keep a civil administration and police force in the peninsula for a non-renewable period of two years.[24] Contemporary reports placed the number of residents between 150,000 and 300,000.[25] A resident told IRIN that they had not been consulted, and a body calling itself the Bakassi Self Determination Movement opposed the transfer.[26] According to a research response of the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, which cites the Buea newspaper The Post, the movement decided at a meeting in Yenagoa, Nigeria, on 2 July 2006 to declare the peninsula independent, wrote a declaration, and chose Akwa Obutong as the capital of the proposed republic.[27]

In early August 2006, at a ceremony at Ekpot Abia, the movement's leader, Tony Ene, told the crowd: "The people have declared their own republic!" A new blue and white striped flag was displayed, although only a few hundred people attended.[25] A week later IRIN reported that the movement had declared independence from both Nigeria and Cameroon, and quoted Ene as saying: "If Nigeria does not want us, we choose to go it alone and not with Cameroon."[26]

Barotseland, Independence Claims of the Lozi Kingdom (2012)

Barotseland, the former Barotse Protectorate and Lozi heartland, passed under British influence through the concessions that the Lozi king Lewanika granted to the British South Africa Company in 1900.[28] Before Zambian independence, the Barotseland Agreement of May 1964, concluded in London between the Northern Rhodesian government and the Litunga, recognised the Litunga as the principal local authority with power over land, natural resources and taxation.[28] Zambia annulled the Agreement by the Constitutional (Amendment) Act of October 1969.[28] Demands for restoration revived from 2010. On 26 and 27 March 2012 the Barotse National Council, meeting at Limulunga, resolved that Barotseland and Zambia should go separate ways as independent states and instructed the Barotse authorities to notify the Southern African Development Community, the African Union, the Commonwealth and the United Nations.[29,30] The Barotse National Freedom Alliance, formed to implement the resolutions, joined the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization in November 2013 and proposed arbitration before the Permanent Court of Arbitration, which Zambia did not accept.[30,31] A communication on behalf of the Barotse authorities was registered with the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights in 2013.[32] The Zambian government declared secession illegal, offered decentralisation in place of restoration, and in 2013 saw the National Constitutional Convention set aside a vote on the Agreement in favour of dialogue with the Barotse Royal Establishment.[33,34] The movement has held no territory and administered no government, and no state has recognised its claim. The Litunga's customary office and the Barotse Royal Establishment continue as institutions within Zambia, and the sources do not show either proclaiming independence.[35]

Biafra, Republic of

The Republic of Biafra was proclaimed on 30 May 1967 by Lieutenant Colonel Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu, military governor of Nigeria's Eastern Region, which had refused to recognise the legitimacy of the federal government after attacks on Igbo in the north in 1966.[36] The Library of Congress study estimates 8,000 to 10,000 deaths in the 1966 attacks, with higher figures cited. Federal army units advanced into the secessionist territory in July 1967. A federal blockade and the war brought famine, and food and medical supplies were scarce in Biafra; the same study puts deaths from hostilities, disease and starvation at between one and three million.[36,37] Owerri fell to federal troops in January 1970 and Biafran resistance collapsed: Ojukwu fled into exile in Côte d'Ivoire days before the surrender, and the chief of staff left as officer administering the government, Philip Effiong, submitted to the federal government at ceremonies in Lagos.[36,37]

Tanzania recognised Biafra on 13 April 1968, and Gabon, Côte d'Ivoire, Zambia and Haiti followed; the dates of those later recognitions have not been verified. The Organisation of African Unity, meeting at Algiers in September 1968, called on its members to refrain from any action detrimental to the territorial integrity of Nigeria (resolution AHG/Res. 54 (V)).[38,39,40]

Cabinda, Republic of (FLEC)

Cabinda, an oil-producing coastal enclave separated from the rest of Angola by a strip of territory belonging to the Democratic Republic of the Congo, was administered by Portugal as a protectorate distinct from Angola proper, a status that Cabindan separatists argue was never extinguished when Portugal withdrew in 1975.[41] The Front for the Liberation of the Enclave of Cabinda (FLEC) was founded in 1963 and has waged an insurgency against Portuguese and then Angolan forces.[41] Its supporters hold that Cabinda's offshore petroleum should benefit a separate Cabindan state rather than Luanda.[41] Armed conflict diminished after a 2006 memorandum of understanding between the Angolan government and one FLEC faction; the independence claim was not abandoned.[41]

Caprivi (Zambezi Region), Independence Movement of (1999)

On 2 August 1999 fighters of the Caprivi Liberation Army, a secessionist group, attacked a military base at Mpacha airport, a police station and the radio centre of the Namibian Broadcasting Corporation in Katima Mulilo, the regional capital of the Caprivi Strip.[42] Sixteen people died, and a state of emergency was in force from 2 to 25 August.[43] Press reports named Mishake Muyongo, a former leader of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, as leader of the secession movement; he grounded the demand for a separate Caprivi on a merger agreement of 1964 between SWAPO and the Caprivi African National Union, which SWAPO denied.[42,43]

Casamance (Movement of Democratic Forces of Casamance)

The Casamance region of southern Senegal, separated from the rest of the country by the territory of The Gambia, has seen a separatist insurgency waged by the Movement of Democratic Forces of Casamance (MFDC). The movement first demanded independence for Casamance on 26 December 1982, and its military wing was established in 1985.[44,45] Vincent Foucher's study describes the conflict as one of the longest running violent conflicts in Africa, with several thousand deaths and low-intensity violence, and asks whether the separatism is a bargaining position through which local elites seek to renegotiate their place in the Senegalese state.[45]

A peace process has run since 1991.[45] The government and the MFDC signed the Toubacouta Communique on 29 March 1991, a ceasefire on 31 May 1991 and a further ceasefire at Ziguinchor on 8 July 1993; ceasefires followed on 27 December 1999 and 30 November 2000, a peace agreement at Ziguinchor on 16 March 2001, and an agreement of 30 December 2004 with the political wing.[44,46] None of these produced a comprehensive settlement.[44] On 4 August 2022 the Senegalese state and a faction of the MFDC signed in Bissau a Mutual Commitment Declaration on the Terms of Disarmament, and on 21 and 22 February 2025 delegations of the state and of the provisional committee of the unified political and combat wings of the MFDC met in Bissau, with Guinea-Bissau as guarantor, and reaffirmed their commitment to disarmament; the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, which facilitated the talks, records that the practical modalities were yet to be determined.[47] No recognition of an independent Casamance is recorded.[44]

Eritrea, Provisional Government of (1991 to 1993)

The Eritrean Liberation Front was founded in Cairo on 10 July 1960, and armed struggle for independence from Ethiopia began on 1 September 1961, when its militants, led by Hamid Idris Awate, attacked police stations in the Barka region.[48] In late May 1991, after the government in Addis Ababa collapsed and the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) had captured Assab on 25 May, the EPLF formed a provisional government of Eritrea on 29 May 1991.[48] The Provisional Government administered the territory until a United Nations-sponsored referendum held from 23 to 25 April 1993, in which 99.8 per cent of voters chose independence.[48,49] Eritrea became independent on 24 May 1993, and on 28 May 1993 the General Assembly decided to admit it to membership of the United Nations.[48,50]

Greater Liberia (National Patriotic Reconstruction Assembly Government, Gbarnga, from 1990)

Charles Taylor's forces invaded the Firestone rubber plantation on 5 June 1990, and Taylor named the territory under his control Greater Liberia, better known as "Taylorland", with the northern village of Gbarnga as his capital.[51] On 20 October 1990 he formed a legislative body, the National Patriotic Reconstruction Assembly Government (NPRAG) and appointed a cabinet; he also hired a lobbyist in Washington.[51] His army reached perhaps 10,000 fighters, and by November 1990, when an uneasy ceasefire settled across the country, ProPublica says he controlled almost all of Liberia.[51] On 6 April 1991 the United States ambassador and a Firestone manager met Taylor at Gbarnga.[51]

Human Rights Watch's World Report 1993 describes the NPRAG as the governing body of Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia and Gbarnga as his capital.[52] It records that in 1992 the United States did not recognise any government in Liberia, including the NPRAG.[52]

Liberia held presidential and legislative elections on 19 July 1997. The National Patriotic Front had been converted into the National Patriotic Party to contest them, and Taylor won more than 75 per cent of the vote and was sworn in as president on 2 August 1997, according to the Brookings Institution.[53]

Kata Katanga (Katangan Secessionist Militia, 2013 to 2016)

Kata Katanga is the name of a Mayi-Mayi militia, rendered in Swahili as "cut Katanga" off from the rest of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, that claimed a series of attacks in the south-east of the country from January 2013.[54] The Groupe de recherche et d'information sur la paix et la sécurité (GRIP) names as its leader Gédéon Kyungu Mutanga.[54] GRIP describes the movement as secessionist.[54]

On 23 March 2013 Mayi-Mayi Kata Katanga fighters attacked government institutions in Lubumbashi. Government troops repelled them, and 245 combatants then took refuge in the compound of the United Nations mission (MONUSCO), where they surrendered their weapons; local non-governmental organisations estimated that at least 35 people, civilians among them, were killed in the fighting.[55] GRIP records that the fighters removed a Congolese flag and raised a pro-independence banner, and that the Republican Guard killed dozens.[54] By late 2015 and early 2016 the group's activity had faded, according to GRIP, which records no declaration of independence.[54] According to Human Rights Watch, about 100 of the group's fighters surrendered in Lubumbashi on 11 October 2016, and local officials received them with a celebratory welcome.[56]

Katanga, State of

The State of Katanga was proclaimed on 11 July 1960 by Moïse Tshombe, less than two weeks after the independence of the Congo, in the copper-producing southern province. According to Jules Gérard-Libois, the secession lasted from 11 July 1960 to 14 January 1963, and Katanga operated as a de facto state, although no country recognised its independence.[57]

The secession became a central question of the Congo Crisis. On 21 February 1961 the Security Council, in resolution 161, urged the United Nations to "take immediately all appropriate measures to prevent the occurrence of civil war in the Congo", including the use of force, "if necessary, in the last resort", and urged the withdrawal from the Congo of Belgian and other foreign military and paramilitary personnel and political advisers not under United Nations command, together with mercenaries.[58] On 24 November 1961 resolution 169 authorised the Secretary-General to "take vigorous action, including the use of the requisite measure of force, if necessary", to apprehend, detain or deport such personnel and mercenaries.[59] United Nations operations in December 1962 and January 1963, known as Operation Grand Slam, began on 28 December 1962 and followed the shooting down of a United Nations helicopter, and in January 1963 Tshombe agreed to end the secession.[60]

Recent scholarship argues that the secession was driven by Katangese political leaders, and not by outside interests alone: they rejected what they saw as an imposed Congolese nation-state and built a Katangese national identity on a reconstructed Katangese past.[61]

Logone, Republic of

On 14 December 2015 a spokesman for Noureddine Adam, leader of a splinter faction of the Seleka rebel group, announced the autonomy of the north-east of the Central African Republic under the name Republic of Logone. According to Al Jazeera, the spokesman, Maouloud Moussa, said: "What we want first of all is autonomy", and that independence would be considered later.[62] The declaration followed a referendum on a new constitution, held under United Nations protection on 13 December, and preceded national elections scheduled for 27 December, which the faction demanded be cancelled.[62] After the faction raised its flag over the northern town of N'Delé, United Nations peacekeepers took it down.[62] A spokesman for the transitional government, Dominique Said Panguindji, condemned the declaration and called on the international community and the international forces in the country to act against it.[62]

Maakhir, State of (Sanaag, Somalia, 2007)

The Maakhir state administration was proclaimed in 2007 as one of several Warsengeli attempts to create an autonomous administration in the Sanaag region of Somalia.[63] Omar S Mahmood, writing for the Institute for Security Studies in 2019, attributes the project to a conflict from the mid-2000s over natural resources between the Warsengeli, in particular the Dubays sub-clan, and Puntland under President Adde Muse.[63] He describes it as an attempt to create an autonomous administration that sought allegiance with Mogadishu, and he reads it as a sign of Warsengeli distrust of Puntland and of a wish to remain separate from Somaliland.[63] In his assessment, as with the Sool, Sanaag and Cayn (SSC) and Khatumo projects, the initiative "did not amount to much."[63]

Madagascar, Provincial Declarations of Autonomy and Independence of 2002

The disputed presidential election of December 2001 produced two rival claimants to power in Madagascar. On 22 February 2002 Marc Ravalomanana, the mayor of Antananarivo, declared himself president; Didier Ratsiraka declared martial law in the capital on 28 February; and on 1 March Ravalomanana formed a rival government.[64] Ratsiraka set up a government at Toamasina, backed by the governors of five of the six provinces.[65] The pro-Ratsiraka governor of Toamasina, known to contemporary reports as Tamatave, set up roadblocks on the main route to the capital, which cut off fuel and supplies.[66]

Four provincial governors loyal to Ratsiraka declared their provinces independent of the capital. IRIN, reporting on 2 May 2002, placed the declarations of Antsiranana on 30 April, Toamasina on 1 May, and Toliara and Mahajanga on 2 May.[67] Amnesty International records that the High Constitutional Court declared Ravalomanana the winner, that he was sworn in on 6 May, that he sent the army to take control of the provinces, and that dozens of people were killed during the unrest.[65]

Martyazo, Hutu Insurgent Republic of (Burundi, May 1972)

During the Hutu insurgency that began in southern Burundi on 29 April 1972, some of the insurgents withdrew to Vyanda, near the provincial capital Bururi, and in early May proclaimed the Republic of Martyazo. René Lemarchand describes it as a short-lived experiment, and government troops ended it about a week later. The sources do not show that it administered territory beyond its base, and no state recognised it. The proclamation took place within the wider violence known in Burundi as Ikiza.

Mohéli (Mwali), State of

Mohéli (Mwali), the smallest of the three islands of the Comoros, announced its independence on 11 August 1997, in the same month in which separatists on Anjouan declared that island no longer part of the Comoros.[68] Amnesty International records that the Anjouan movement claimed that its island belonged instead to France, and that the federal army's intervention in September 1997 led to violent clashes with separatists on Anjouan, in which one civilian and three soldiers were reported killed.[68] The Organisation of African Unity sent a mediator in August 1997, and a conference held in December produced no solution.[68] Delegations of Mohéli, Anjouan and Grande Comore were parties to the Addis Ababa Agreement of 13 December 1997, in which the signatories regretted the military actions carried out on Anjouan and Mohéli and recalled the position of the Organisation of African Unity, the United Nations, the League of Arab States and the European Union on the unity and territorial integrity of the Comoros.[69] A Mohéli delegation took part in the talks at Antananarivo that ended with the accords of 23 April 1999, drawn up under the guarantee of the Organisation of African Unity, the United Nations and the League of Arab States.[70]

The Fomboni Agreement of 17 February 2001, signed under the auspices of the Organisation of African Unity by Comorian parties including Mohamed Fazul, created a new Comorian Ensemble in which the islands were to manage their own affairs.[71] Religion, nationality, currency, foreign relations and external defence, together with the national symbols, were reserved to the Ensemble.[71] The PA-X peace agreements database places the agreement in the context of the secession of Anjouan and Mohéli in 1997.[71]

Mombasa Republican Council (Pwani si Kenya)

The Mombasa Republican Council (MRC) is a Kenyan coastal movement whose slogan, Pwani si Kenya, means the coast is not Kenya.[72] Brian Dabbs wrote for Al Jazeera in 2012 that the MRC was founded in 1999, was led by its chairman Omar Mwamnwadzi and claimed a coastal territory between the Tanzanian and Somali borders reaching 300 kilometres inland, and that it rested its claim on an alleged 50-year lease between the Sultan of Zanzibar and Jomo Kenyatta before Kenyan independence in 1963.[72] Its supporters cited land seizures, exploitation of resources and employment discrimination by inland Kenyans.[72]

The Kenyan minister proscribed the MRC under the Prevention of Organised Crimes Act by Gazette Notice No. 12585 of 18 October 2010, and the High Court declared the proscription unconstitutional on 25 July 2012.[73] On 8 July 2016 the Court of Appeal dismissed the Attorney General's appeal, holding that the minister had not satisfied the limitation requirements of Article 24 of the Constitution.[73] The Court recorded that the respondents, who sued on behalf of some 32,000 members, described the MRC as a peaceful group seeking its members' rights over land, natural resources and political and economic advancement, and that they advocated secession by constitutional amendment.[73] The Court of Appeal held that the State had not shown that the MRC engaged in organised criminal activity and that advocacy of secession is not unconstitutional in itself, provided it is pursued through the constitutional amendment process.[73]

Niger Delta Republic

The Niger Delta Republic was declared on 23 February 1966 by Isaac Adaka Boro, an Ijaw from Kaiama in the Niger Delta, who recruited volunteers from his home area into the Niger Delta Volunteer Force.[74] The rising, known as the Twelve Day Revolution (the title of Boro's autobiography), ran from 23 February to 6 March 1966, and Boro lost.[74] Boro was tried at the Port Harcourt Assizes and sentenced to death, but accepted a pardon from General Yakubu Gowon.[74] He and about 150 comrades then joined the Nigerian Army and fought in the Niger Delta, where they recaptured Bonny, a key export terminal.[74] Boro was killed on 9 May 1968, at about the age of 30, near Okrika in what is now Rivers State.[74]

Nuba Mountains, SPLM-N Administration of the (from 2011)

The Sudan People's Liberation Movement-North (SPLM-N) has fought the Sudanese government in the Nuba Mountains since June 2011, and at the end of October 2011 the Small Arms Survey recorded that it controlled all of the localities of Heiban, Boram and Um Durein.[75] In June 2017 the Nuba Mountains Liberation Council backed Abdelaziz al-Hilu as leader of the movement.[76] A conference at Heiban in October 2017 adopted the right of self-determination for the people of the Nuba Mountains and South Kordofan.[77] In March 2021 al-Hilu's faction agreed with the Alliance of Civilian Nuba Mountains Forces to adopt secularism and uphold self-determination.[78] In November 2022 al-Hilu said that the movement could choose independence if Sudan continued to vacillate on a secular state.[79] In February 2025 a faction of the movement led by al-Hilu signed in Nairobi, together with the Rapid Support Forces and other groups, a charter that provided for a government of peace and unity in rebel-held areas.[80]

Oduduwa Republic (Yoruba Nation Agitation, 2021)

On the evening of 18 March 2021 the Yoruba activist Sunday Igboho declared, in a video shared online, that the Yoruba were a separate nation, and demanded the secession of the south-western states from Nigeria.[81] The proposed state was styled the Republic of Oduduwa, after the mythical progenitor of the Yoruba. No administration was established and no territory came under its control.

Ogaden (Western Somali Liberation Front and Ogaden National Liberation Front)

The Ogaden, the Somali-inhabited south-eastern region of Ethiopia, has been the object of two successive separatist movements. The Western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF), which the Somali government trained and armed, became active among the ethnic Somali population of the Ogaden, and Bruce Porter reports that it controlled parts of the eastern Ogaden before regular Somali troops invaded in July 1977.[82] Ethiopian forces, reinforced by Soviet equipment and Cuban troops, defeated the Somali army in 1978.[82]

The Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF) continued the claim. A 1998 report of the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada found it difficult to identify a single coherent structure, with representation divided between Addis Ababa and London, an Islamist wing, and a base of potential support in Ethiopia's Region 5, and recorded that the ONLF refused to renounce violence or to recognise the government's legitimacy.[83] The PA-X peace agreements database describes the ONLF as having waged insurgent campaigns from 1994 that sought secession from Ethiopia and integration into a Greater Somalia, and records the Asmara Declaration of 21 October 2018, by which the Ethiopian government and the ONLF agreed to end hostilities and the ONLF undertook to pursue its political objectives by peaceful means.[84] The latest position recorded in the sources read is the 2018 declaration.

Oromia (Oromo Liberation Front and the Aim of an Independent State of Oromia)

The Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) was established in 1973 to lead what it described as the national liberation struggle of the Oromo from Abyssinian colonial domination.[85] The Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada reported in 2015 that the OLF's own website defined its goals as the realisation of national self-determination of the Oromo people and the establishment of an independent State of Oromia, and that observers characterised it as a separatist group seeking an Oromo state within Ethiopia's present borders.[85] Ethiopia designated the OLF a terrorist organisation in June 2011, a step that the United States, United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, the European Union and Russia had not taken as at the date of that report.[85] The OLF joined the transitional government formed after the overthrow of the Mengistu regime in 1991 and withdrew from it in June 1992.[85]

The prime minister, Abiy Ahmed, lifted the ban on the OLF in July 2018, and its chairman Dawud Ibsa returned to Addis Ababa on 15 September 2018 after 26 years abroad.[86] Marew Abebe Salemot argued in January 2024 that the talks between the Ethiopian government and the OLF had failed, that the 2018 Asmara accord was never committed to a signed document, that the OLF had divided into several factions, including the Oromo Liberation Army and the OLF Shene group, and that the process did not address the movement's aim of an independent Oromia, which Ethiopia's constitution permits in theory through its provision for secession.[87]

Rhodesia, Unilateral Declaration of Independence of

On 11 November 1965 the government of the self-governing British colony of Southern Rhodesia, led by Prime Minister Ian Smith, issued a Unilateral Declaration of Independence from the United Kingdom. In his announcement Smith said that Rhodesians had rejected "the doctrinaire philosophy of appeasement and surrender."[88] On 20 November 1965 the United Nations Security Council, in Resolution 217, condemned the seizure of power by a racist settler minority, declared its claim to independence to have no legal validity, and called on all states not to recognise the illegal authority.[89] On 16 December 1966, in Resolution 232, acting under Articles 39 and 41 of the Charter, it determined that the situation in Southern Rhodesia constituted a threat to international peace and security and required member states to prevent the import of goods that included asbestos, iron ore, chrome, sugar, tobacco and copper.[90]

The Zimbabwe Act 1979, which received royal assent on 20 December 1979, provided for Southern Rhodesia to become an independent republic named Zimbabwe and ended the remaining effect of the Southern Rhodesia Act 1965.[91] The Lancaster House Agreement, signed in London on 21 December 1979, settled the terms of the transition, which led to elections in February 1980.[92] The Zimbabwe Independence Order 1980, made on 19 March 1980, fixed 18 April 1980 for that change, and on that day the breakaway colony became the independent Republic of Zimbabwe.[93]

Rwenzururu, Kingdom of

The Rwenzururu movement arose in the 1960s in the Rwenzori region of Toro District in western Uganda as a protest by the minority Bakonzo and Baamba peoples against discrimination and their incorporation into the Batoro-dominated kingdom-district of Toro.[94] Martin Doornbos traces how its aims changed over the years, until it demanded recognition of its claimed semi-traditional kingship within Uganda, and how the Ugandan government responded to the movement and in the end accepted it.[94]

Isaya Mukirania Kibanzanga led a secessionist group in the Rwenzori Mountains and died there; his son, Charles Wesley Mumbere, inherited the royal title at the age of 13.[95] Mumbere was crowned king on 19 October 2009, and later that day President Yoweri Museveni recognised the Rwenzururu Kingdom at a public rally as the seventh traditional kingdom of Uganda; recognition carries no executive power.[95]

Sanwi, Kingdom of

Sanwi is an Anyi kingdom in the extreme south-east of Ivory Coast, on the border with Ghana, whose leaders claimed separate statehood at the time of Ivorian independence.[96] Pierluigi Valsecchi identifies two phases of the secession crisis, from 1959 to 1966 and from 1969 to 1970. In the first, Kwame Nkrumah's Ghana hosted and funded a Sanwi government in exile, an interest that Valsecchi argues was tactical and arose from Nkrumah's rivalry with the Ivorian president, Félix Houphouët-Boigny.[96]

In December 1969 the Sanwi king called for the kingdom to secede and led a separatist revolt, which government troops put down.[97] Valsecchi concludes that Sanwi and its people suffered repression and lasting marginalisation, that the crisis weakened the Anyi-Sanwi ruling group, and that the royal institution returned from exile in Ghana in 1981.[96]

Somaliland, Republic of

The Republic of Somaliland, corresponding to the former British Somaliland Protectorate, became independent from the United Kingdom in June 1960 and on 1 July 1960 united with the former Italian-administered Trust Territory of Somalia to form the Somali Republic.[98] After the collapse of Siad Barre's government in civil war, the Somali National Movement convened a conference of clan elders at Burao in 1991, which declared Somaliland's withdrawal from the union and the restoration of its independence.[98]

No state recognised Somaliland for thirty-four years. On 1 January 2024 Ethiopia's prime minister, Abiy Ahmed, and Somaliland's president, Muse Bihi Abdi, signed a memorandum of understanding at Addis Ababa under which Ethiopia would obtain access to the Red Sea port of Berbera, while Somaliland would receive a stake in Ethiopian Airlines, and President Bihi stated that Ethiopia would in due course be the first country to recognise Somaliland as an independent nation.[99] Durham University analysts noted that Ethiopia had undertaken to examine recognition, not to grant it, and recorded opposition from Egypt, the United States, the European Union, China, Türkiye and Djibouti and a statement of support for Somalia's territorial integrity by the Intergovernmental Authority on Development.[100] On 3 January 2024 Somalia's president, Hassan Sheikh Mohamud, called the memorandum null and void, and Somalia summoned its ambassador to Ethiopia.[101]

On 26 December 2025 Israel became the first United Nations member state to recognise Somaliland. Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu announced recognition of the Republic of Somaliland as an independent state, in what he framed as the spirit of the Abraham Accords, and the two governments agreed to establish full diplomatic relations, including ambassadors and embassies; Somaliland's president, Abdirahman Mohamed Abdullahi, called the occasion historic.[102] The foreign ministers of Somalia, Egypt, Türkiye and Djibouti issued a joint statement rejecting and condemning the step.[102] The African Union Commission's chairperson rejected any initiative recognising Somaliland as independent, the Secretary-General of the Arab League called the step a clear violation of international law, the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation and more than twenty member states issued a joint rejection, the Gulf Cooperation Council condemned it, and the European Union affirmed Somalia's territorial

integrity and called for dialogue.[103] The same report records that the President of the United States said that Washington would not recognise Somaliland.[103] On 28 December 2025 President Hassan Sheikh Mohamud told an emergency joint session of the Somali parliament that the recognition was a "naked invasion," and the legislators passed a resolution by unanimous vote declaring it null and void and directing the government to take the matter to the United Nations, the African Union and the Arab League.[104] On 29 December 2025 the United Nations Security Council met in emergency session; according to Al Jazeera, 14 of its 15 members criticised the recognition, while the United States said that there had been no change in its policy on Somaliland.[105] The African Union's Peace and Security Council met in emergency ministerial session in January 2026, and on 19 April 2026 the African Union Commission recalled that the Council had warned that any unilateral recognition of Somaliland was null and void, while objecting to Israel's reported decision to appoint an envoy.[106,107]

In the United States, H.R. 3992, the Republic of Somaliland Independence Act, was introduced in the House of Representatives on 12 June 2025 by Representative Scott Perry and three co-sponsors and referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs; it would declare Somalia's territorial claims over Somaliland invalid and authorise the President to recognise Somaliland.[108] On 14 June 2026 President Abdullahi began the first state visit by a Somaliland head of state to another country, meeting President Isaac Herzog in Jerusalem.[109] On 15 June 2026 Somaliland opened an embassy in Jerusalem, and Foreign Minister Gideon Sa'ar welcomed the president at the Israeli foreign ministry.[110]

South Kasai, Autonomous State of

The "Autonomous State of South Kasai" was proclaimed on 8 August 1960 by Albert Kalonji of the MNC-Kalonji, a month after the secession of Katanga, in the Kasai province that contains the Congo's diamond mines.[111] The Royal Museum for Central Africa records that the state had the support of Western countries and was later renamed the Federal Kingdom of South Kasai.[111] The central government ended the secession after a military campaign in which thousands of civilians were massacred.[111]

Southern Sudan (1955 to 2011)

The movement for southern self-rule in Sudan began on 18 August 1955, when the Equatoria Corps, a military unit composed of southerners, mutinied at Torit, some months before Sudan became independent on 1 January 1956.[112,113] Many mutineers hid with their weapons rather than surrender, and the episode started the first civil war in southern Sudan.[112] The Anyanya guerrillas came to control much of the southern countryside, and in 1971 Joseph Lagu proclaimed the Southern Sudan Liberation Movement, behind which the Anyanya leaders united.[112] By the late 1960s the war had caused about 500,000 deaths.[112] It ended with the Addis Ababa agreement of March 1972, which grouped the three southern provinces into a self-governing region with its own assembly and executive council.[113]

In 1983 President Nimeiri divided the southern region into three and revoked its autonomous powers, and in the same year the Sudan People's Liberation Movement and Army formed under John Garang; its declared aim was a united Sudan, not separation.[114] Oil had been found near Bentiu in 1978, and control of it was among the grievances.[113] The Comprehensive Peace Agreement of 2005 ended the second war and provided for a vote on self-determination for southern Sudan.[115,116] The referendum was held from 9 to 15 January 2011, and 98.83 per cent of valid votes were cast for separation, on a turnout of 97.58 per cent.[115] The Republic of South Sudan seceded from Sudan on 9 July 2011, and the United Nations General Assembly admitted it as a member on 14 July 2011.[117]

Zanzibar, People's Republic of

The People's Republic of Zanzibar came into being on 12 January 1964, when African insurgents overthrew the Arab-led government of the island, about a month after Zanzibar became independent from Britain.[118,119] The rising was led by John Okello, a Ugandan Christian preacher who styled himself Field Marshal and seized the main police station and the radio station.[119] Prime Minister Mohammed Shamte and his cabinet resigned the next day.[119] Rioters targeted the island's Arab and Asian populations; accounts of the number killed differ, one giving about ten thousand and another 17,000.[119,120]

A revolutionary council of 31 members was formed under the chairmanship of Abeid Karume of the Afro-Shirazi Party, who became president, and a struggle for power followed between Karume's moderates, the radicals led by Abdul Rahman Mohammed Babu, and Okello.[119,118] The Articles of Union were signed at Zanzibar by Julius Nyerere and Abeid Karume on 22 April 1964,[121] and the union took effect on 26 April 1964, which ended the republic's separate existence after fewer than four months.[119] The united state announced the name United Republic of Tanzania on 29 October 1964, and Karume, who became first vice-president, kept the title of president of Zanzibar.[119]

Section II.2

African Polities Resisting Colonial Conquest

Entries in this section gather precolonial and early colonial African kingdoms and empires that resisted European, Egyptian or settler conquest, and whose assertion of self-government against annexation places them within the compendium's subject. They span the Zulu, Asante, Ndebele and Benin states, the Mahdist State of the Sudan, and the West African empires of the late nineteenth century. Colonial law treated their rulers as chiefs or rebels, and the entries describe both the institutions the states maintained and the terms on which each was brought to an end.

Aro Confederacy (Arochukwu)

The Aro were a people of Arochukwu, on the east bank of the Cross River in what is now Abia State, south-eastern Nigeria, whose homeland and the settlements it founded across the Igbo hinterland are called in the scholarly literature the Aro Confederacy. Nwauwa used genealogies to date the founding of the Aro chiefdom to about 1690 to 1720.[122] "Confederacy" is an analytical label that the sources consulted do not show the Aro using.

The homeland comprised 19 villages, each under a chief (Eze Ogo) answerable to the Eze Aro, while Dike and Ekejiuba counted more than 150 Aro colonies founded between 1680 and 1890.[123] The oracle Ibini Ukpabi, known to the British as the Long Juju, acted as a court for disputes beyond the reach of local institutions; Nigeria's submission to UNESCO says that the Aro are alleged to have manipulated it so that it served as the judicial system of Igbo communities.[124] Northrup recorded a marketing grid in the Igbo hinterland dominated by Aro traders, and Ottenberg an Aro elite that controlled trade, the oracle, secret societies, military activity and politics.[125,126]

Scholars differ on the political character of this order. Nwauwa treats the Aro as a case of state formation,[127] Ottenberg places them in a "largely stateless" region,[126] and Afigbo wrote of an "Aro Slaving Oligarchy".[128] Nwauwa argues that British officials, expecting the Aro to supply a centralised administration, assumed one existed and doubts colonial writing on the Aro.[129] No source located records an Aro declaration of statehood, a claim to territory beyond the homeland and its colonies, or a request for recognition.

The Aro Expedition of 1901 to 1902, under Lieutenant-Colonel A. F. Montanaro, advanced on Arochukwu in four columns. The despatch records occupation of the town on 24 December 1901, entry of the combined columns on 28 December, and the Long Juju "blown up and utterly destroyed". It mentions no treaty.[130] Montanaro described his first objective as "to subjugate all the 14 Aro families".[130]

Asante Empire, British Annexation of the

The Asante kingdom, a confederation centred on Kumasi and ruled by the Asantehene, became a British protectorate in 1896, and the Asantehene Prempeh I was removed, first to Elmina, then to Freetown and then to the Seychelles.[131] In March 1900 the governor of the Gold Coast, Sir Frederick Hodgson, demanded the Golden Stool, which Asante tradition holds to embody the life of the nation and which the British took to be a throne.[132] The demand was received across Asante as an assault on the confederation, and the Edweso queen mother Yaa Asantewaa led an armed rising that besieged the British at Kumasi until a relief force arrived.[132,133]

The rising was defeated, and Asante was annexed and became a crown colony in 1902.[131] Prempeh I was allowed to return in 1924, as a private citizen.[131]

Benin, Kingdom of, British Conquest of

The Kingdom of Benin, ruled by its Oba from Benin City in what is now southern Nigeria, was invaded by Britain in 1897. In January an Edo force ambushed a British delegation led by James Phillips; Phillips and most of his party were killed. According to the Art Institute of Chicago, the attackers acted without the Oba's knowledge, and the Oba, Ovonramwen, had asked the delegation to postpone its visit.[134]

A British force called the Punitive Expedition was assembled in haste and reached Benin City on 18 February 1897, with orders to invade and conquer it.[134] The British captured Ovonramwen and exiled him to Calabar. Royal objects became spoils of war: some were sold to cover the costs of the invasion, some were shared among members of the expedition, and others left Benin in the chaos.[134] Ovonramwen died in exile in 1914, and in the same year his son returned to Benin City and was crowned Oba Eweka II. The monarchy was restored, but its power was much reduced and made secondary to the colonial system.[134]

Bunyoro, Kingdom of, Resistance of

Omukama Kabalega of Bunyoro, in what is now western Uganda, resisted British expansion from 1872, when he defeated the troops of Sir Samuel Baker, until the British declared war on him at the turn of 1893 and 1894.[135] Colonel Henry Colvile led a force of British officers, Sudanese troops and Baganda infantry against Bunyoro in late December 1893 and January 1894 after Kabalega refused demands for tribute. Kabalega avoided set-piece battles and used guerrilla tactics, and the British did not have another direct chance to attack him for six years.[136]

On 9 April 1899 Kabalega was wounded and captured alongside Mwanga of Buganda by two Baganda generals, Semei Kakungulu and Andereya Luwandagga, who were working with the British.[135] He was exiled to Kismayu and later to the Seychelles, and died at Jinja on 6 April 1923 while returning to Bunyoro.[135] According to the historian Shane Doyle, as quoted in the Monitor, two thirds of Nyoro territory had passed to Buganda and Tooro by the end of 1899.[136]

Darfur, Sultanate of

The Sultanate of Darfur, in what is now western Sudan, was an independent kingdom under the Keira dynasty of the Fur from the seventeenth century until the Egyptian conquest of 1874.[137] Its prosperity rested on trade, in which slaves and ivory were exchanged with Egypt for weapons, horses and cloth.[138] In 1874 Zubayr Rahma, a Khartoum merchant allied with the Turco-Egyptian government, conquered Darfur, and Sultan Ibrahim was killed at the battle of Manawashi. Darfur was then administered as an Egyptian province.[138]

After the Anglo-Egyptian defeat of the Mahdists in 1898, Ali Dinar, a member of the former ruling family, returned from Omdurman and restored the sultanate, which the British tolerated; Alex de Waal, reviewing R. S. O'Fahey's history of the sultanate, describes his rule as centralised and despotic yet effective in restoring order.[137,138] In 1915 Ali Dinar declared his support for the Ottoman Empire in the First World War, and Britain sent an expedition against him.[139] He was killed in action at Jabal Juba on 6 November 1916, and in 1917 Darfur was incorporated into the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.[139,138]

Dervish State of Mohammed Abdullah Hassan (Taleh)

Mohammed Abdullah Hassan, called the 'Mad Mullah' by the British, led from 1899 until 1920 a politico-religious movement of Somali dervishes that opposed British, Italian and Ethiopian expansion in the Horn of Africa.[140,141] He joined the Salihiyya order during a pilgrimage to Mecca, in 1894 according to the Diyanet encyclopaedia, and used its network to recruit followers.[141,142] Hess records that Italy for a time settled the problem he posed by granting him the Nogal territory in northern Italian Somaliland, and the Diyanet encyclopaedia dates an agreement with the British and Italians to 1905, giving him a territory at the mouth of the Nugaal valley with Illig as its capital, which broke down within a year.[140,141] He built forts in Dulbahante territory, the largest at Taleh, which the Governor of British Somaliland described in 1920 as a fortified position that Hassan had held since 1907, and in 1913 his forces defeated a British unit.[141,143]

In January 1920 the British opened a combined air and land offensive, in which the air arm was a Royal Air Force detachment known as Z Unit.[143] In his despatch of 15 May 1920 the Governor, Geoffrey Archer, recorded aerial bombing of Medishe and Jidali from 21 January, a raid on Taleh by three aircraft on 4 February, and the fall of Taleh to the Tribal Levy on 9 February; Hassan had escaped the previous night with a mounted party and crossed into Ethiopian territory.[143,144] He died in 1920, on 21 December according to the Diyanet encyclopaedia, and Hoehne gives natural causes within a year of the loss of Taleh.[141,142] Hess notes that he is now regarded as a forerunner of modern Somali nationalism.[140]

Egba United Government (Abeokuta)

The Egba, a Yoruba people who left the territory of the collapsing Oyo empire, settled at Abeokuta, founded in 1830 under Sodeke. Their federated towns were organised through chiefs whose authority was ritual and judicial in the main, while real power rested with the Ogboni society, and the Alake of Abeokuta held nominal supremacy over the wider confederation.[145]

After Sodeke's death the constitution was reformed several times, authority passing from the Ogboni to councils of chiefs known as the Ologun. The Egba United Government emerged in 1898 with the appointment of four Obas under the suzerainty of the Alake, and Britain treated the Egba state as distinct from the colony of Lagos.[145] That recognised self-government ended in 1914, when the colonial authorities incorporated Abeokuta and the Egba territory into a unified Nigeria.[145]

Fante Confederacy

The Fante Confederacy was a union of Fante states and their neighbours on the Gold Coast, formed in 1868 at Mankessim, which Dennis Laumann describes as the traditional religious and political centre of the Fante.[146] In January 1868 kings, chiefs and merchants met there as the Mankessim Council and named kings as presidents of the Fante nation; Denkyira and Wassa, which are not Fante states, joined to form a confederation for mutual support.[146] Rebecca Shumway presents the Confederation of 1868 as the culmination of the growth of indigenous political institutions in nineteenth-century Fanteland.[147]

The 1868 constitution established a National Assembly of representatives of the member states, and Ghartey was named King-President and Chief Magistrate; a Confederate Court sat at Mankessim.[146] A revised constitution accepted by the Assembly in November 1872 added an Executive Council of educated Fante.[146] The Confederacy levied a poll tax, divided its territory into districts for collection, and began to collect road duties in December 1868.[146] Horton claimed that the allied force numbered 15,000 men.[146]

After the Assembly approved the constitution of 1872, British officials at Cape Coast arrested the educated leaders, who were released the following month, and searched their houses for evidence of treason; Laumann records that the British also used threats, bribery and persuasion to win over traditional rulers.[146] The Confederacy did not end on a single date. After the Scheme of 1872, which gave up Fante tax and customs rights in exchange for greater African representation on the Legislative Council, it declined in what Laumann calls "the slow death of the Fante Confederation".[146]

Griqua Captaincies (Griquatown, Philippolis and Griqualand East)

The Griqua emerged in the eighteenth century from communities descended from the Kok and Barendse families, came under missionary influence from the 1790s, and in 1813 adopted the name Griqua together with a system of government by leaders styled kaptyns.[148] There were settlements at Klaarwater, later Griquatown, under Andries Waterboer, at Philippolis under Adam Kok II, and, after 1862, in Griqualand East, where Adam Kok III moved his followers to No Man's Land between the Cape and Natal and founded Kokstad.[148] A British agreement of 1843 with Adam Kok III promised him an annual payment of £100 and a further £50 for Griqua education.[149]

The discovery of diamonds in 1867 brought a flood of prospectors, and in 1871 Griqualand West was proclaimed British territory.[148] Gerald Groenewald writes that the British annexation of Griquatown in October 1871 ended the independent Griqua captaincies, and identifies Nicolaas Waterboer as the last Griqua captain.[150] According to one summary, the Keate Award of 1871 held that although Waterboer held rightful rule, his rule did not extend over the land the Griqua lived on.[149] In Griqualand East, Governor Barkly announced in October 1874 that government would be conducted under the British Resident Orpen, and Adam Kok III died in December 1875.[149]

Harar, Emirate of

Harar, in the eastern highlands of present-day Ethiopia, re-established itself as an independent emirate in 1647 under Amir Ali ibn Da'ud, after more than a century of disruption that followed the wars of Imam Ahmed ibn Ibrahim al-Ghazi and the Oromo pressure that came after them. It remained a self-governing city-state and a centre of Islamic learning, although it had ceased to be a significant regional military power.[151] Egyptian forces occupied the emirate from 11 October 1875, bringing a mosque and the city's first hospital as well as heavy extraction of resources, until the Egyptian withdrawal in the face of Mahdist pressure in Sudan allowed Harar's own emirs to resume authority under Abdullahi Abd al-Shakur.[151] Menelik II's forces advanced on the emirate in January 1887, and Abdullahi refused submission and fled into the Somali desert. Menelik annexed the city, imposed an indemnity of 75,000 Maria Theresa talers and installed his cousin Ras Makonnen as military governor, which ended Harar's self-government.[151]

Mahdist State of the Sudan

The Mahdist State in the Sudan, which P. M. Holt dates from 1881 to 1898, was founded by Muhammad Ahmad, who proclaimed himself the Mahdi, and was continued after his death by the Khalifa Abdallahi.[152] It was overthrown at the Battle of Omdurman on 2 September 1898, the decisive engagement of Kitchener's reconquest, in which the Khalifa, according to Edward Spiers, committed an army in excess of 50,000 men against an Anglo-Egyptian force that had grown to 23,000, of whom only 8,000 were British soldiers.[153] The Khalifa Abdallahi was killed in a final engagement against a force under Colonel Reginald Wingate in November 1899, and accounts that treat his death as the close of the state extend its dates to that year.[154,155]

Rif, Republic of the

The Republic of the Rif was the state-building effort of the Rifian leaders under Abd el-Krim al-Khattabi in northern Morocco, then claimed by Spain, during the Rif War of 1920 to 1926.[156] What began as an indigenous rebellion widened into a larger war when France and Spain intervened in its final phase.[156] A government styling itself the Riff Republic issued a "Declaration of State and Proclamation to all Nations" in 1923, transmitted through an agent in London, in an effort to obtain international recognition; none was given.[156] Spanish forces used chemical weapons against the Rif, including phosgene, diphosgene, chloropicrin and mustard gas, as Spanish pilots later confirmed in their memoirs, and the Geneva Protocol prohibiting such gases was signed in June 1925, while the campaign was still under way.[156] Abd el-Krim surrendered to the French on 27 May 1926 and was exiled to Réunion, where he remained until May 1947.[157]

Sokoto Caliphate, British Conquest of the

The Sokoto Caliphate, an Islamic state founded in the early nineteenth century by Usman dan Fodio and governed through a federation of emirates owing allegiance to the Sultan of Sokoto, lost its independence to British forces directed by Frederick Lugard, High Commissioner of the Northern Nigeria Protectorate. British troops took the city of Sokoto on 15 March 1903, after fighting of about two hours, and the caliph, Muhammadu Attahiru I, fled on a hijra and was killed at Burmi in July 1903.[158] Lugard arrived at Sokoto on 19 March 1903 and installed Muhammadu Attahiru II as sultan, with authority reduced and confined to Sokoto Province.[158]

The conquest did not end armed opposition. A Mahdist rising began in December 1905 in the Dallol Mawri and Dallol Bosso regions of French Niger, spread along the Niger valley and into British Northern Nigeria near Sokoto, and led to the deaths of several British and French officials.[159] According to Lovejoy and Hogendorn, it sought to overthrow British and French colonial rule and the aristocracy of the caliphate; its supporters were peasants, fugitive slaves and radical clerics, and aristocrats, wealthy merchants and the 'ulama did not back it.[160] The authors conclude that its suppression strengthened colonial alliances with local elites and ended revolutionary anti-colonial action by 1906.[160]

Tripolitania, Republic of

The Tripolitanian Republic (jumhuriyyah al-tarabulusiyyah) was proclaimed on 16 November 1918 by leaders of the Libyan resistance to Italy, as Ottoman authority collapsed at the end of the First World War.[161,162] It adopted a Basic Law setting out executive and legislative institutions and was governed by a four-member collective leadership; according to a study in the Journal of Human Sciences of the University of Sebha, it had a presidential council, consultative and legal councils and an army commander.[161,162] It sought international recognition and received none from the great powers, while Italy refused to recognise it and fought its forces.[161,162] Italy promulgated a Colonial Statute for Tripolitania on 1 June 1919, and talks at Khalat al-Zaytouna and a later conference at Gharyan, intended to reconcile the republic's factions, failed.[162,163] Italy then combined delay, support for rival factions and military operations, which brought the occupation of the western region and the end of the republic in 1922.[161,162] The Law Society of Libya describes it as the first republic declared in the Arab world.[161]

Wassoulou Empire (Samory Toure)

Samory Toure created the Wassoulou (Wassulu) Empire in the upper Niger region of West Africa in the last decades of the nineteenth century. At a council in July 1884 he proclaimed himself almamy, the title of an Islamic ruler, and made Islam the religion of his state.[164] He concluded treaties with France at Kéniéba-Koura on 28 March 1886 and at Bissandougou on 23 March 1887.[165]

He resumed resistance and fought the French through the 1890s until Captain Henri Gouraud surprised and captured him at Guélémou on 29 September 1898. He was condemned, deported to Gabon, and died in exile on 2 June 1900 of pneumonia.[166]

Witu, Sultanate of

Witu, a small Swahili polity near the Tana River on the East African coast, first sought European protection against the Sultan of Zanzibar in 1867, when Sultan Ahmed Simba asked, through the traveller Richard Brenner, for a Prussian protectorate; Berlin ignored the request.[167] Clemens and Gustav Denhardt, who had founded a Tana Society in 1879 after an expedition along the Tana River, reached Witu in March 1885, and a treaty of protection was signed on 27 May 1885 under the auspices of the German consul general Gerhard Rohlfs.[167] A squadron of German cruisers under SMS Gneisenau arrived in August 1885, and imperial protection was extended in January 1887 with the German flag raised at several points on the coast.[167] The Denhardts founded a Witu Society under the German Colonial Society in 1887, and Kurt Toeppen, an administrator from German East Africa, was appointed at the end of that year.[167]

Germany's claim was short-lived. The Heligoland-Zanzibar Treaty of 1 July 1890 transferred Witu to British rule without consulting the sultan, who learned of it on 12 August 1890 and took up arms against the Germans.[167] A British and Zanzibari punitive expedition took and burnt Witu on 27 October 1890 and deposed the sultan.[168] In 1891 Witu passed to the Imperial British East Africa Company after the sultan's brother, Fumo Omari, signed a treaty accepting British rule.[167]

Yeke Kingdom of Garenganze (Msiri)

Msiri led the Yeke, who had migrated west of Lake Tanganyika around 1850, and ruled from Bunkeya, the capital of a state that, according to the Royal Museum for Central Africa, controlled large stocks of ivory and the copper and salt mines of southern Katanga.[169] He refused the submission demanded by agents of King Leopold II's Congo Free State: Paul Le Marinel reached Bunkeya on 18 April 1891 and Alexandre Delcommune in October, and both left without achieving their aims.[169]

William Grant Stairs and Captain Omer Bodson arrived at Bunkeya on 14 December 1891, accompanied by Joseph Moloney, the Marquis de Bonchamps and Thomas Robinson.[169] Msiri withdrew to the fortified village of Munema, and on 20 December an armed clash there killed him and his son Masuka.[169] The accounts differ. Stairs and Bonchamps, who were not present at the scene, portray Msiri as the aggressor, whereas Msiri's descendants state that Bodson shot the unarmed Msiri after he refused to follow him, that Masuka then shot Bodson, and that Bonchamps killed Masuka.[169] Moloney, a member of the expedition, published a contemporary account in 1893.[170]

The Congo Free State flag was raised at Bunkeya on 30 December 1891 and Msiri's fort was dismantled.[169] Mukanda Bantu, Msiri's son and successor, submitted to colonial rule, though he rejected that description, and was rewarded with control of a territory; he died in 1910.[169]

Zulu Kingdom under Cetshwayo

In 1877 the British government appointed Sir Bartle Frere High Commissioner for Southern Africa with the task of federating the British colonies and Boer republics, a policy that required control of Zululand.[171] Cetshwayo, king of the Zulu, rejected federation because it would cost him power and refused to disband his army. An ultimatum was read to the Zulu chiefs on 11 December 1878, demanding that the army be disbanded, and it expired in January 1879.[171,172]

On 22 January 1879 a Zulu army of more than 20,000 men destroyed most of about 1,700 British troops at Isandlwana.[171] At Ulundi on 4 July 1879 Lord Chelmsford's force defeated the Zulu army before Cetshwayo's capital, and Cetshwayo was captured in August 1879 and exiled to Cape Town.[171,172] Sir Garnet Wolseley divided Zululand into thirteen territories under appointed chiefs, which produced indirect British rule and civil strife between those chiefs and the uSuthu adherents of the old order.[172] The British restored Cetshwayo in 1883 with much reduced powers; he died in 1884, Zululand was declared British territory in 1887, and it was annexed to Natal in 1897.[171,172]

SECTION II.3

Rival, Exile and Diaspora Governments

Entries in this section gather governments that claimed the whole of a state, or the allegiance of a dispersed people, without controlling the territory at issue. They include rival governments formed in the civil wars of Angola, the Congo and Libya, exile and diaspora governments such as the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic, the Kabyle provisional government and the Western Togoland movement, and the councils that declared regional autonomy within a failing state. Governments in exile of wider geographic range, and the non-territorial entities that hold international standing, are gathered in Part XI, Section 5.

Angola, Democratic People's Republic of (FNLA-UNITA, 1975 to 1976)

Portugal ceded independence in Angola on 11 November 1975 to the people of Angola, without recognising any of the three liberation movements, and rival governments appeared at once.[173] The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) declared itself the legitimate government and styled its territory the People's Republic of Angola, with its seat at Luanda.[173,174] At the same time the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) proclaimed a government headed by Holden Roberto, with Huambo (then Nova Lisboa) as its temporary capital; a United States Department of State circular of 13 November 1975 recorded that no state had yet recognised it, whereas the MPLA regime had been recognised by the Soviet Union, Cuba, East Germany, Poland and others.[174] The Library of Congress country study calls the FNLA-UNITA territory the Democratic People's Republic of Angola and states that the two movements did not set up their government until December 1975.[173]

The FNLA-UNITA government was short-lived. The MPLA, supported by some 10,000 to 12,000 Cuban troops and Soviet arms worth 200 million United States dollars, gained the advantage, while South African support for the FNLA and UNITA lent legitimacy to Soviet and Cuban backing for the MPLA.[173] By February 1976 the FNLA had been defeated in the north, the MPLA controlled Cabinda, and South African troops had withdrawn into Namibia under international pressure.[173] The summit of the Organisation of African Unity in January 1976 had ended in stalemate, with 22 members favouring recognition of the MPLA and 22 a government of national unity.[175] The Library of Congress study records that the Organisation of African Unity, the United Nations, Portugal and more than eighty other states then recognised the MPLA regime as the government of Angola.[173]

Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic

The International Court of Justice, in an advisory opinion of 16 October 1975 requested by the United Nations General Assembly, found that Western Sahara had not been terra nullius at colonisation, that legal ties of allegiance existed with Morocco and with a Mauritanian entity, and that none of those ties amounted to a claim of territorial title capable of displacing the right of the population to determine its future political status by freely expressed will.[176] On 14 November 1975 Spain, Morocco and Mauritania signed the Madrid Declaration of Principles, and on 26 February 1976 Spain informed the Secretary-General that it was terminating its presence in the territory and ceasing to take part in its administration.[177] The United Nations records that the Madrid arrangements partitioned the territory between Morocco and Mauritania, that Mauritania withdrew its claim in 1979, and that Morocco then administered the areas Mauritania had vacated.[178] The Polisario Front, which had fought Spanish forces from 1973, proclaimed the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic on 27 February 1976 and established a government in exile near Tindouf in Algeria; Mohamed Abdelaziz led the movement until his death on 31 May 2016.[179] A sand wall continues to separate Moroccan and Polisario forces.[178]

The Republic gained its principal diplomatic standing within Africa. Morocco, which had withdrawn from the Organisation of African Unity in 1984, was readmitted to the African Union on 30 January 2017 at Addis Ababa, when 39 members voted in favour, and the Republic remained a member of the Union.[180] An analysis by the Institute for Security Studies, drawing on compiled recognition data, counted 22 African states as recognising the Republic and 15 as having withdrawn recognition, with the position of a further 17 unclear.[181] The Security Council established the United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO) by Resolution 690 of 29 April 1991; the Mission deployed in September 1991, a referendum planned for January 1992 has never been held, and the ceasefire held until November 2020.[178] On 13 November 2020 the Secretary-General regretted the failure of United Nations efforts to prevent escalation at Guerguerat, where, according to the United Nations, a Moroccan operation had been launched in response to a reported blockade by Polisario supporters, and the Polisario Front then announced its withdrawal from the ceasefire and a resumption of armed struggle.[182,178]

On 31 October 2025 the Security Council adopted Resolution 2797 by eleven votes in favour, with China, the Russian Federation and Pakistan abstaining and Algeria not participating, extending the mandate of MINURSO to 31 October 2026 and stating that negotiations should proceed on the basis of the autonomy plan proposed by Morocco, which it called the basis of a just, lasting and mutually acceptable settlement.[183] In February 2026 the United States hosted talks involving Morocco, Algeria, Mauritania and the Polisario Front, first in Madrid and then in Washington, in which, according to Africanews, the United States backed the autonomy plan while the Polisario Front and Algeria insisted on self-determination.[184] The Republic was not a member of the United Nations.

Western Togoland (Homeland Study Group Foundation and Restoration Front)

The Homeland Study Group Foundation (HSGF), a movement in Ghana's Volta Region, claims the former British Togoland, a United Nations trust territory administered by the United Kingdom, as an independent state to be called Western Togoland; Eric Adotey traces the roots of this nationalism to 1956.[185] The Ghanaian Minister of Information stated that Ghana "has not ceded any part of its territory to any person or group".[185] The Foundation's founder, Charles Kormi Kudzordzi, died in October 2021, according to the Ghanaian Times.[186]

A separate body, the Western Togoland Restoration Front, carried out coordinated attacks in the Volta Region on 25 September 2020, according to Kwesi Aning of the Danish Institute for International Studies. The attackers hit police stations at Aveyime, Mepe, Juapong and Sogakope, freed detainees and took firearms and vehicles; about sixty hours later a second attack struck the State Transport Corporation yard in Ho.[187] The Peoples' Liberation Council, another Western Togoland body, distanced itself from the Restoration Front.[187] According to the Institute for Security Studies, the gunmen also blocked major roads and raised the flags of their intended state.[188] Adotey does not attribute the attacks to the Foundation, which later said that its campaign would be non-violent.[185]

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Part III

Unilateral Secessions of Asia, the Middle East and the Pacific

This part covers Asia, the Middle East and the Pacific, a region whose secessions were shaped by the retreat of the British, French, Dutch and Japanese empires, by the dissolution of the Ottoman and Qing states, and by the partition of India. Its sections run from South and Southeast Asia through East Asia and Inner Asia and the Middle East to Australasia and the Pacific. Several cases here, such as Taiwan, the Kurdish regions, Southern Yemen and Wa State, remain live, and their entries record the position documented at the time of writing.

SECTION III.1

South and Southeast Asia

Entries in this section chronicle secessionist and autonomist movements and breakaway governments in South and Southeast Asia. They range from princely states that sought independence at the partition of India, and the provisional governments of the anti-colonial struggle, to the long-running armed organisations of Myanmar, the Philippines, Indonesia and the Northeast of India, several of which hold territory and administer it.

Aceh, Free (Gerakan Aceh Merdeka)

The Free Aceh Movement (Gerakan Aceh Merdeka, GAM) was launched on 4 December 1976 by Hasan di Tiro, a businessman and self-appointed envoy to the United Nations in New York for the Darul Islam movement, as the Acheh-Sumatra National Liberation Front. It re-declared a free and independent state of "Aceh-Sumatra", with the aim of severing ties with Jakarta.[1] In 1989 the Indonesian government began a large-scale counter-insurgency campaign that made Aceh a Military Operations Area (Daerah Operasi Militer), understood as martial law; President Habibie lifted that status in August 1998.[1]

After the earthquake and tsunami of 26 December 2004, which the Council on Foreign Relations reports killed some 170,000 people in Aceh, both sides returned to negotiation.[2] The Government of Indonesia and GAM signed a memorandum of understanding at Helsinki on 15 August 2005, with Martti Ahtisaari as facilitator. It gave Aceh authority over all sectors except foreign affairs, external defence, national security, monetary and fiscal matters, justice and freedom of religion, together with a flag, a crest and a hymn, and provided for a new Law on the Governing of Aceh to be promulgated by 31 March 2006.[3] The Aceh Monitoring Mission, a civilian mission led by the European Union with monitors from five ASEAN states, verified the decommissioning of GAM's 840 weapons, which ended with a ceremony in Banda Aceh on 21 December 2005.[4] The settlement left Aceh within Indonesia, and GAM's declaration of independence gained no recognition from any state.

Arakan (Rakhine), Kingdom of Mrauk-U and Arakan Army Administration of

The Arakanese kingdom centred on Mrauk-U fell to Burmese forces, a defeat that Rakhine nationalists still treat as a point of political reference.[5] The most consequential modern movement for Rakhine self-rule is the Arakan Army, established in April 2009 on the Myanmar-China border by Twan Mrat Naing and 25 comrades, whose ideology is the "way of Rakhita".[5] According to the Stimson Center, its political wing, the United League of Arakan, issued a "stay at home" order in July 2022 in response to COVID-19, and its governance covered administration, the judiciary and public security. In August 2022 the league's deputy leader, Nyo Twan Awng, claimed control over two-thirds of Rakhine.[5] The Euro-Burma Office reported in January 2026 that the Arakan Army had captured 14 of Rakhine

State's 17 townships since renewing its offensive in late 2023.[6] No state has recognised the territory it holds.

Asom, United Liberation Front of (Assam)

The United Liberation Front of Asom (ULFA) was founded in 1979 with the declared aim of freeing Assam from what it described as illegal occupation by India and establishing, in the words of its website quoted by Bitasta Das, "a sovereign Independent Assam".[7] Its origins lay in the Assam Movement (1979 to 1985); after the Assam Accord of 1985 brought most protest groups into mainstream politics, ULFA continued to fight for secession.[8] Sanjib Baruah dates to the late 1980s the independentist militancy led by the Front.[9] By January 1991 the Government of India had declared ULFA an unlawful association under the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act 1967 and the whole of Assam a disturbed area.[10]

On 29 December 2023 the Government of India, the Government of Assam and ULFA representatives signed a Memorandum of Settlement in the presence of the Union Home Minister, Amit Shah, which provided a special development package of 5,000 crore rupees over five years.[11] The signatory faction was the pro-talks group led by Arabinda Rajkhowa; the faction of Paresh Baruah was, in the words of The Tribune, "not a party to the agreement".[12]

Azad Jammu and Kashmir, Provisional Government of

In October 1947, as the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir came under dispute, local leaders declared a government at Muzaffarabad on 24 October 1947 under Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan. Pakistani press accounts of the annual founding-day ceremonies describe it as the government of the Kashmiri people.[13] A separate breakaway authority, the Republic of Gilgit, was declared on 1 November 1947 and acceded to Pakistan on 16 November 1947.[14]

The relationship with Pakistan was set by the Karachi Agreement, signed on 27 and 28 April 1949 by Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani for Pakistan, Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas for the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference and Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, then president of Azad Kashmir. Its third part divided powers: the affairs of Gilgit and Ladakh under the Political Agent at Gilgit, defence, and negotiations with the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan passed to Pakistan.[15] Freedom House reported in 2007 that the Legislative Assembly had 49 seats, that Islamabad's approval was required to pass legislation, and that individuals and parties not supporting accession to Pakistan were barred from the political process and from standing for election.[16]

Badakhshan, Mirdom of

Badakhshan, in north-eastern Afghanistan, was ruled from the seventeenth century by the Yaridite dynasty of mirs. Its founder, Mir Yar Beg, a Naqshbandi leader of Yaftal, brought some political unity to southern Badakhshan under the nominal authority of the amir of Bukhara; the Encyclopaedia Iranica dates his reign from 1657 and notes an alternative dating of 1706 to 1707.[17] About 1680 he moved his capital to a new city, first called Jawzan, which took the name Fayzabad after a shrine to house a reputed cloak of the Prophet was built there in 1697 to 1698.[17] Political anarchy under his successors allowed the Uzbeks of Qataghan to encroach on Badakhshan, and in 1829 their ruler, Murad Beg, took Fayzabad, destroyed it and deported its inhabitants to Qataghan.[17] The town was not rebuilt until the 1860s.[17]

Bangladesh, Provisional Government of the People's Republic of (Mujibnagar Government)

The Provisional Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, known as the Mujibnagar Government, was formed on 10 April 1971 during the Bangladesh liberation war. It was resolved that the government take its oath on 14 April in the liberated Chuadanga area, but the plan leaked and the venue moved to Baidyanathtala in Meherpur sub-division.[18] The oath was taken there on 17 April 1971; Professor Mohammad Yusuf Ali read the Proclamation of Independence, Acting President Syed Nazrul Islam administered the oath to the cabinet, and Prime Minister Tajuddin Ahmad addressed the nation, appealing to the world, naming the major powers, for help.[18] Baidyanathtala was named Mujibnagar after Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, and Banglapedia describes it as the headquarters of the first government, or government in exile.[18]

Bangsamoro Republik

The Bangsamoro Republik was proclaimed by Nur Misuari of the Moro National Liberation Front at a gathering in Talipao, Sulu, on 12 August 2013; GMA News recorded that the Philippine government ignored the act.[19] On 9 September 2013 MNLF fighters entered Zamboanga City, and Defence Secretary Voltaire Gazmin declared the crisis over on 28 September 2013.[19] In August 2014 an MNLF official, Habib Mujahab Hashim, said that Misuari had again appeared at a gathering marking the first year of the Bangsamoro Republik and renewed his call for independence.[20]

Biak-na-Bato, Republic of

The Republic of Biak-na-Bato was the republican government that Emilio Aguinaldo and his companions maintained in 1897 at their mountain base at Biak-na-Bato, in the province of Bulacan, during the Philippine Revolution against Spain. Agoncillo records that Aguinaldo and his men prepared a constitution, later known as the Biyaknabato Constitution, between engagements there.[21] Aguinaldo's own account names Pedro Alejandro Paterno as the sole mediator in the negotiation of peace terms, and records that the treaty was completed and signed on 14 December 1897, with an indemnity of $800,000 (Mexican) payable in three instalments.[22] Agoncillo gives three truce documents dated 18 November, 14 December and 15 December 1897, and records that Aguinaldo and his companions sailed for Hong Kong on 27 December 1897 on the steamer Uranus. Governor-General Primo de Rivera said that he could not promise reforms or the expulsion of the religious orders, since only the Spanish Cortes could grant them.[21]

East Cambodia, Autonomous Zone of

After the royalist Funcinpec party won United Nations-supervised elections in May 1993, Prince Norodom Chakrapong, half-brother of the Funcinpec leader Prince Norodom Ranariddh, led a secession movement in eastern Cambodia in June 1993. Its leaders claimed seven provinces, among them Kompong Cham, as a "King Father Autonomous Zone"; the spokesman of Hun Sen said that only three had joined.[23] The secessionists forced United Nations staff to leave some areas and closed others to United Nations flights.[23] The movement collapsed after three days, when Hun Sen visited Kompong Cham to persuade provincial officials to end their revolt. Hanoi's embassy in Phnom Penh said that it would not allow separatist efforts to continue from across the border.[23] The parties then agreed on a transitional government headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, with Ranariddh and Hun Sen as co-chairmen.[23]

East Timor, Democratic Republic of (Fretilin Declaration)

Fretilin declared the independence of the Democratic Republic of East Timor on 28 November 1975, according to statements made at the United Nations Security Council, which China described as reflecting the people's aspirations for independence.[24] Representatives of the Democratic Republic told the Security Council that the Indonesian invasion of Dili began on 7 December 1975, and the Council adopted Resolution 384 (1975) without dissent, which deplored Indonesia's armed intervention and called for its withdrawal "without delay".[25] Indonesia's representative, Anwar Sani, told the Council that Indonesia's presence was upon the specific request of the people of East Timor, represented by four of their parties.[24]

After the consultation of 30 August 1999, which the United Nations chronology records as having a turnout of at least 95 per cent of registered voters, Indonesia's People's Consultative Assembly recognised the result on 19 October 1999. The Security Council established the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor on 25 October 1999, and East Timor became an independent nation on 20 May 2002.[26]

Freedomland, Free Territory of (Tomas Cloma)

In 1956 Tomas Cloma, a Filipino maritime educator, made a "Notice to the World" claiming islands in the Spratlys and naming them "Freedomland". The People's Republic of China and the Republic of China both protested the claim.[27] According to the columnist Rigoberto Tiglao, the government of President Ferdinand Marcos had Cloma jailed at Camp Crame in 1974, and he was released some months later after signing a Deed of Assignment and Waiver of Rights that transferred his claims to the government for one peso.[28] Presidential Decree No. 1596 of 11 June 1978 then declared the Kalayaan Island Group part of Philippine territory and constituted it a distinct municipality of the Province of Palawan.[29] Freedomland is now known as the Kalayaan Islands.[27]

Front Unifié de Lutte des Races Opprimées (FULRO), Central Highlands

The Front Unifié de Lutte des Races Opprimées (FULRO) grew out of Bajaraka, the highland autonomy movement whose name comes from the first letters of the Bahnar, Jarai, Rhade and Koho peoples, and was expanded to include the Cham and Khmer Krom. Gerald Hickey, who observed its evolution, names Y Bham Enuol as one of its leaders.[30] By 20 September 1964 about 3,000 members of the Civilian Irregular Defence Groups were in revolt, had taken Special Forces camps and had marched on Ban Me Thuot; Colonel John Freund was taken hostage at Buon Sar Pa.[30] After the end of the Republic of Vietnam in 1975 some 10,000 FULRO members fled the Central Highlands for Cambodia, and about 150 FULRO soldiers who sought refuge in the French Embassy in Phnom Penh were forced out, to likely execution by the Khmer Rouge.[31] In 1992 a remnant force negotiated with the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia over surrender, on 4 September according to a photograph caption in Asia Times.[31]

Gilgit, Republic of

The Republic of Gilgit was proclaimed in the Gilgit Agency on 1 November 1947. The Gilgit Scouts, under a Revolutionary Council, had initiated a revolt against Dogra rule on 31 October 1947. Subedar-Major Babar Khan presented their demands to the Dogra governor, Brigadier Ghansara Singh, who surrendered after some resistance.[14] An independent state, the "Islamic Republic of Gilgit", was declared on 1 November 1947, with a provisional government in Gilgit. Raja Shah Raees Khan was designated president and Colonel Mirza Hasan Khan chief of the armed forces.[14] Fifteen days later, on 16 November 1947, Gilgit acceded to Pakistan without conditions, and Sardar Mohammad Alam Khan arrived that day to take charge as Political Agent.[14]

Ha Tien, Principality of the Mac Family (1708 to 1771)

Ha Tien was a port principality ruled by the Mac family (Mo in Chinese), a Chinese family of Leizhou origin. Mac Cuu (Mo Jiu) spent years in Cambodia before founding the town of Ha Tien in about 1700.[32] The Gia Dinh Thong Chi and the Dai Nam Thuc Luc date its submission as a tributary to the Nguyen lords to 1708, although a genealogy by Vu gives 1714.[32] Ryan Holroyd writes that Mac Cuu's diplomacy aimed to keep Ha Tien secure "while asserting its independence to as great an extent as possible", and that his son Mac Thien Tu (Mo Tianci), who succeeded him in 1736 and was born in 1717, remained a dutiful tributary of the Nguyen throughout his reign while maintaining ties with Siam and informal links with the Qing.[32] The Nguyen court gave him the right to mint coins, raise troops, build fortresses and establish government offices, though Holroyd suggests that these permissions were no more than retroactive symbolism.[32] King Taksin's army captured Ha Tien in the autumn of 1771 and forced Mac Thien Tu to flee to Rach Gia.[32]

Heshun Kongsi of Monterado (West Borneo)

The Heshun Zongting kongsi of Monterado, in western Borneo, was founded in 1776 by Chinese miners and was older and larger than the better-known Lanfang kongsi. According to a review of Yuan Bingling's study of the West Borneo kongsis, it resisted the Dutch in defence of its independence, its decisive battles being fought in 1853 to 1854; Yuan holds that the history of the Chinese kongsis is in the main that of Monterado rather than of Lanfang.[33] The Jakarta Post gives the Monterado kongsi's other names as Fosjoen and Thaikong, dates it from 1776 to 1854, and records that a separate kongsi, Samtiaokioe, split from it and fled into Sarawak in 1850; it counts Dutch kongsi wars in 1822 to 1824, 1850 to 1854 and 1884 to 1885.[34] A scholarly article of 2026 describes Monterado as a "mining republic" whose kongsi government of 1776 gave way after 1854 to a district under an assistant resident, some 4,000 refugees fleeing to Sarawak.[35]

Hyderabad, State of

The princely state of Hyderabad, ruled by the Nizam, Osman Ali Khan, refused to accede to the new Indian union after 15 August 1947.[36] A Standstill Agreement of 29 November 1947 was to keep Hyderabad separate from India for one year while the two sides negotiated, and a paramilitary force, the Razakars, developed during this period.[36] The Indian Army invaded Hyderabad from five directions on the night of 12 to 13 September 1948, and the state's forces surrendered on 18 September.[36] Hyderabad had by then placed a complaint before the United Nations Security Council. On 17 September the ministry that had made it resigned and the Nizam took charge of the state in person; on 18 September he ordered his delegation to withdraw the case, which he confirmed by cable on 22 September.[37] India announced on 23 September that Hyderabad had been merged into the Indian union, and the territory remained under military rule until the end of 1949.[36] In a note of 24 September 1948 (S/1015) Hyderabad stated that the Nizam had been compelled to surrender power to the Indian military commander and that "a regime of victimization and persecution had already begun."[37]

Indonesia, Islamic State of (Darul Islam)

The Islamic State of Indonesia was established on 7 August 1949 by Sekarmadji Maridjan Kartosoewirjo, the leader of the Darul Islam movement.[38] The movement spread beyond its base in West Java, and by 1957 Darul Islam controlled parts of West Java and much of the countryside of South Sulawesi and Aceh, with bands also operating in Central Java and South Kalimantan.[38] In Aceh the Darul Islam forces accepted a peace agreement in 1962 that gave the province autonomous status.[38] Indonesian soldiers captured Kartosoewirjo in June 1962, and he was executed about three months later.[38] The last Darul Islam band surrendered in South Sulawesi in 1965, sixteen years after the proclamation of the state.[38]

Indonesia, Revolutionary Government of the Republic of (PRRI-Permesta)

The Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia (PRRI) was proclaimed at Padang, in Sumatra, on 15 February 1958 by dissident leaders, with Sjafruddin Prawiranegara as prime minister. The proclamation followed a broadcast of 10 February in which Colonel Husein demanded that the government of Djuanda resign within five days.[39] The movement, together with the related Permesta (Universal Struggle Charter) rebellion, was defeated by the government of Sukarno, which later normalised relations with the United States once American involvement in the rebellion had become public.[40] One analysis argues that the normalisation was a tactical measure to ensure the survival of the Jakarta regime during a crisis of legitimacy and a threat of state disintegration.[40]

Kalat, Khanate of

The Khanate of Kalat was a princely state in what is now Pakistani Balochistan. A standstill agreement between Kalat and Pakistan was announced on 11 August 1947, after a round table conference on 4 August 1947 at which Pakistan recognised Kalat's special status.[41] On 15 August 1947 the Khan, Mir Ahmad Yar Khan, issued a farman declaring the state independent; Najib Alvi observes that the farman had no constitutional legal authority.[41] The Kalat State National Party won 39 seats in the lower house of the legislature established that year.[41] Ghous Bakhsh Bizenjo, leader of the Darul Awam, the lower house, declared: "We can survive without Pakistan."[42] After a report broadcast by All-India Radio on the night of 27 March 1948 claimed that the Khan had approached India for accession, he signed the Instrument of Accession to Pakistan; the signature is dated 27 March 1948 in the accounts cited here, while an editorial note to the minutes of the Indian Cabinet of 29 March 1948 gives 28 March.[41,42,43] Alvi states that no force was used against him.[41] Nehru told the Constituent Assembly of India on 30 March 1948 that the broadcast was incorrect and the result of an error in reporting, and that India had never discussed accession with Kalat.[44] In the words of the historian Yaqoob Khan Bangash, this ended "a few months of independence for Kalat".[42]

Karenni States

The Karenni States, in the hill country of what is now Kayah State in eastern Myanmar, stood apart from Ministerial Burma under British rule. According to Minority Rights Group International, the British concluded an agreement in 1875 that "recognized the de facto existence of four western Karenni states separate from Ministerial Burma".[45] A commentary published by the Transnational Institute describes this as a treaty between the British and King Mindon of Burma that confirmed Karenni independence.[46] Karenni representatives did not take part in the Panglong Agreement of 1947, which left them in a different position from most other minorities.[45] According to the same commentary, Aung San travelled to Karenni in late 1946 with colleagues to seek support for independence from Britain.[46] Under the Constitution of 1947 the Karenni states were to be reconstituted as one state with a right of secession after ten years.[45] In 1951 the central government renamed Karenni State as Kayah State.[46]

Kawthoolei

The Karen National Union (KNU), headed by Saw Ba U Gyi, began a movement for the independence of the Karen homeland, known as Kawthoolei, after Burma became independent from Britain on 4 January 1948.[47] Its armed wing, the Karen National Defence Organization, rebelled against the government on 26 August 1948, and on 14 June 1949 the KNU declared the independence of a Karen state.[47] Government troops killed Saw Ba U Gyi near Kawkareik on 12 August 1950 and captured the KNU headquarters at Manerplaw in January 1995.[47] The KNU signed the nationwide ceasefire agreement on 15 October 2015, condemned the military coup of 2 February 2021, and captured a government base at Thee Mu Hta on 27 March 2021.[47] On 5 January 2026 General Saw Nerdah Mya, commander of the Kawthoolei Army, announced a Kawthoolei Republic at a Karen National Independence Day ceremony.[48] The KNU spokesman, Padoh Saw Taw Nee, replied that the republic did not represent the KNU and that a state cannot exist without territorial control, a working system of governance and a population: "You can't build a government out of thin air; it needs real territory."[48]

Khalistan

The Khalistan movement sought an independent Sikh state in the Indian state of Punjab. In June 1984 the Indian Army assaulted the Golden Temple complex at Amritsar, Sikhism's holiest site, in Operation Blue Star, and Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale was killed; later that year two Sikhs assassinated Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in retaliation.[49] A declaration of independence was signed in April 1986.[49] According to Sheila Tefft of The Christian Science Monitor, militant leaders at the Golden Temple proclaimed a new nation of "Khalistan" and declared "war" on the state and central governments.[50] A police action followed on 30 April 1986, and the police claimed that the 13-hour operation was a success.[50]

Lanfang Kongsi Republic (West Borneo)

The Lanfang kongsi was founded in 1777 in western Borneo by Luo Fangbo, a Hakka who married a Dayak woman.[33] Its base was at Mandor, and it was the last of the kongsis of West Borneo to vanish.[34] It is dated from 1777 to 1884, and the Jakarta Post places the end of the kongsi wars in 1884 to 1885.[34] According to a review of Yuan Bingling's study, Lanfang escaped Dutch attack in the war of 1853 to 1854 that destroyed the older and larger Monterado kongsi, and after the death of its last leader, Liu Asheng, in 1884 the Dutch moved to seize and subdue it, which ended kongsi history in West Borneo.[33]

Lao Issara (Free Lao Government, 1945 to 1949)

The Lao Issara (Free Lao), led by Prince Phetsarath, declared Laotian independence from France on 1 September 1945 and established a provisional legislature on 12 October 1945.[51] On 21 March 1946 French troops clashed with Lao Issara forces led by Prince Souphanouvong, and some 700 Lao Issara soldiers were killed.[51] The French recaptured Vientiane on 24 April 1946 and by 23 September 1946 had regained control of most of Laos.[51] The Lao Issara was disbanded on 24 October 1949.[51]

Manipur, Kingdom of (Constitutional Period, 1947 to 1949)

Manipur, a princely state ruled by Maharaja Bodh Chandra Singh, adopted the Manipur State Constitution Act of 1947, which created a constitutional monarchy with a Legislative Assembly elected for three years on adult franchise and a Council of Ministers, consisting of a Chief Minister appointed by the Maharaja and six other ministers, who as a council were responsible to the Maharaja.[52] The Maharaja signed a Merger Agreement on 21 September 1949 with V. P. Menon, the representative of the Governor-General of India.[53] By it he ceded "full and exclusive authority, jurisdiction and powers" over the governance of the state, to be exercised by the Government of India from 15 October 1949 through any agencies it chose, and he received a privy purse of three lakh rupees a year for life.[53]

Mizoram, Republic of (Mizo National Front)

The Mizo National Front (MNF) began a rebellion against the Indian government on 28 February 1966 and, in the early hours of 1 March, declared the independence of the Mizo Hills district of Assam as Mizoram.[54,55] The Indian Air Force bombed Aizawl in early March, and government troops captured the town on 6 and 7 March; the MNF was outlawed on 6 March.[54,55] Between 1 March 1966 and 31 December 1967 about 490 rebels and 68 government soldiers were killed.[54] The government relocated some 50,000 Mizos to 18 "protected and progressive villages" in 1967 and a further 58,000 in 1969.[54] The Mizoram Peace Accord was signed in New Delhi on 30 June 1986, requiring the MNF to surrender its arms, and Mizoram became a state of India on 20 February 1987.[54] Laldenga, who had led the movement, became chief minister in 1986.[55]

Mon State (New Mon State Party)

The New Mon State Party (NMSP) was founded in 1958 by Nai Shwe Kyin and others who argued that the government could not be trusted after an amnesty offered to insurgents; the Mon National Liberation Army is its armed wing.[56] A party statement of 1972 sought an independent state unless the government accepted a confederation of free nationalities, a position that a 2020 retrospective by Martin Smith, Ashley South and two Mon colleagues treats as an opening negotiating stance; after an agreement of 1983 federalism became the party's guiding philosophy.[56]

The party agreed a ceasefire with the military government in June 1995. The initial agreement gave it twenty deployment areas in Thaton, Mawlamyine, Dawei and Myeik districts, and the party hoped that the truce would lead to political dialogue, which the government deferred.[56] The NMSP runs its own education, health and justice services; in 2020 its Mon National Education Committee operated 133 schools.[56] In August 2009 the party rejected a request from the State Peace and Development Council that the Mon National Liberation Army become a Border Guard Force or a government-aligned militia, while stating that it would keep the ceasefire.[57] The 2020 retrospective records that the ceasefire broke down in 2010 under pressure to accept the Border Guard scheme, although fighting did not resume.[56] According to its preface, the party's aim is equal rights for all ethnic peoples, including self-autonomous states and a federal union, and the authors state that the armed movement is not aimed at splitting up Burma/Myanmar.[56]

Moro Sultanates (Sulu and Maguindanao)

The Moro sultanates of the southern Philippines comprised the Sultanate of Sulu and the Sultanate of Maguindanao. According to a study published by the Center for Culture and Peace Values at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa, Spanish colonial authority, which reached the archipelago in 1521, never subdued the Muslim south as it did Luzon and the Visayas.[58] By the Treaty of Paris of 1898 Spain ceded the Philippines to the United States, a transfer that, according to the Cultural Center of the Philippines overview of the Tausug, the Muslims of Sulu did not realise included their land.[59]

On 20 August 1899 General John C. Bates concluded an agreement with Sultan Jamalul Kiram II of Sulu, represented by Hadji Butu.[60] The Cultural Center of the Philippines overview describes the pact as a mutual non-aggression agreement under which the Americans recognised the authority of the sultan and other chiefs over native affairs and the Muslims undertook to help suppress piracy and crime.[59] The English and Tausug versions of the agreement are reported to have differed on the question of American supremacy, a divergence that has fed later disputes over the status of Sulu.[61]

By an agreement of 22 March 1915 between Frank W. Carpenter, the American governor of the Department of Mindanao and Sulu, and the sultan, the sultan and his heirs gave up their rights to temporal authority and tax collection and received an allowance, land and recognition as a religious leader, according to the Philippine Daily Inquirer; the same report states that the agreement did not cover North Borneo (Sabah).[62]

The North Borneo claim later reached international arbitration. In February 2022 a sole arbitrator issued a final award of US$14.92 billion against Malaysia in favour of claimants who describe themselves as heirs of the Sulu sultans.[63] The Paris Court of Appeal refused recognition of the earlier partial award on 6 June 2023, the Cour de cassation upheld that refusal on 6 November 2024, and on 9 December 2025 the Paris Court of Appeal annulled the final award for want of jurisdiction, holding that the arbitration clause was tied to the office of the British Consul General of Borneo, which ceased to exist in 1963.[64]

Nagaland, Federal Government of (Naga Independence)

The Naga National Council (NNC) declared the independence of the Naga Hills on 14 August 1947, one day before India's independence; Phizo later described the declaration as telegraphed to the Government of India and cabled to the British Government and the United Nations, and British India did not recognise it.[65] Minority Rights Group International reports that the Nagas conducted their own plebiscite and declared independence again.[66] According to a historical analysis in the journal Antarvidya, Phizo conducted the plebiscite on 16 May 1951 and the result, tabulated in March 1952, was 99 per cent for a separate Naga state; the South Asia Terrorism Portal reports the same claim of 99 per cent support, a result the Indian government never accepted.[65,67] The same analysis places the announcement of a Naga Federal Government, with a cabinet of fifteen Kilonsers, at around 1954, and records that on 22 March 1956 Phizo declared Nagaland an independent state.[65] The underground Federal Government and the Naga Federal Army fought India in a guerrilla war.[66,67] India enacted the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act in 1958 to deal with the insurgency, and Nagaland attained statehood within India on 1 December 1963.[67] Phizo escaped to East Pakistan, and reached London in June 1960, where he remained in exile.[65]

On 11 November 1975 a section of the NNC and of the Federal Government signed the Shillong Accord with the Indian Government, accepting the Indian Constitution and agreeing to surrender their arms. Phizo repudiated the Accord, and about 140 activists who rejected it formed the National Socialist Council of Nagaland in 1980.[66,67] The National Socialist Council of Nagaland (Isak-Muivah) agreed a ceasefire with the Indian Government in 1997, which was still in operation in 2008.[66]

Negros, Cantonal Republic of (1898 to 1899)

In November 1898, after the surrender of Spanish forces on Negros Island, local elites proclaimed the Gobierno Republicano Federal del Cantón de Isla de Negros, the Federal Republican Government of the Canton of Negros Island, with the planter Aniceto Lacson as president and Juan Araneta as delegate of war.[68] Modelled on the Swiss cantonal system rather than on full independence, the Canton established an elective Congress of Deputies and sought the protection of the United States while preserving its internal self-government, a request that the Negros elite renewed when American troops arrived in March 1899, following the Treaty of Paris.[68] The Canton became an American-supervised civil government under Melecio Severino as native governor, inaugurated on 6 November 1899, and in 1901 Negros was absorbed as a province of the American colonial administration.[68]

North Kalimantan, Unitary State of (Brunei Revolt, 1962)

The North Kalimantan National Army (Tentera Nasional Kalimantan Utara, TNKU) was formed by the Brunei People's Party (Partai Rakyat Brunei) in mid-1961 as an underground force.[69] In the early hours of 8 December 1962 it rose in rebellion, ransacking the Seria oilfield area and key installations in Brunei Town, while simultaneous attacks struck police stations and installations in the Fourth and Fifth Divisions of Sarawak, including Limbang.[69] The party's leader, Shaikh A. M. Azahari, maintained until his death that he had not started the revolt and that he had gone along with it after his brother, a TNKU brigadier, informed him of it in Johor.[69] The Sultan condemned the rebels in radio speeches on 8 and 15 December, and Britain, invoking the British-Brunei Agreement of 1959, suppressed the rising within days: by noon on 11 December about 1,600 troops had arrived and had recovered the key installations, and the British estimated that some 2,700 rebels had been captured or had surrendered.[69] Emergency rule was imposed after the rising and, according to Hussainmiya, remained in force at the time of his writing.[69] Azahari set up a government in exile with Indonesian support and died in exile at Bogor in 2002.[69]

Pashtunistan (Pakhtunistan) Movement

The Pashtunistan movement originated in the Khudai Khidmatgar, or Red Shirt movement, founded in the North-West Frontier Province by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, known as Bacha Khan, which built a disciplined nonviolent Pashtun nationalist organisation in the 1930s and 1940s in alliance with the Indian National Congress. A scholarly newsletter article describes the Khudai Khidmatgar as a populist party of devout Muslims among the Pukhtuns, which called for a separate state, Pukhtunistan, in a province independent of both India and Pakistan.[70] In June 1947, before the partition of British India, a jirga at Bannu adopted a resolution demanding that Pashtuns be given the option of an independent state rather than a choice limited to joining India or Pakistan.[71] The British refused the demand.[71] The movement rejected what it called an illogical and unwanted offer and boycotted the referendum held in the North-West Frontier Province in July 1947.[70]

The Faqir of Ipi led a major tribal revolt against the colonial state in Waziristan in 1936 and 1937; after decolonisation he became an ardent supporter of an autonomous Pashtunistan and sought Afghan aid on both sides of the Durand Line. The Times of London, reporting his death on 20 April 1960, called him "a doughty and honourable opponent".[72] The movement never achieved statehood.

Patani

Patani was a Malay Muslim sultanate on the northern Malay Peninsula that Siam annexed in 1902. According to the Council on Foreign Relations, its Malay Muslim majority has resisted Thai administration and assimilation, and armed separatist groups, among them the Barisan Revolusi Nasional, founded in the early 1960s, and the Pattani United Liberation Organisation, established in 1968, sought an independent or autonomous Patani state.[73] A reformist shift under General Prem Tinsulanonda in the 1980s brought a period of relative calm, and the current insurgency in the provinces of Pattani, Yala and Narathiwat is dated by the same body to 2001.[73,74] By October 2016 more than 6,500 people had died in it, according to the Council.[74] The Southern Border Provinces Administrative Centre, whose figures rest on compensation cases certified by a committee of police, military and civil officials, recorded 5,999 deaths between January 2004 and December 2025.[75] No Patani state has been established.

Philippines, First Republic of the (Malolos Republic)

The Malolos Congress held its first regular session on 17 September 1898 under the presidency of Pedro A. Paterno, and on 29 September 1898 it ratified the Act of Proclamation of Independence of 12 June 1898.[76] The Congress regarded the framing of a constitution as its greatest achievement. It approved the Malolos Constitution on 20 January 1899, and the compilation of the laws of the Republic records that Emilio Aguinaldo sanctioned it on 21 January and that it was promulgated on 22 January 1899.[76] A decree of 21 January 1899 designated 23 January 1899 as the day on which the President of the Republic would take the oath of office, and a decree of that day marked the proclamation of the Republic.[77]

Provisional Government of India (Kabul, 1915)

The Provisional Government of India, styled Hukumat-e-Mukhtar-e-Hind, was established in Kabul on 1 December 1915.[78] Raja Mahendra Pratap Singh held the presidency and Maulana Barkatullah the premiership; Obeidullah Sindhi held the home portfolio, Champakaraman Pillai the foreign portfolio and Maulana Bashir the war portfolio.[78]

Sikkim, Kingdom of

The Kingdom of Sikkim was a Himalayan state ruled by the Chogyal Palden Thondup Namgyal, the last holder of the office.[79] A treaty of 1950 left Sikkim an Indian protectorate with substantial internal autonomy under the Chogyal's father, and in 1971 and 1972 the Chogyal refused an Indian proposal to replace the language of protectorate with one of permanent association with India.[80] Anti-Chogyal demonstrations in Gangtok in 1973, which according to the United States Embassy in New Delhi India tolerated if it did not encourage, led to a tripartite agreement of 8 May 1973 between the Chogyal, the Government of India and the political parties of Sikkim, and to the recasting of Sikkim as an associate state of India.[79,80] When public order threatened to break down in early 1975, India acted to make Sikkim a full state. On 10 April 1975 the Sikkim Assembly resolved to abolish the institution of the Chogyal and to make Sikkim a constituent unit of India, and in a poll held on 14 April 1975 59,637 votes were cast in favour and 1,496 against, or 97.55 per cent of the votes cast in favour.[81] The Constitution (Thirty-sixth Amendment) Act, dated 16 May 1975, added "22. Sikkim" to the First Schedule of the Indian Constitution.[82]

South Moluccas, Republic of the

The Republic of the South Moluccas was proclaimed on 25 April 1950 at Ambon by demobilised soldiers of the Royal Netherlands East Indies Army and other South Moluccan leaders who opposed incorporation in the unitary Indonesian republic then taking shape from the United States of Indonesia, established in December 1949.[83] Chris Soumokil, the republic's president from its founding, claimed authority over the islands of Ambon, Buru and Seram, but Indonesian forces landed on Ambon on 28 September 1950 and captured the city on 5 November, and the republic's leadership continued guerrilla resistance from Seram until December 1963.[83] Soumokil was captured in 1963 and executed in April 1966, after which the government reconstituted itself in exile in the Netherlands, home to a Moluccan community descended from colonial-era soldiers and their families. The Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization lists the South Moluccas among its members.[84]

South Vietnam, Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of (1969 to 1976)

The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam (PRG) was established on 6 June 1969, according to a Vietnamese government history of the Paris negotiations, and on 10 June 1969 it converted the delegation of the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam at the Paris Conference into its own delegation, with Nguyen Thi Binh as its foreign minister.[85] It put forward an eight-point stance in September 1970, a three-point declaration in December 1970 and a seven-point proposal on 1 July 1971.[85]

The PRG signed the Paris Agreement on 27 January 1973 through Nguyen Thi Binh, alongside North Vietnam, the Republic of Vietnam and the United States.[85] The Foreign Relations of the United States records that it was one of twelve entities represented at the International Conference on Vietnam in Paris from 26 February 1973, and that it joined the pledge of 2 March 1973 by the parties to respect and implement the accords.[86] The PRG ended with the reunification of Vietnam in July 1976.

Suvadive Republic, United

The United Suvadive Republic was a short-lived secessionist state in the southern atolls of the Maldives. The United States Library of Congress records that a local secessionist movement in the southern atolls, which had gained from the British presence on Gan, cut ties with the Maldivian government and formed an independent state, the United Suvadivan Republic, with Abdulla Afif Didi as president.[87] The state, which existed from 1959 to 1962 according to the same study, covered Addu, Suvadiva (now North and South Huvadhu) and Fua Mulaku.[87] In 1962 the government of Prime Minister Ibrahim Nasir sent gunboats from Malé, with police aboard, to end the opposition.[87]

Ta'ang, PSLF and TNLA Administration of (Northern Shan State and Mogok, from 2024)

The Ta'ang National Liberation Army (TNLA), which launched Operation 1027 with its partners on 27 October 2023, had taken 11 townships in northern Shan State and Mogok Township in Mandalay Region by January 2025.[88] Its political wing, the Palaung State Liberation Front (PSLF), leads the administration, and in August 2024 the secretary general, Tar Bone Kyaw, spoke of forming an interim revolutionary government by 2025.[89] After the PSLF annual meeting of 3 to 7 January 2025 the TNLA said that it would govern five districts and 18 towns, reorganised from 12 townships.[88] The TNLA's statements as reported do not specify whether its aim is autonomy or independence.[88,89]

In May 2025 the TNLA refused a demand by the military authorities, made at China-brokered talks in Kunming, to withdraw from towns captured since the 2021 coup, among them Mogok.[90] On 28 October 2025, after further talks in Kunming, the TNLA announced a ceasefire under which, according to its statement, its forces would withdraw from Mogok and Mongmit (Momeik) townships, without a stated timetable, and the military would halt air strikes in the Ta'ang region.[91] As at October 2025 the position of the PSLF administration beyond those two townships had not been reported in the sources consulted.

Tagalog Republic (Macario Sakay)

Macario Sakay, a Filipino revolutionary who continued to resist American forces after the end of the Philippine-American War was declared in 1902, led the Republika ng Katagalugan, or Tagalog Republic, with himself as president and Francisco Carreon as vice president.[92] In April 1904 he issued a manifesto asserting the right of Filipinos to self-determination, at a time when advocacy of independence was treated as a crime; the Philippine Commission had passed the Bandolerism Act on 12 November 1902, which treated captured insurgents as bandits and robbers, and the United States declared Sakay an outlaw and did not recognise his government.[92] In 1905 the Governor-General, Henry Ide, sent the Manila politician Dominador Gomez to offer Sakay and his men an amnesty, together with the prospect of a Philippine Assembly as a step towards eventual independence.[93] Sakay surrendered on 14 July 1906, and Colonel Harry H. Bandholtz, chief of the Constabulary, hosted a party in Manila at which Sakay and his chief subordinates were disarmed and arrested.[92,93] Tried as a bandit, he was sentenced to death and hanged on 13 September 1907.[92,93] His reported last words included: "we are not bandits and robbers, as the Americans have accused us."[93]

Tamil Eelam

Tamil Eelam was the independent state sought by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) for the Tamil-majority north and east of Sri Lanka. In an article of 2006 in Third World Quarterly, Kristian Stokke described the LTTE as building state institutions and forms of governance in the areas it controlled, an account disputed by M. Sarvananthan, who argued in 2007 that the evidence did not show the LTTE performing state functions there.[94] The Secretary-General's Panel of Experts on Accountability in Sri Lanka records that government forces declared victory over the LTTE in May 2009, ending a conflict that had lasted almost three decades.[95] The LTTE has held no territory since.

Travancore, Princely State of

The princely state of Travancore, in the south-west of the Indian subcontinent, declared that it would stay outside the Union of India when British paramountcy lapsed. Its Diwan, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, argued that the Indian states held an inherent authority independent of British India and envisaged a future Indian federation built on divisible authority, a position that the legal historian Sarath Pillai calls Travancore's quest for federal independence.[96]

On 25 July 1947 Sir C. P. was attacked near the Swathi Thirunal College of Music at Thycaud in Thiruvananthapuram (Trivandrum).[97] On 30 July 1947 the Maharaja telegraphed to the Viceroy his acceptance of the Instrument of Accession.[97] According to Pillai, Travancore acceded to the Dominion of India on only three federal subjects (defence, external affairs and communications), on the strength of a letter from V. P. Menon to Sir C. P. of 14 July 1947 assuring him that the state had no obligation to adhere to the future Indian constitution.[96] Travancore merged with Cochin to form the state of Travancore-Cochin on 1 July 1949.[98]

Tripura (Tripura National Volunteers)

Tripura, a former princely state in north-eastern India that borders Bangladesh, saw its tribal population fall from a majority to a minority in the twentieth century as Bengali refugees settled there. According to census figures set out by Subir Bhaumik, tribal people made up 53.16 per cent of the population in 1941, 37.23 per cent in 1951 and 31.50 per cent in 1961.[99] In 1948 the state's administrator ordered 300 square miles of the tribal reserve, created in 1943, to be opened to refugee settlement.[99]

The Left Front first took office in the state in 1978, and in December 1978 the Tripura National Volunteers (TNV) was formed under Bijoy Hrangkhal with the aim, according to the South Asia Terrorism Portal, of fighting for an independent tribal Tripura state.[100] In June 1980 ethnic riots took place in which more than 1,000 people died, most of them Bengalis.[99] The army was deployed in the state that month.[100] On 12 August 1988 the TNV signed a Memorandum of Settlement with the state government, whose main point was the restoration of alienated land to tribal people and under which its members laid down arms.[100] Bhaumik records that the tribal side gained three more reserved seats in the assembly and little else.[99]

Visayas, Federal State of the

On 28 October 1898 Filipino revolutionaries under General Martin Delgado took control of the municipal building at Santa Barbara, Iloilo, and on 17 November 1898 a convention there set up a provisional government with Roque Lopez as president.[101] On 2 December 1898 this body became the Federal State of the Visayas, which comprised the territories under the provisional government, including Panay and Romblon, together with the Republic of Negros and the cantonal governments of Bohol and Cebu. It recognised the Malolos government and Emilio Aguinaldo but favoured federalism.[101] Spanish forces left Iloilo at Christmas 1898, and the Federal State then raised its flag in the city.[101]

On 11 January 1899 an American officer, Lieutenant Henry Du R. Phelan, reported a meeting with its government at which Lopez was present and the lawyer Raymundo Melliza spoke for it. Melliza argued that Iloilo had never been surrendered to the Americans, and the government declared that it was bound by the central government at Malolos and not by the Treaty of Paris.[102] Fighting with American forces began on 4 February 1899, and Fort San Pedro fell on 11 February, after which the revolutionaries withdrew from the city. Delgado then waged a guerrilla campaign in Iloilo province until he surrendered to the American military governor, Edmund Rice, on 2 February 1901.[103]

Wa State (Myanmar, 1989 to present)

The United Wa State Party (UWSP) gives 17 April 1989 as the date of its establishment, following a coup against the headquarters of the Communist Party of Burma at Pangsang. The United Wa State Army (UWSA) signed a ceasefire with the military government, dated by the Institute for Strategy and Policy Myanmar to 18 May 1989.[104] The Wa authorities have since administered a territory on the Chinese border, which the UWSP calls Wa State.[104] Section 56(f) of the 2008 Constitution of Myanmar provides for a Wa Self-Administered Division of six townships in Shan State: Hopang, Mongmao, Pangwaun, Narphan, Matman and Pangsang. The constitution does not recognise the region as a state, and the same source records that successive governments have not agreed to the UWSP's request for statehood.[104] It estimates the strength of the UWSA at more than 45,000.[104]

On 10 January 2024, after the Three Brotherhood Alliance had captured Hopang Township in Operation 1027, a ceremony transferred its administration to the UWSA.[104] The Wa leadership has not sought independence. A 2016 account published by the Stimson Center, which first appeared in The Irrawaddy, states that the group regards itself as part of Burma, seeks a high level of autonomy and statehood within it, and did not sign the 2015 Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement.[105] The sources consulted record no foreign recognition.

Zamboanga, Republic of

In 1899, during the Philippine Revolution, forces under Vicente Alvarez besieged the Spanish garrison of Fort Pilar at Zamboanga, which surrendered on 17 May 1899, according to the National Historical Commission's Independence Day website.[106] The same source states that Baldomero Aguinaldo, secretary of war, arrived with an order from President Emilio Aguinaldo promoting Alvarez to general in the Philippine Republican Army, and that Alvarez was proclaimed first president of the Republic of Zamboanga.[106]

The existence of the republic is disputed. Rovic John Eslao, in a journal article of 2024, lists the existence of the so-called "La Independiente Republica de Zamboanga" among the questions raised by local commemoration of the revolution, which he argues elevates Alvarez as hero on limited use of Spanish sources, American records and the Philippine Insurgent Records.[107] The Zamboanga City government's museum service states that the city remained free of foreign rule for six months in the revolutionary period before American forces took over.[108]

Section III.2

East Asia and Inner Asia

Entries in this section chronicle breakaway governments and autonomy movements in China, Taiwan, Korea, Japan, Mongolia, Tibet and Xinjiang. The section includes the warlord-era and Republican-period regional governments, the Japanese-sponsored autonomous regimes, the Muslim and peasant states of the Qing collapse, the Korean provisional governments, and the unresolved status of Taiwan.

Bogd Khanate of Mongolia

On 1 December 1911 Outer Mongolia in effect proclaimed its independence from the Qing, arguing that its allegiance had been owed to the Manchu dynasty and not to China. In December 1911 the eighth Jebtsundamba Khutuktu became the Bogd Khan, head of an autonomous theocratic government at Niyslel Khuree (Urga, now Ulaanbaatar).[109] China did not recognise the independence. The Treaty of Kyakhta, signed by China, Mongolia and Russia on 25 May 1915, formalised Mongolian autonomy.[109]

In October 1919 a Chinese army occupied Urga and received from the Bogd Khan's government an acknowledgment of Chinese authority, and the Mongol army was disarmed and disbanded.[109] In February 1921 the White Guards of Baron von Ungern-Sternberg drove out the Chinese. Mongolian and Soviet forces retook the capital by early July, and on 11 July 1921 a People's Government replaced the Bogd Khan's government as a limited monarchy, with the Jebtsundamba Khutuktu as nominal khan.[109] After his death in 1924 the Mongolian People's Republic was proclaimed in November of that year.

Chinese Soviet Republic (Jiangxi Soviet)

The Chinese Soviet Republic was constituted by the First All-China Soviet Congress, which adopted its constitution at Ruijin in Jiangxi province on 7 November 1931.[110] Mao Zedong was a leading figure in the national congresses of 1931 and 1934 that shaped the republic's government.[111] Its territories were never contiguous. The Nationalist government of Chiang Kai-shek mounted successive encirclement campaigns against the base area. In the fifth, which ran from September 1933 to October 1934, Nationalist forces committed about one million troops against a Red Army of some 110,000 and built a net of blockhouses linked by roads and bridges, so that supplies and personnel could neither enter nor leave the zone. The campaign forced the Red Army to evacuate the base and begin the Long March.[112]

Dacheng Kingdom (Red Turban Regime in Guangxi, 1855 to 1864)

The Dacheng Kingdom was founded by Chen Kai and Li Wenmao, who launched a revolt at Foshan in Guangdong in 1854 and established the regime at Xunzhou in Guangxi in 1855.[113] Chen styled himself the Xun King and Li the Pingjing King.[113] Li died in 1858 soon after a grave battle injury. Qing forces captured and killed Chen in 1861, and resistance by their followers was crushed in 1864, the year with which the kingdom's dates of 1855 to 1864 close.[113]

Dali, Sultanate of (Pingnan Guo, Du Wenxiu, 1858 to 1873)

The Muslim rebellion in Yunnan, known as the Panthay Rebellion, began in the winter of 1855 and became a general rising in February 1856 under Imam Yusuf Ma and Ma Rulong. Du Wenxiu captured the city of Dali in 1858, according to EBSCO's account, and founded there a sultanate known in Chinese as Pingnan Guo, the Southern Pacified Kingdom.[114] Western observers called him Sultan Sulayman, and his administration established an Islamic court and applied Islamic law.[114] The movement was not united: Ma Rulong accepted a Qing general's rank in 1861 and helped the Qing commander Cen Yuying to pursue Du, who continued his resistance.[114] Cen Yuying captured Dali in January 1873 after fierce fighting, and Du Wenxiu died, by suicide or execution, around the time of its fall, which ended the sultanate.[114]

East Turkestan Republics (First and Second)

Two short-lived republics claimed independence for the Turkic Muslim population of Xinjiang. Andrew Forbes treats the first, which he calls the Turkish-Islamic Republic of Eastern Turkestan, as the product of a Tungan (Hui) invasion, Turkic secession and Soviet intervention in 1933 and 1934, and discusses its collapse together with the flight of the Hui commander Ma Zhongying.[115] The Uyghur Academy, an advocacy body, states that it was established at Kashgar on 12 November 1933, with Khoja Niyaz Hajji as president and Sabit Damolla as prime minister.[116]

Forbes dates the birth of the second East Turkestan Republic, at Ili, to the Kazakh revolt in Zungharia, records Soviet support for it and an armistice with the Kuomintang in 1946.[115] The Uyghur Academy gives its establishment as 12 November 1944 at Gulja, with Alihan Tore as president and Ahmetjan Kasimi as prime minister.[116] James Millward finds strong Soviet military and economic influence on the Ili republic and argues that the leaders of both republics aimed at a modern state and not only at an Islamic government.[117] Linda Benson dates the Ili Rebellion from 1944 to 1949.[118]

Eastern Mongolia

In January 1946 Mongols in western Manchuria issued a proclamation announcing an East Mongolian People's Autonomous Government. A United States dispatch from Changchun of 11 July 1947, included in a memorandum by Philip D. Sprouse of 30 July 1947, records that its laws were based on autonomy under Chinese authority, that no approval by the Chinese Government was known, and that the same Mongols had earlier sought full independence and union with Outer Mongolia.[119] After the Chengde Conference of April 1946 the Communists moved into eastern Inner Mongolia, and by October 1946 a rift had opened with the leaders of the Eastern Mongolian movement. The Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region was established in 1947.[120]

Ezo, Republic of

The Republic of Ezo was proclaimed on 27 January 1869 on the island then known as Ezo, now Hokkaido, with Hakodate as its capital. Its founders were the remnants of the Tokugawa forces defeated in the Boshin War.[121] Enomoto Takeaki was elected president in what S. S. Naumov describes as the first election held on Japanese territory, in which samurai alone voted.[121] Jules Brunet, a French officer who had left the French military mission that arrived in 1867, served as military expert and foreign minister and directed the fortification of the Goryokaku fortress. Brunet also led negotiations with foreign powers aimed at international recognition.[121]

The republic had about 3,000 soldiers. Imperial naval and ground forces were sent to Hokkaido in April 1869, and a government army of 7,000 defeated the republican forces at the Battle of Hakodate in June. Enomoto signed the surrender on 26 June 1869.[121] He was later pardoned and held senior office under the Meiji government.

Formosa, Republic of

The Republic of Formosa was declared on 23 May 1895 after the Qing government ceded Taiwan to Japan by the Treaty of Shimonoseki, signed on 17 April 1895. The governor, Tang Ching-sung, was persuaded to lead it as president, and the government was inaugurated on 25 May 1895.[122] The Taipei Times reports that its officials were described as elected by the people of Taiwan, and that it had a parliament of local gentry, a cabinet, a yellow tiger flag, paper money and postage stamps. The foreign minister, Chen Chi-tung, a former Qing diplomat fluent in French, designed much of its symbolism. Chiu Feng-chia, a Hakka leader, became vice president and commanded a militia of about 50,000, and the Black Flag general Liu Yung-fu commanded Qing troops.[122]

Japanese troops landed near Keelung six days after the declaration. Tang fled through Tamsui on 5 June 1895, and the Japanese entered Taipei on 7 June.[122] At the Battle of Baguashan on 27 August the militia came close to halting the Japanese advance. Liu fled Tainan on 19 October aboard a British ship, and the merchants and European community of Tainan persuaded the remaining forces to lay down arms, with Presbyterian missionaries delivering the surrender message to General Nogi Maresuke.[122]

Fujian People's Revolutionary Government (Nineteenth Route Army Rebellion, 1933 to 1934)

The Fujian People's Government was the rebel administration set up at Fuzhou in November 1933 by commanders of the Nineteenth Route Army and allied southern politicians against the Nanking government of Chiang Kai-shek. William Dorrill dates the outbreak of the Fukien Rebellion to 20 November 1933, when it interrupted the first phase of Chiang's Fifth Encirclement Campaign against the Communist Central Soviet area and forced him to move units east to guard against a rebel invasion.[123] Hisako Honjo records that a preliminary anti-Japanese and anti-Chiang agreement with the Communists had been reached on 26 October 1933 and that the rebels formed a People's Revolutionary Government, although cooperation with the Communists later stalled.[124] Time reported on 27 November 1933 that the generals had declared Fukien seceded and called their body the Chinese National Great Allied Revolutionary Government, with Li Jishen named chairman.[125] Frederick Litten, working from French and German foreign ministry archives and the French army archive, concluded that Chiang bore responsibility for triggering the revolt.[126] The rebellion had collapsed by early 1934.[123]

Hailufeng Soviet (Guangdong, 1927 to 1928)

Communist-led peasant forces took the county seat of Haifeng for a short time on 1 May 1927, and after a mutiny in a northern town in September a Communist takeover followed in the eastern Guangdong counties of Haifeng and Lufeng.[127] A Provisional Revolutionary Government was formed on 1 November 1927, the formal name Hailufeng Soviet followed a few weeks later, and soviets were organised in fourteen districts across the two counties.[127] Its institutions included an elected assembly, peasant associations and peasant self-defence corps.[127] Peng Pai, the son of a local landlord and a founder of the Haifeng General Peasant Association in 1923, led the revolutionary government without an official title.[127] The government abolished rents and debts and carried out a land revolution whose details were left to village peasant associations, and the work was close to complete by the end of January 1928.[127] Alexander Day describes the soviet as "the most radical attack on the rural order until that time".[127] The Nationalist invasion came about four months after the government's formation, at the end of February 1928; Nationalist forces issued new land deeds to returning landlords and defeated the soviet and the peasant associations, and Peng was killed at the end of August 1929.[127]

Hui (Ma Family) Regime in Southern Xinjiang (1934 to 1937)

Ma Zhongying (Ma Chung-ying), a Tungan (Hui) Muslim warlord, intervened in the Kumul Rebellion in Xinjiang and by May 1933 had broken the authority of the Nationalist-aligned provincial government across the western districts of the province.[128] Turkic Muslims resisted his ambitions and organised a rival government at Khotan under the banner of an independent East Turkestan. Ma extended Tungan control over southern Xinjiang, and in 1934 he disappeared into the Soviet Union following Soviet intervention in support of the provincial governor, Sheng Shicai.[128] His brother Ma Hushan came to an armistice with the provincial government that left Tungan administration in control of a part of southern Xinjiang, a de facto warlord state later called Tunganistan, a name that was never the subject of a proclamation.[128] Harsh Tungan rule provoked a Turkic uprising in 1937, which the Tungan administration tried to turn against the Nationalist government. Soviet forces intervened with armour and aircraft and ended both the rebellion and the Tungan regime in the same summer.[128] Tunganistan never declared independence and received no recognition.

Hulunbuir, Autonomous Administration of (1912 to 1920)

After the collapse of Qing authority, the administration of Hulunbuir in north-eastern Inner Mongolia moved in 1912 towards Outer Mongolia, and the local administrator Shenfu received princely rank of the third degree, although disagreements arose between Hulunbuir's officials and the government of Outer Mongolia over the degree of direct control.[129] Tsybenov, Kuras and Tsyrempilova find that Hulunbuir's authorities used every available opening between 1912 and 1915 to preserve independence in external affairs and finances, and that the region retained the traditional Eight Banner administrative system until 1920.[129,130] They record that the officials sought Russian diplomatic verification of agreements made with Russian subjects, a practice that illustrates the region's attempts at an independent foreign relations.[129]

The Sino-Russian agreement of 6 November 1915 (24 October in the Old Style calendar used in Russia) granted Hulunbuir the status of a special district reporting to the Chinese government, with its chief administrator holding gubernatorial rank and appointed from Beijing.[129] Chinese authorities abolished that special status by a decree of 28 January 1920, which the authors attribute in part to the interest of local administrators in retaining their positions.[129,130]

Inner Mongolian People's Republic

A provisional government of the Inner Mongolian People's Republic was proclaimed in September 1945, with a constitution, after the Soviet army occupied Manchuria and Inner Mongolia in August 1945.[131] According to Yang Haiying, it was formed on 9 September 1945 in Suniit Right Banner of the Xilingol League under Boyindalai, a former president of the high court of the Japanese-backed Mongol autonomous government, and sent delegations to Ulaanbaatar seeking the unification of Inner and Outer Mongolia.[132] According to Tomer Nisimov, for a short time after the occupation the unification of the Mongolian People's Republic and Inner Mongolia was possible, but the plan was soon dropped for reasons of international politics and replaced by support for Inner Mongolian autonomy under Chinese Communist rule.[133] The Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region was established in 1947.[133]

Kashgaria, Emirate of (Yettishar)

Yaqub Beg, an adventurer from the Khanate of Kokand, took advantage of the Dungan Revolt against Qing rule to establish control over the Tarim Basin in what is now southern Xinjiang. He had consolidated his rule over the Kashgar-centred territory by 1865 and governed it under the name Yettishar, meaning Seven Cities, until his death in the spring of 1877.[134] The emirate gained a measure of external standing: Russia concluded a trade treaty with it in 1872;[135] in 1873 the Ottoman Sultan Abdulaziz received an envoy of Yaqub Beg, sent rifles and cannon, and recognised Yaqub Beg as Emir of Yettishar;[134,136] and Britain, which regarded the state as a buffer against Russian expansion in Central Asia, concluded a trade treaty with it in 1874.[134,135] Qing forces under Zuo Zongtang defeated the emirate's armies and entered Kashgar on 18 December 1877, restoring Chinese administration over the territory.[134]

Korea, People's Republic of (1945)

Following Japan's surrender in August 1945, the Committee for the Preparation of Korean Independence, led by Yo Un-hyung (Yeo Un-hyeong), and the People's Committees that appeared across the peninsula took over local administration before the Allied forces arrived.[137] On 6 September 1945 the People's Republic of Korea was proclaimed, with Yo as its vice-chairman.[137,138] The United States refused to recognise the Republic or the People's Committees, whereas the Soviet Union acquiesced in the authority of the committees in its own zone, a divergence that sharpened the division between left and right in Korean politics.[137] The United States Army Military Government in Korea outlawed the Republic, and Yo responded in November 1945 by founding the Korean People's Party.[138]

The Military Government banned the Republic and outlawed its People's Committees in the American zone in December 1945.[139] The Wilson Center's biographical note on Yo records that General Hodge's refusal to recognise the Republic ended Yo's hope of a single national government, and that the Republic was disbanded.[140] The entry therefore closes with the ban of December 1945, after which the Republic had no authority in the south.

Korea, Provisional Government of the Republic of (Shanghai and Chongqing, 1919 to 1945)

The Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea was established on 11 April 1919 in the French Concession of Shanghai, in the weeks after the March First Independence Movement against Japanese rule.[141,142] Over the next twenty-six years it moved across China, to Hangzhou, Changsha and other cities, before settling in Chongqing, where it remained from 1940 until 1945.[141,142] Its principal figures were Kim Ku, who served as police chief, home minister, premier and, from 1944, president, and Syngman Rhee, its first president from 1919 until his impeachment in 1925, who acted as its representative in the United States.[141,143] Its institutions were modest: information bureaux, a journal, a secret liaison and transport office, and from 1940 a Korean Liberation Army intended to assist the Allied war effort.[141,142]

The Provisional Government never obtained formal international recognition. Kim Kyu-sik petitioned the Paris Peace Conference on its behalf in 1919, and later efforts concentrated on Washington without securing recognition.[142] Historians cited in the Korean press credit its approach to Chiang Kai-shek with helping to secure the Cairo Declaration of December 1943, in which the Allies stated that Korea would become free and independent in due course.[141,142] Kim Ku returned to Korea in 1945, opposed a separate government in the south formed through elections held in that zone alone, and declined to take part in the founding of the Republic of Korea. He was assassinated on 26 June 1949.[143] The preamble to the present constitution of the Republic of Korea, as revised in 1987, upholds the cause of the Provisional Republic of Korea Government born of the March First Independence Movement of 1919.[144]

Republic of China on Taiwan (A Recognition Case)

Taiwan was ceded to Japan under the Treaty of Shimonoseki of 1895, and after Japan's defeat in 1945 the government of the Republic of China under Chiang Kai-shek took over its administration.[145] After the Communist victory on the mainland, the remnants of that government withdrew to the island in 1949, and both the People's Republic and the Republic of China claimed to be the sole legitimate government of the Chinese people.[145] The Korean War led the United States to order its Seventh Fleet to prevent attack on Taiwan in 1950, and in 1954 Washington and Taipei signed a Mutual Defense Treaty.[145] The status of the island is a question of recognition, on which the positions of each government and of third states differ.

On 25 October 1971 the General Assembly adopted Resolution 2758 (XXVI) by 76 votes to 35, with 17 abstentions, deciding to restore all rights to the People's Republic of China, to recognise its representatives as the only legitimate representatives of China to the United Nations and to expel the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek.[146,147] The text does not mention Taiwan, and commentators including the Global Taiwan Institute argue that it settled the representation of China in the organisation without deciding the island's status, a reading that Beijing disputes.[148] The United States in its Shanghai Communiqué of 1972 used the word "acknowledges" for the position that Chinese on both sides of the strait hold there is one China, and after switching recognition to Beijing in 1979 it enacted the Taiwan Relations Act, which provides for arms of a defensive character and treats non-peaceful means of determining Taiwan's future as a matter of grave concern.[149]

Taiwan's internal political system changed in the same period. President Lee Teng-hui began constitutional reforms in 1990, including the termination of the Period of National Mobilization for Suppression of Communist Rebellion in 1991 and the complete re-election of the Legislative Yuan in 1992, and Taiwan held its first direct presidential election in 1996, which Lee won.[150] Chinese missile exercises around that election prompted President Clinton to deploy two carrier battle groups.[149] The People's Republic enacted an Anti-Secession Law on 14 March 2005, which states in Article 2 that there is only one China to which both the mainland and Taiwan belong and in Article 8 authorises non-peaceful measures if secession occurs or the possibilities for peaceful reunification are exhausted.[151] As at May 2026, according to Reuters, the Republic of China maintained formal diplomatic relations with twelve states: eleven members of the United Nations and the Holy See.[152] Naoero (Nauru), which announced on 15 January 2024 that it was ending ties with Taipei in favour of Beijing, left the Republic of China with twelve diplomatic allies, the number Reuters recorded in May 2026.[153]

Right River Soviet

The Right River Soviet was a Communist-led base in the Zhuang districts of Guangxi (Kwangsi) in south-western China. On 11 December 1929 Deng Xiaoping, Zhang Yunyi, Lei Jingtian and Wei Baqun led the Baise Uprising, and the Chinese Communist Party's own account records the establishment of a Right River Workers' and Peasants' Democratic Government at Baise.[154] A Left River Soviet was associated with it.[155] Diana Lary, in her study of the two soviets, observes that they had short lives and little importance to the Party, examines the ethnic composition of the Right River membership, and treats relations between Han Chinese and minority peoples within the movement as her central question. She finds that the Party Centre in Shanghai held a far greater degree of authority over this soviet than over most others, and that the soviet was affected by shifts in the policies of Li Lisan.[155]

Ryukyu Kingdom, Annexation of (1879), and the Ryukyu Independence Movement

The Ryukyu Kingdom concluded treaties with the United States in 1854, France in 1855 and the Netherlands in 1859, and Japan annexed it in 1879 in the measure known as the Ryukyu Shobun, which created Okinawa Prefecture.[156,157] A 2014 editorial in the Ryukyu Shimpo reports the argument of the international law scholar Hideaki Uemura that the three treaties show the kingdom to have been an independent state, so that the annexation lacks legitimacy in international law, and notes that the Japanese Foreign Ministry declined to comment on the legal questions.[156] Steve Rabson records that the United States administered the islands from 1945 until their reversion to Japan in 1972.[157]

A modern independence movement draws on that history. The Association of Comprehensive Studies for Independence of the Lew Chewans (ACSILs) was inaugurated on 15 May 2013 in Naha to promote scholarly research toward independence, limited its membership to people with Ryukyuan ethnic roots, and stated in its prospectus that the Lew Chewan peoples are legal agents entitled to exercise the right of self-determination.[158] A further association, formed at Nishihara on 24 July 2016 with about 150 attendees, set the aim of realising self-determination with an eye to eventual independence and of holding a prefectural referendum.[159] According to those sources, these bodies had no administration or territorial control, and no state recognition of their claim was reported. The sources date from 2013 to 2016, and developments since then have not been verified.[158,159]

Shanghai, Small Swords Administration of (1853 to 1855)

The Small Swords Society seized the walled county city of Shanghai in the early morning of 7 September 1853, during the autumn sacrificial ceremony at the Confucian temple, which the rebels then used as their base.[160] Liu Lichuan (also romanised Liu Liquan) led the rising.[160,161] According to the Academy of Chinese Studies, foreign powers sided with the Qing government to protect their interests in the port.[161] Qing forces entered the county city on 17 February 1855 and the rising failed; Liu was defeated and killed in 1855.[160,161]

Taiping Heavenly Kingdom

The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom arose from the Jintian Uprising of 11 January 1851 in Guangxi province, when Hong Xiuquan, a Hakka schoolteacher who had failed the imperial civil service examinations several times and had come to believe himself the younger brother of Jesus Christ, proclaimed himself Heavenly King of a new millenarian state.[162] Taiping forces captured Nanjing on 19 March 1853 and made it their capital under the name Tianjing.[162,163] Their administration blended Christian doctrine with Chinese folk religious and egalitarian elements and held much of the Yangtze valley for more than a decade.[163] The war against the Qing was fought in its later years against forces reinforced by foreign-officered units such as the Ever Victorious Army, commanded first by Frederick Townsend Ward and then by Charles George Gordon.[163] Hong died in June 1864, and Qing troops recaptured Nanjing on 19 July 1864. The death toll of the war is estimated at twenty to thirty million, which makes it one of the deadliest conflicts in recorded history.[163]

Tibet

On 13 February 1913, after the fall of the Qing dynasty and the withdrawal of Chinese imperial forces from Lhasa, the thirteenth Dalai Lama issued a proclamation asserting Tibet's independence. According to Tsepon Shakabpa, who reproduces its text, it described Tibet as "a small, religious, and independent nation".[164] Tibet then governed itself until 1950. The People's Republic of China sent forces into eastern Tibet in 1950, and on 23 May 1951 representatives of the Tibetan authorities and the Central People's Government signed the Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet (the Seventeen Point Agreement), whose Article 4 states that "The Central Authorities also will not alter the established status, functions and powers of the Dalai Lama".[165] The Central Tibetan Administration holds that the agreement was not reached "on an equal footing or through mutual consent"[166], and a scholarly account describes it as signed under duress.[167] After an uprising in Lhasa in 1959 the fourteenth Dalai Lama fled to India, where the exile administration he established, based at Dharamsala, states in its Middle Way Approach that it seeks genuine autonomy for Tibetans and does not seek independence.[166]

The Central Tibetan Administration changed its constitutional structure in 2011. The fourteenth Dalai Lama announced in March 2011 that he would give up his political role in the exile administration, and Lobsang Sangay, elected in April by exiled Tibetans, was sworn in on 8 August 2011 as Kalon Tripa, the head of the administration.[168] A Tibetan National General Meeting in May 2011 had discussed amending the exile charter to devolve the Dalai Lama's administrative and political powers to the elected leader, and on 26 September 2012 Sangay signed an amendment that changed the title Kalon Tripa to Sikyong.[169] According to the Associated Press, Penpa Tsering, elected in 2021, began a second five-year term as president of the Central Tibetan Administration in May 2026 after re-election in February.[170]

Tungning, Kingdom of (Zheng Regime on Taiwan)

Between 1661 and 1662 the Ming loyalist commander Zheng Chenggong, known in European sources as Koxinga, crossed to Taiwan with a force reported as 400 junks and 25,000 soldiers and defeated the Dutch at Fort Zeelandia, renaming the fortress Anping in honour of his Fujian home.[171] The result, in Fu-Lan Lee's summary, was the first regime held by Han Chinese in the history of Taiwan, which renamed the island Tongtu, the Eastern Capital, and later Tungning, and operated what Lee calls a complete administrative system of the kind a state would maintain.[172] The regime professed loyalty to the Ming emperor while the Zheng ruler in practice exercised supreme authority, and it monopolised commerce in the south-eastern waters, serving as a major base for the smuggling of goods, with sugar the principal export.[172]

Zheng Chenggong died in 1662 aged thirty-seven, leaving the regime to his successors, among them his son Zheng Jing.[171,172] The Qing dynasty conquered Taiwan in 1683, ending the Kingdom of Tungning.[172] According to the Taipei Times, the Qing admiral Shi Lang defeated the Zheng forces at Penghu and accepted the surrender of Zheng Keshuang that year, and in 1684 Taiwan became part of the Qing province of Fujian.[173]

SECTION III.3

The Middle East

Entries in this section chronicle breakaway states, shaikhdoms and provisional governments in Anatolia, the Levant, Iraq, Iran and the Arabian Peninsula. Many arose from the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire and the mandates that followed; others, such as the Kurdistan Region of Iraq and the Southern Transitional Council in Yemen, are contemporary and are described as at the date given in each entry.

Alawites, State of the (French Mandate Syria, 1920 to 1936)

The French High Commissioner organised the Territory of the Alawites by an order signed on 31 August 1920 and effective on 1 September 1920; from 1922 it was styled the State of the Alawites.[174] On 28 June 1922 it became a constituent member of the Federation of Syrian States, and an order signed on 5 December 1924 constituted it an independent state from 1 January 1925.[174] On 14 May 1930 that status was abolished and the territory was organised as an autonomous government of Latakia under an organic statute.[174]

In 1936 an Alawi separatist leader from Latakia petitioned the French prime minister, Léon Blum, elected that year. The petition argued against Syrian independence and the annexation of the Alawi district to Syria, which was part of the French decision then taken. Yaron Friedman has published the petition in authentic form for the first time and has distinguished it from distorted versions in circulation in Arabic sources.[175] The territory of Latakia was incorporated into Syria by a High Commissioner's order signed on 5 December 1936, and the functions of the French Delegate as Governor of Latakia ceased by an order signed on 4 February 1937.[174]

All-Palestine Government (Gaza, 1948)

On 30 September 1948 Ahmed Hilmi Pasha, styled premier of a new Palestine government with its seat at Gaza, notified the United Nations of the formation of an independent Arab state, the All-Palestine Government, which claimed the whole of Palestine within the boundaries that existed before the termination of the British Mandate.[176] The notification justified the claim on the ground that the Arabs were the country's indigenous inhabitants and the great majority of its legal population, promised minority rights, protection of the Holy Places and freedom of worship, and anticipated that a National Assembly meeting the following day would elect the former Mufti of Jerusalem as president.[176]

On 1 October 1948 the Palestinian National Council proclaimed the full independence of the whole of Palestine. A temporary statute provided for a National Council, a cabinet answerable to it, a Supreme Council and a Supreme Court; the cabinet comprised twelve ministers with portfolios that included foreign affairs, defence, health and education.[177]

Ansar al-Islam, Enclave of (Biyara and Tawela, Iraqi Kurdistan, from 2001)

Jund al-Islam emerged in September 2001 from a merger of the groups Hamas and Tawhid and, after military setbacks that autumn, came under the leadership of Najmuddin Faraj Ahmad, known as Mullah Krekar, who renamed it Ansar al-Islam; Human Rights Watch dates the new name to December 2001.[178,179] The group held the small towns of Biyara and Tawela and villages above them towards the Iranian border, north-east of Halabja in the Hawraman region of Sulaymaniyah province, with its headquarters at Biyara.[178,179] Kurdish sources put the population of the area at about 4,000, although the Crisis Group noted that few of the original residents had lived there in recent years.[178]

Decrees of 8 September 2001 required veiling, beards, closure at prayer times and the segregation of the sexes, banned music and satellite television, and announced punishments that included amputation, flogging and stoning; Human Rights Watch knew of three floggings for alcohol but of no amputations or stonings.[179] Villagers of the Ahl al-Haq (Kaka'i) faith were pressed to convert or pay a religious tax, and, according to Human Rights Watch, about 450 households fled.[179] Human Rights Watch found no formal administrative structure, control being exercised through decrees and statements of a Shura Council.[179] Talks with the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan ran from December 2001 to March 2002 and were suspended after an attempt on 2 April 2002 on the life of its prime minister, Barham Salih, which Ansar denied.[179] The Crisis Group put the group at several hundred fighters, with Krekar claiming 700, against about 10,000 PUK fighters in the area.[178] Both reports date from February 2003, weeks before the enclave was attacked.[178,179]

At the start of the invasion of Iraq, in late March 2003, Task Force Viking, a United States Special Forces formation, advanced on Ansar al-Islam positions in Operation Viking Hammer alongside Kurdish Peshmerga forces.[180] According to the history of the Army Special Operations Forces, the ground attack began on 28 March 2003 with about 6,500 Peshmerga of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, in six prongs each accompanied by a Special Forces team, and by 30 March the Union controlled the valley.[181] The same account states that the operation had eliminated Ansar al-Islam as an effective fighting force; many of its fighters made for the Iranian border, where some crossed and others were forced back towards the Peshmerga.[181]

Ararat, Republic of

The Republic of Mount Ararat was a Kurdish self-governing project in the borderland around Mount Ararat. According to Amy Austin Holmes, it was proclaimed in 1927 on the basis of solidarity between Kurds and survivors of the Armenian genocide.[182] Holmes dates the episode to 1926 to 1932, a wider span, records that Kurds and Armenians declared it together, and traces the genealogy of the Rojava statelet in north-east Syria to it.[183]

Robert Olson's study of the Kurdish risings of Sheikh Said (1925), Mount Ararat (1930) and Dersim (1937 to 1938) examines their effect on the development of the Turkish Air Force and on Kurdish and Turkish nationalism.[184]

Asir, Idrisid Emirate of (to 1930)

The Idrisi family ruled Asir, on the Red Sea coast of Arabia, until 1926, when they accepted the suzerainty of Ibn Saud.[185] British records refer to a treaty of 1917 between Britain and the Idrisi, and to the Treaty of Mecca of 1926, by which the Idrisi ruler, al-Hasan al-Idrisi, handed over control of his foreign relations while retaining control of his territory's internal affairs.[186] In November 1930 Ibn Saud assumed control of Asir's internal administration after the Idrisi ruler pleaded inability to keep order, which left the family with nominal authority, and British officials debated whether to recognise the absorption of Asir.[186,185] The Idrisi rebelled against Saudi government in 1932 and 1933 and, once the rising was suppressed in the spring of 1933, took refuge in Yemen, whose Imam disputed the frontier in southern Asir and Najran.[185]

Bohtan, Emirate of (Buhtan)

The Kurdish emirate of Bohtan, centred on Cizre in what is now south-eastern Türkiye, reached its height under Bedir Khan Beg, who came to power around 1821 and extended his control over the emirate.[187] According to Metin Atmaca, he asserted independence from Ottoman authority by minting his own coins and having Friday prayers recited in his name; he was subdued in 1838 and in 1839 received the Ottoman rank of miralay.[187] Between 1843 and 1846 his forces attacked the Nestorian Christians of Hakkari, and the European powers pressed the Porte to act.[187] An Ottoman army under Osman Pasha, supported by Omer Pasha and Sabri Pasha, moved against him, and the cooperation of a member of his own family, an army commander, with the governor of Mosul allowed the Ottomans to occupy Cizre.[187] Bedir Khan withdrew to Evreh Castle (Eruh) and surrendered to the Ottoman army on 4 July 1847.[188] According to Atmaca, the surrender was on condition of honourable treatment; he was expelled to Istanbul and later exiled to Crete.[187] His ally Khan Mahmud of Mukus was defeated and executed, and with the emirate gone the confederation collapsed.[187]

Dhofar, Popular Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arabian Gulf (PFLOAG, 1965 to 1975)

In 1965 the Dhofar Liberation Front began an armed uprising against Sultan Sa'id bin Taymur of Oman in the southern region of Dhofar. The movement was at first tribal and separatist, drew support from Egypt and Saudi Arabia, and was driven by the Sultan's neglect of the region's social and economic development.[189] After South Yemen became independent in 1967 and took a Marxist course from 1969, the rebels, renamed from 1968 the Popular Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arabian Gulf, received weapons, training and funding from Soviet and Chinese sources, and by 1969 controlled almost all of Dhofar outside the coastal enclave of Salalah, where they administered what they called Liberated Areas.[189] Sultan Qaboos bin Said deposed his father in 1970. His government combined counter-insurgency, supported by British seconded officers, Iranian troops and Jordanian advisers, with development spending and an amnesty for defecting rebels, and by 1975 the insurgency had been reduced to isolated pockets.[189] According to the Library of Congress country study, an Iranian brigade with artillery and helicopters arrived in Dhofar in 1973, and in December 1975, after the guerrillas had been driven out of Omani territory, the Sultan declared the war won.[190]

Fatahland (PLO in South Lebanon, 1969 to 1982)

The Cairo Agreement of 3 November 1969, concluded between Lebanese and Palestinian delegations headed by General Emile Bustani and Yasser Arafat, gave Palestinian commandos observation posts along the frontiers and a right of passage to the Arqub district, while stating that Lebanese authorities kept their authority over Lebanese territory under all circumstances.[191] By 1971 the PLO's military presence was directed to protecting the Palestinian institutions that had grown up in Lebanon, which Lebanese critics described as a state within a state.[192] The name Fatahland denotes the period when fedayeen attacked Israel from the south, and in 2023 a Lebanese newspaper recalled that they had built a real state within a state.[193] The PLO lost the whole of south Lebanon in June 1982.[192]

Galilee, Domain of Shaykh Zahir al-Umar (Acre, c. 1730 to 1775)

Zahir al-Umar built an autonomous domain in the eighteenth century over Galilee, the Marj ibn Amir plain and the coast around Acre.[194] His era is the subject of Ahmad Joudah's study of revolt in Palestine.[194] Acre itself was in the same period the third-largest city in Syria and a regional centre of power on the Mediterranean coast, according to Thomas Philipp's study of the city.[195]

Joudah traces the base of Zahir's power to 1706, when, after the death of his father Umar, he took over the tax farm of the Tiberias and Safad district.[194] Joudah records the campaigns of Sulayman Pasha al-Azm, the governor of Damascus, against Zahir in 1730, 1737 and 1742 to 1743, and 1730 is taken here as the first year of the domain.[194] Zahir annexed Acre in 1744, and by 1750 he dominated the whole of Galilee, the Marj ibn Amir and the coast.[194]

Zahir allied himself with Ali Bey al-Kabir, the Mamluk ruler of Egypt who had seized power in Cairo in 1767 and acted with growing independence from the Ottoman sultan, against Uthman Pasha, the Ottoman governor of Damascus.[194] Joudah records that the alliance brought support from the Russian fleet in the Mediterranean, which he calls the first European intervention in the Arab East in modern times, and that Zahir's forces and Egyptian troops took Damascus in June 1771, ending Uthman Pasha's long governorship.[194]

Joudah writes that the death of Zahir al-Umar on 22 August 1775 brought the autonomous state to an end.[194]

Hejaz, Kingdom of

The Kingdom of Hejaz arose from the Arab Revolt against Ottoman rule, in which Hussein bin Ali, Sharif and Emir of Mecca, was proclaimed "King of the Arabs" in Mecca on 29 October 1916.[196] According to the Dataset of Autonomous and Dependent Movements at the University of Central Arkansas, Britain, France and Russia extended diplomatic recognition to him on 6 November 1916, although the Allies recognised him only as King of the Hejaz and not as king of the Arab countries.[196,197] The Hejaz was named among the original members of the League of Nations in the list attached to the Covenant, but Hussein did not ratify the Treaty of Versailles, so its membership never took effect.[198] A British Foreign Office memorandum of 1935 records that the legal advisers concluded in 1930 that the later joint kingdom could not rely on that listing and would have to apply for admission.[198]

Hussein abdicated on 3 October 1924 in favour of his son Ali, who was proclaimed King of Hejaz on 6 October 1924.[196] Wahhabi forces from Najd entered Mecca in October 1924.[199] King Ali abdicated on 19 December 1925.[196] A British situation report records that the officials of Jeddah surrendered to Ibn Saud on the morning of 21 December and that Ali left Jeddah for Aden in HMS Cornflower on 22 December.[200] Abd al-Aziz ibn Saud was proclaimed King of the Hijaz and Sultan of Najd on 8 January 1926; the Soviet Union recognised him as King of the Hejaz on 16 February 1926 and Britain by a note of 1 March 1926.[196,201] On 20 May 1927 Britain and the Kingdom of Nejd and Hejaz signed the Treaty of Jeddah, which provided for British recognition of its independence.[196] The kingdom was renamed Saudi Arabia on 22 September 1932.[196]

Imamate of Oman (Jebel Akhdar War)

After the Imam of Oman died in May 1954, Ghalib bin Ali was appointed his successor without the Sultan's involvement. He declared the Sultan's oil concessions invalid and opened an Imamate office in Cairo.[202] In December 1955 the Muscat and Oman Field Force took Ibri, Bahla, Rustaq and Nizwa without resistance; the Sultan, Said bin Taimur, went to Nizwa, received the homage of the tribes and announced that the office of Imam had been abolished.[202]

Ghalib was allowed to return to his home village. His brother Talib bin Ali, who had links with Egypt and Saudi Arabia, evaded capture and took refuge in Saudi Arabia, where he built a force of several hundred supporters.[202] Talib landed on the coast near Muscat on 14 June 1957 with about 200 followers, though some sources give about 70, and Ghalib joined the revolt.[202] The final assault on the Jebel Akhdar plateau was made by the Special Air Service on the night of 26 to 27 January 1959, after a climb of about nine and a half hours, and the plateau was occupied by 27 January without further fighting.[202] The rebellion then dissolved, and the main leaders, including Ghalib, are reported to have found refuge elsewhere in the Middle East.[202]

The Question of Oman came before the United Nations General Assembly. On 17 December 1965 the Assembly adopted resolution 2073 (XX) by 61 votes to 18 with 32 abstentions; it deplored the refusal of the United Kingdom to co-operate with its ad hoc committee and recognised the inalienable right of the people of the Territory as a whole to self-determination and independence.[203]

Islamic State, Caliphate of the (Iraq and Syria, 2014 to 2019)

On 29 June 2014 the Islamic State proclaimed a caliphate across territory in Iraq and Syria and named Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi as caliph.[204] At its height in 2014 the group held close to a third of both Syria and Iraq, and Raqqa served as its de facto capital.[204] Sarah Birke wrote in December 2014 that the caliphate stretched from the outskirts of Aleppo to the Iraqi border with Iran and contained between six and eight million people, that it had established military and civilian divisions, ministries, courts and local police in Raqqa, collected zakat at 2.5 per cent together with monthly fees from businesses, and paid salaries to civilian workers and fighters, while its power rested on repression above all.[205]

Laith Alkhouri and Alex Kassirer of the Combating Terrorism Center at West Point described in August 2015 a hierarchy of provinces under appointed governors, subdivided into districts, with departments for zakat, a Sharia council, the Hisbah morality police, education and health, and a court building in each town. They cautioned that Islamic State publicity about its services was difficult to verify and that residents reported deteriorating services, rising prices and shortages of medicine.[206] Mara Revkin's study of the group's legal institutions records that each governor (wali) of a province (wilayat) oversaw a Sharia deputy and a provincial Sharia commission responsible for local courts and judges, that the Hisbah police referred cases to a Diwan al-Hisba, that a high court sat in Mosul, and that diwans, such as the Diwan of Health in Ninewa, issued rules on medical matters and prices, while she notes that information about the organisation of the judiciary was scarce.[207] The United Nations Commission of Inquiry on Syria found in November 2014 that the group ran a rigid administrative system in Raqqa, enforced its edicts through the Hisbah morality police, kept some basic services running in a repressive environment, and obstructed the import of medicine into Hasakah.[208] Dipali Mukhopadhyay and Kimberly Howe, drawing on accounts from 2014 to 2016, describe tight social control in Raqqa alongside the delivery of a wide range of services.[209] Iraqi leaders announced victory in Mosul on 10 July 2017, and the Syrian Democratic Forces completed the capture of Baghouz on 23 March 2019, which ended the group's territorial caliphate. The United States announced on 27 October 2019 that al-Baghdadi had died.[204]

Jabal al-Druze, State of

The State of Jabal Druze was a territory of the French Mandate for Syria, centred on the Druze highlands of southern Syria. Luís Paulo Bogliolo records that its French governor, Gabriel Carbillet, sought to transform the Jabal through road construction and land reform that relied on forced labour. The French used repression against the resulting discontent, and the local leader Sultan al-Atrash led a Druze revolt that "fast became a national rising", known as the Great Syrian Revolt of 1925 to 1926.[210]

Joyce Laverty Miller records that the revolt of 1925 spread across the French mandated territories of Syria and Lebanon, that the League of Nations' Permanent Mandates Commission rejected France's report on it, and that it was suppressed within about a year, France keeping its mandate.[211]

Kingdom of Kurdistan (1922)

Sheikh Mahmud Barzanji was wounded fighting British forces in 1919, captured and tried in a military court in Baghdad, and sentenced to death, a sentence reduced to two years' imprisonment in a British fort in India. After his return to Sulaymaniyah in 1922 he soon declared himself king of Kurdistan.[212] British aerial bombardment from March 1923 to mid-1924 ended what Al Jazeera describes as the first Kurdish attempt at full independence.[212] Hakan Özoğlu and Hille Hanso write that the kingdom lasted two years before Iraqi forces, backed by British air and infantry support, moved in.[213] In the account given by Al Jazeera, when the British called him an obstacle, Mahmud replied: "You promised us a Kurdistan."[212]

Koçgiri, Rebellion and Autonomy Claims of (1920 to 1921)

The Koçgiri tribal confederation of eastern Sivas, whose leaders included Haydar Bey and Alişan, rose against the Ankara government between 1920 and 1921 in a revolt whose declared aims were autonomy and independence for Kurdistan.[214] Les Clés du Moyen-Orient reports that a tribal assembly near Kangal decided in February 1920 to pursue independence by arms, and that on 15 November 1920 the Koçgiri leaders sent Ankara a first memorandum demanding clarification of Kurdish autonomy, before they expelled a Turkish delegation and sent a telegram asserting independence.[214] The same account states that the insurgents invoked the self-determination provisions of the Treaty of Sèvres and claimed a Kurdistan that would include Diyarbakır, Van, Bitlis, Elazığ and the Dersim-Koçgiri region.[214] Dilek Soileau's doctoral thesis at Ankara University dates the incidents that led Ankara to declare martial law and deploy the Central Army under Nurettin Pasha to 6 March 1921, and asks whether a discourse of a Kurdish nation, which emerged after the Armistice of Mudros, was expressed in a rebellion led by Alevi Kurds.[215]

Ankara rejected the offers of negotiation, and Nurettin Pasha's forces conducted encirclement operations from 11 to 21 April 1921 and a further offensive until 17 June 1921.[214] A report of the governor of Sivas of 31 May 1921 records the destruction of 132 villages, and the campaign was accompanied by deportations to western Anatolia.[214] The Grand National Assembly examined the repression in secret session in October 1921, and Nurettin Pasha was removed from his command without being sanctioned.[214] Les Clés du Moyen-Orient presents the rising as the first outline of a Kurdish state, while Soileau's thesis treats as an open question whether the active stage of the Kurdish national movement in the republican period began with it.[214,215]

Kurdistan Region of Iraq, Independence Referendum and Bid of 2017

On 25 September 2017 the Kurdistan Regional Government held a referendum on separation from Iraq. The Kurdistan electoral commission reported that more than 92 per cent of voters said yes, on a turnout of 72.16 per cent of 4,581,255 eligible voters.[216,217] The central government of Iraq considered the vote null and void and refused talks on its result; Türkiye and Iran condemned it, and the United States did not support it.[217] Baghdad responded with sanctions that included a blockade of the region's airspace.[218] On 16 October 2017 Iraqi military units and Shia militias of the Hashd al-Shaabi moved against the disputed territories, and Iraqi forces entered Kirkuk without the expected resistance from peshmerga units, an outcome that analysts attributed either to coordination between a faction of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan and Baghdad or to a tactical withdrawal.[218]

The referendum took place against the background of Article 140 of the Iraqi constitution, which required a process for resolving the status of the disputed territories by 2007 and which Baghdad never implemented.[217,218] Rudaw reported on 16 February 2026 that the Kurdistan Democratic Party and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan had not yet agreed the formation of the tenth cabinet of the Kurdistan Regional Government after the elections of October 2024; that is the last position verified, as at 16 February 2026.[219]

Mahabad, Republic of

The Republic of Mahabad was announced by Qazi Muhammad, leader of the Society for the Revival of Kurdistan, in the Iranian Kurdish town of Mahabad on 22 January 1946.[213] Qazi Muhammad was a hereditary judge and religious leader of Mahabad.[220] Hakan Özoğlu and Hille Hanso write that Soviet support was crucial to its survival; the Soviet Union withdrew from the region in 1946, and the republic fell in December 1946.[213]

Iranian troops began moving into Azerbaijan on 9 December 1946 and had entered Tabriz by 13 December, and Qazi Muhammad announced the surrender of Mahabad on 15 December.[220] He was hanged on 31 March 1947.[213]

Mohammerah (Khorramshahr), Shaikhdom of Khaz'al (1897 to 1925)

Khaz'al bin Jabir al-Ka'bi, chief of the Banu Ka'b, ruled Mohammerah (now Khorramshahr) in Khuzestan from 1897 to 1925 as a semi-independent shaikhdom, within the Qajar Persian state in name but in practice autonomous.[221] He was a close British ally, received the Knight Commandership of the Indian Empire in 1910 after the discovery of oil, helped Britain in the First World War by suppressing pro-Ottoman tribal risings, and sought British assurances that Mohammerah would receive formal recognition should the Qajar dynasty fall.[221] As Reza Khan consolidated central authority, British officials weighed their commitments to the shaikh against relations with Tehran, one memorandum recording that the policy was to align tribal chiefs with the Persian government.[222] Khaz'al was arrested in April 1925 after declining to travel to Tehran of his own accord, an event the later British memorandum called his final downfall, and he remained under house arrest until his death in May 1936.[221,222]

Mount Lebanon, Emirate of Fakhr al-Din II (1585 to 1635)

Fakhr al-Din II, emir of the Druze house of Ma'n, became the head of his family in 1585, at the age of thirteen, after the killing of his father Qurqmaz, and in the following years restored its power in the mountain districts of Lebanon.[223] In 1608 he concluded a treaty with Ferdinando I de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany.[223] Ottoman forces drove him out in September 1613, and he lived in exile in Italy until his return in 1618.[223,224] He held his lands as a vassal of the Ottoman Empire.[225]

By 1625, according to Gorton, his realm included most of the Levant outside Anatolia, with Aleppo, Damascus and the coast from Beirut to Gaza.[223] An Ottoman army of about 20,000 defeated his forces of about 8,000 in 1633; he was captured in a cave and taken to Istanbul, where he was executed on 13 April 1635.[223,224] Trentacoste describes years of ambiguous relations between the emir and the Ottoman sultan before that end.[224]

Palestine, State of (Declaration of Independence of 1988 and the Recognition Record)

On 15 November 1988 the Palestine National Council, meeting in Algiers, adopted a declaration proclaiming the establishment of the State of Palestine with Jerusalem as its capital, and the text invoked General Assembly resolution 181 (II) of 1947, which had provided for the partition of Palestine into an Arab and a Jewish state.[226] The proclamation, drafted in part by the poet Mahmoud Darwish and read by Yasser Arafat, was accompanied by a political statement that endorsed Security Council resolution 242, a step that German official commentary treats as an indirect acknowledgement of Israel and a precondition of later talks with the United States and Israel.[227] The declaration reached the United Nations on 18 November 1988 as document A/43/827.[226]

Many states recognised the new State, but recognition did not produce a United Nations seat. According to the United Nations Regional Information Centre, Algeria recognised it first, followed by about fifty further states drawn from the Arab League, the Soviet bloc and African and Asian governments.[228] Counts for the first months differ by source: Anadolu Agency gives 83 states and the German Federal Agency for Civic Education gives 92 by May 1989.[229,227] A second wave came in 2010 and 2011, when most Central and Latin American states recognised Palestine, and several central European states recognised it before joining the European Union.[228] In the interim, the Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements, signed in Washington on 13 September 1993, set out the framework for Palestinian self-government in the occupied territories.[230]

The Palestine Liberation Organization had held observer status at the United Nations since 1974.[231] On 23 September 2011 Palestine applied for full membership, but the Security Council's Committee on the Admission of New Members did not reach a unanimous recommendation.[232] On 29 November 2012 the General Assembly, by 138 votes to 9 with 41 abstentions, adopted resolution 67/19 according Palestine non-member observer State status while leaving the PLO's existing status unaffected.[231] A second application reached a vote on 18 April 2024, when a draft resolution submitted by Algeria and recommending admis-

sion received 12 votes in favour and two abstentions (the United Kingdom and Switzerland) but failed on a United States veto; the United States said that statehood would come only through direct negotiations between the parties.[233] On 10 May 2024 the General Assembly, by 143 votes to 9 with 25 abstentions, determined that Palestine qualifies for membership, recommended that the Security Council reconsider the application and extended additional participation rights from September 2024; Palestine remains unable to vote in the Assembly or to seek election to the Security Council.[234]

The International Court of Justice has addressed the Palestinian people's position in three advisory opinions. In its opinion of 9 July 2004 on the construction of a wall, delivered by 14 votes to one, the Court held that the wall and its associated regime impeded the exercise of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and that all states were obliged not to recognise the situation created by it.[235] In its opinion of 19 July 2024 the Court found Israel's continued presence in the Occupied Palestinian Territory unlawful, treated the territory as a single unit, found a breach of the obligation to respect Palestinian self-determination and held that states and international organisations must not recognise the situation as lawful.[236] In its opinion of 22 October 2025 the Court addressed Israel's obligations towards the United Nations and its agencies, including cooperation with United Nations entities in support of Palestinian self-determination.[237] None of these summaries records a finding on whether Palestine satisfies the criteria of statehood.[235,236,237]

A further wave of recognition followed the war in Gaza that began in October 2023. Anadolu Agency counts nine recognitions in 2024, among them Norway, Ireland and Spain.[229] On 21 September 2025 the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and Portugal announced recognition on a single day, Canada attaching conditions that included governance reforms by the Palestinian Authority and elections in 2026 from which Hamas would be excluded; the United States rejected the move and Prime Minister Netanyahu said that Palestinian statehood would not happen.[238] France, Luxembourg, Andorra, Malta, Monaco and San Marino recognised Palestine during the United Nations conference that followed.[229] Belgium announced its recognition at the conference; its foreign minister later said that Belgium was not yet ready to give full formal recognition, as conditions including the removal of Hamas from any governing role had not been met.[239] Counts of recognising United Nations members vary with date and method: Al Jazeera, which counts Belgium, put the figure at 157 of 193 on 23 September 2025 and Anadolu Agency at 159, against about 148 before the September announcements according to the United Nations Regional Information Centre.[240,229,228] By 23 September 2025, on the Al Jazeera count, a majority of United Nations members recognised the State of Palestine, the United Kingdom and France among the permanent members of the Security Council had joined that majority, and Palestine held observer status without a vote in the Assembly or a Security Council seat.[240,234]

Pontus, Campaign for an Independent or Autonomous (1919 to 1920)

In March 1919 the Pontic diaspora spokesmen Constantine Constantinides and Socrate Oeconomos wrote to the United States State Department arguing that Trabzon could not go to the Armenians and calling for a Pontus Republic.[241] On 1 January 1920 the Greek envoy Ioannis Stavridakis and Hrisanthos, Metropolitan of Trabzon, proposed a Ponto-Armenian federation at Erivan; Alexander Khatisian answered with a proposal for a Trabzon parliament inside a unitary Armenia, and two days of talks produced no result.[241] On 30 April 1920 Hrisanthos and Constantinides demanded at San Remo an autonomous Pontus entity within Türkiye under a governor appointed by the League of Nations.[241] In October 1920 Venizelos proposed founding a Pontus state, but he lost the November elections and the proposal was not realised.[241]

Rojava (Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria)

The Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria, known by the Kurdish name Rojava, traces its origin, in the account of the Rojava Information Center, to 2012, when Kurdish-led forces, led by the People's Protection Units (YPG), established self-governing administration over Kurdish-majority districts of northern Syria after government forces withdrew.[242] The centre states that the territory under the Administration expanded from 2014 through a campaign against the Islamic State conducted by the Syrian Democratic Forces, a coalition built around the YPG, and came to include Arab-majority areas such as Manbij, Raqqa and Deir ez-Zor.[242] The Administration never obtained recognition as a state, and its delegation stated in January 2026 that it did not seek separation from Syria.[243]

According to Rudaw, on 18 January 2026 the Syrian interim president, Ahmed al-Sharaa, announced an agreement with the commander of the Syrian Democratic Forces, Mazloum Abdi, providing for a ceasefire, the withdrawal of the Forces to the east of the Euphrates, the handover of Raqqa and Deir ez-Zor governorates to the Syrian government and the integration of the Forces' personnel and civil institutions into state structures.[244] A further agreement, signed on 29 January and published by the government and the Forces on 30 January 2026, provided for a ceasefire, for the merger of Autonomous Administration institutions into state institutions with civil employees keeping their posts, and for the formation of Forces brigades within the Syrian army.[245,246] According to Enab Baladi, at a press conference in Damascus on 25 August 2026 Abdi announced the dissolution of the Syrian Democratic Forces, of the Autonomous Administration and of their affiliated military and civilian formations, stating that the mission of the Forces had ended with the integration of its units into Syrian army brigades.[246] Reuters, quoting Abdi, reported the announcement as the end of the mission of the Syrian Democratic Forces.[247] Asharq Al-Awsat reported on 4 September 2026 that a Hasakah deputy governor described the agreement of 29 January 2026 as having moved from negotiation to implementation, with the integration of military, civilian and administrative institutions still to be completed.[248] Enab Baladi reported that the future role of the Women's Protection Units had been raised in talks with President al-Sharaa.[246]

South Arabia, State of, and the Southern Transitional Council (2017 to 2026)

The Southern Transitional Council was established in May 2017 as an umbrella body seeking to restore the independence that southern Yemen held between 1967 and 1990.[249] In December 2025 its forces advanced into the governorates of Hadramawt and al-Mahra, seizing oil-rich areas and installations, and took the presidential palace in Aden, displacing the Saudi-aligned National Shield Forces.[249] On 2 January 2026 the council announced a 30-article constitutional declaration proclaiming the State of South Arabia over the territory of the former People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, with its leader, Aidarous al-Zubaidi, stating that the instrument would apply for two years before a referendum on self-determination.[250] On the same day Saudi aircraft struck council camps and positions in Hadramawt.[250] Saudi Arabia was reported, according to The Majalla, to have bombed Emirati shipments at the port of Mukalla in late December, and Saudi-backed forces regained the seized territories.[249,251]

On 9 January 2026 the council announced the dissolution of its bodies at a southern dialogue conference sponsored by Saudi Arabia in Riyadh, citing damage to relations with the Saudi-led coalition; Zubaidi did not take part.[249] Reports differ on which official delivered the announcement, and a council spokesman at the time disputed that anyone other than the council's president could authorise dissolution.[249,252] A report of 6 July 2026 from a southern-aligned research outlet records that the council later described the dissolution as invalid and made under coercion, that no date or preparatory committee for the Riyadh dialogue had been announced, and that the council conditioned participation on recognition of southern self-determination and a referendum.[253] The same outlet reported on 28 July 2026 that on 25 July Zubaidi had issued decrees making new appointments to the council's Presidium, General Secretariat and National Assembly and to local leaderships in Aden and Hadramawt, and that the council remained committed to the declarations issued in January 2026.[254]

Suwayda (Jabal Bashan), Druze Self-Rule in (Syria, from 2025)

Fighting that began in Suwayda on 12 July 2025 after reciprocal kidnappings drew in the Syrian government on 14 July, and government forces withdrew on 16 July after Israeli strikes.[255] The Independent International Commission of Inquiry on the Syrian Arab Republic of the United Nations reported on 27 March 2026 that at least 1,707 people were killed in Suwayda Governorate in July 2025 and that nearly 200,000 people were displaced. It described three waves of violence, attributed the killings to government forces, tribal fighters and Druze armed groups, and found that Israeli military intervention caused death and injury.[256,257] Most of the dead were Druze civilians, and the dead also included Bedouin civilians and government personnel.[257,258] The National reported in February 2026 that a de facto administration set up by local Druze leaders after the July truce ran checkpoints and public affairs without recognition from Damascus, that the National Guard, a coalition of about forty factions loyal to Hikmat al-Hijri, served as its military arm, and that the governorate had shut out most state authority.[259] The European Union Agency for Asylum recorded in July 2026 that most of the governorate remained under local Druze authorities and that large parts lay outside government control as of mid-February 2026.[258] Ahmad Sharawi of the Foundation for Defense of Democracies writes that local Druze armed factions, not Damascus, enforce security, that government buildings are empty or held by those factions, and that the spiritual leader Hikmat al-Hijri is the province's de facto authority; he gives the death toll of the July 2025 violence as more than 1,700, most of them Druze, a figure that matches the United Nations finding.[260] On 16 August 2025 a rally in al-Karama Square called for "independence", which activists quoted by Enab Baladi described as an outcry against abuses and not a community consensus.[261]

Enab Baladi reported on 2 May 2026 that Hijri had dissolved the High Legal Committee and formed an Administration Council in Jabal Bashan, and that demonstrators had demanded self-determination on 11 April 2026.[255] A local lawyer, Samir Sabounji, argued that international law links self-determination to colonisation and occupation and that the events of July 2025 did not meet that threshold.[255] The National Guard, a Druze-led coalition of armed factions formed in late August 2025,[258] fought Syrian government forces stationed in the western countryside of Suwayda for several hours on the night of 3 May 2026, according to North Press Agency, which reported that no casualties had been confirmed and that the ceasefire of mid-July 2025 remained fragile.[262] Sharawi quotes Hijri as saying "We are pursuing independence" and reads the statement as defiance more than a developed political plan.[260] Asharq Al-Awsat reported that on 12 and 13 July 2026 Hijri renewed the call, telling representatives of an operations room affiliated with the National Guard that the goal was "the independence of Bashan State", which he said could take the form of an independent state, a region under the protection of another country or union with another state; a local source opposed to his policies replied that residents "have no state but Syria".[263] A Syrian, Jordanian and American roadmap announced on 16 September 2025 had produced no tangible results by May 2026.[255] The roadmap set no deadlines and provided for partial integration of Suwayda into the Syrian state, and a legal council loyal to Hijri rejected its clauses giving

Damascus a say over local policing.[264] The European Union Agency for Asylum described implementation as limited.[258] Interior Ministry forces and the National Guard clashed on 18 January 2026, and on 26 February 2026 the two sides exchanged prisoners in a swap brokered by a brother of the Syrian president and coordinated by the International Committee of the Red Cross, which described it as a step towards further releases and dialogue.[258,265] Israel carried out strikes in Syria on 20 March 2026 after further clashes involving Druze armed factions.[258] According to Enab Baladi on 4 October 2026, local factions control most of the governorate under Hijri's leadership, while the Syrian government holds parts of the countryside; the National Guard affiliated with Hijri closed the municipal offices of the village of Hibran after the governor appointed a new local council.[266] On 31 August 2026 clashes between government security forces and local armed groups, among them the National Guard, wounded ten government security personnel and killed two civilians, according to Syrian state media and a Druze security source.[267] Asharq Al-Awsat reported on 7 October 2026 that mediation between Damascus and Druze representatives was continuing, that a fifteen-member Emergency Committee and a wider advisory body had been formed to represent Druze communities in and outside Syria, and that a mediator said direct negotiations had yet to begin, with security the main remaining obstacle.[268] No political settlement between the Syrian government and the Suwayda leadership had been reported as at 19 October 2026; the roadmap of September 2025, the mid-July 2025 ceasefire and the prisoner exchange of February 2026 remain the only documented arrangements.

Syria, Kingdom of

The Syrian National Congress, convened at Damascus by notables and officers who had served alongside Faisal ibn Hussein in the Arab Revolt, proclaimed the Kingdom of Syria independent on 8 March 1920 and proclaimed Faisal its king.[269] The Allied wartime arrangements had assigned Syria to French administration, and Arab nationalists had demanded full independence on the strength of British wartime promises.[269] France refused to recognise the kingdom. After the San Remo conference assigned the Syrian mandate to France, French forces under General Gouraud advanced on Damascus, defeated the small army of Yusuf al-Azma at the Battle of Maysalun on 24 July 1920 and entered the capital, ending Faisal's rule after less than five months.[269] Faisal went into exile and in 1921 became king of Iraq under British auspices.

Yemen, Democratic Republic of (1994 Southern Secession)

Yemen was unified in 1990. On 21 May 1994, during the war between northern and southern forces, southern leaders proclaimed in Aden the Democratic Republic of Yemen, with Aden as its capital.[270] The proclamation, issued in the name of delegates of the southern and eastern provinces, blamed the leadership in Sana'a for the collapse of the unity agreements, described the new state as independent, named Islam as the state religion, provided for a Provisional Assembly for National Salvation of 111 members, and called on other states to recognise it.[271] It described Yemeni unity as a basic objective to be restored by peaceful and democratic means.[271] The Security Council, by resolution 924 of 1 June 1994, called for an immediate ceasefire and an end to arms supplies, and by resolution 931 of 29 June 1994 renewed its call for a ceasefire.[272,273]

The war, which United States records date from 4 May to 7 July 1994, ended when northern forces captured Aden on 7 July 1994, bringing the Democratic Republic of Yemen to an end.[270]

SECTION III.4

Australasia and the Pacific

Entries in this section chronicle self-governing and breakaway administrations in Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific that repudiated, in whole or in part, the authority of the recognised colonial or national government. They range from a military junta's two-year seizure of a penal colony to a confederation of Maori chiefs recognised by the British Crown, a largely self-organised Maori settlement and the nineteenth-century Polynesian resistance to French annexation.

Aboriginal Tent Embassy (Canberra, 1972 to Present)

On 26 January 1972 Billy Craigie, Tony Coorey, Michael Anderson and Bertie Williams set up the Aboriginal embassy under a beach umbrella at the front of Parliament House in Canberra, later Old Parliament House, to protest the government's position on land rights.[274] Charles Chicka Dixon said the protesters considered themselves a nation within a nation, and the protest widened to cover self-determination, the assimilation policy and, in the source's word, "sovereignty".[274] The embassy was dismantled and relocated several times, was set up again on 26 January 1992, and protesters have remained at the site since.[274]

Aramoana, Independent State of (1980)

On 23 December 1980 residents of Aramoana, a coastal settlement near Dunedin, declared their community an independent state in protest at a proposed aluminium smelter.[275,276] The Save Aramoana Campaign, formed in 1974, argued that the smelter would damage an important wetland and threaten homes and Māori burial sites, and that the National Development Act allowed central government to override local objections.[275] The declaration was in large part a publicity measure: the state issued flags, passports, stamps and a mock tax form, sold to raise funds, and a border post on the access roads was meant to stop construction vehicles.[275] In 1981 the project stalled when Alusuisse, the intended supplier of smelter technology, withdrew from the consortium; the plan was later dropped, Aramoana was given reserve status and the settlement returned to ordinary New Zealand jurisdiction.[275,277]

Banaba, Independence Campaign of

The Banaban people were resettled from their phosphate-depleted home island of Ocean Island (Banaba) to Rabi Island in Fiji in December 1945, the freehold of Rabi having been bought on their behalf by the British authorities in 1942.[278] According to Jane McAdam, their own bids for independence intensified during the decolonisation of the Gilbert Islands in the mid-1970s and were unsuccessful, but they influenced the safeguards later written into Kiribati's constitution.[278] The Constitution provides for two Banaban members of parliament: an elected member for the district covering Banaba and a representative nominated by

the Rabi Council in Fiji. The two can veto amendments to the Banaban safeguards, and a vote against a bill by the nominated member prevents its passage.[278]

W. David McIntyre treats the period from 1968 to 1979 as one of accelerated decolonisation for Kiribati and Banaba in a chapter on the pre-independence conference for the territory.[279]

Euahlayi Peoples Republic (2013)

In August 2013 Ghillar Michael Anderson and members of his clan group proclaimed the Euahlayi Peoples Republic at Dirranbandi in Queensland, announcing its independence to the Queen, the United Nations and the media.[280] Debra Jopson reports that Anderson was elected head of state and that nine other Euahlayi people received ministerial portfolios within a provisional executive council.[280] The Queen's correspondence officer replied that the monarch had "taken careful note of their views", and in a later letter that the Queen would not intervene and that appeals should go to the Governor-General and Australian ministers.[280]

Franceville (Port Vila, from 1889)

Franceville was a settler commune at what is now Port Vila on Efate in the New Hebrides. According to a report from the Argus of 26 August 1889, reproduced in a New Zealand parliamentary paper, its residents proclaimed independence on 9 August 1889 and elected M. Chevillard president of the commune. The same report records that a circular asked foreign governments to recognise it, that a party landed from a French warship saluted its flag, and that the population comprised about forty Europeans and about five hundred imported labourers and other settlers.[281]

The islands were under joint Anglo-French administration after 1887, a regime formalised as the Anglo-French Condominium in 1906.[282] Port Vila's municipal council states that Franceville presented itself as the first self-governing nation to practise universal suffrage without distinction of sex or race, although only white residents could hold office, and names R. D. Polk, a United States citizen by birth, as one of its elected presidents.[282]

Kanaki

The Kanaks, the indigenous Melanesian people of the French Pacific territory of New Caledonia, pressed for independence through the 1970s and 1980s, a period of armed conflict and unrest that ended with the Matignon-Oudinot Accords, signed on 26 June 1988.[283] The Nouméa Accord, signed on 5 May 1998, provided for up to three independence referendums, each following a majority against independence in the one before.[283] The first, on 4 November 2018, returned 56.7 per cent against independence and the second, on 4 October 2020, 53.3 per cent against.[283] The third, on 12 December 2021, returned more than 96 per cent against on a turnout of 44 per cent; independence leaders had asked for a postponement because of the COVID-19 pandemic, and most Kanak groups boycotted the vote.[283,284] Unrest returned in May 2024 after France's National Assembly passed constitutional amendments opening the restricted electoral roll to residents of ten years' standing, a change that pro-independence parties said could reduce their representation.[284] At least nine people died before President Emmanuel Macron suspended the reform on 12 June 2024.[285]

On 12 July 2025 the French State and New Caledonian political forces signed the Bougival agreement, which provided for a "State of New Caledonia" to be inscribed in the French Constitution and for a New Caledonian nationality held alongside French nationality.[286] The Kanak and Socialist National Liberation Front (FLNKS) opposed it.[287] On 19 January 2026 President Macron and leaders of the five other parliamentary parties signed in Paris the Élysée-Oudinot Accord, which added the notion of a "Caledonian identity" and a fundamental law described as a de facto constitution; the FLNKS did not attend.[288] The Senate adopted the constitutional bill in February 2026, but on 2 April 2026 the National Assembly rejected it without debate by 190 votes to 107.[287] Provincial elections held on 28 June 2026 returned 26 pro-independence members, 24 pro-France members and four members of Éveil Océanien to the 54-seat Congress, and the French government signalled that discussions on the territory's future would resume.[289]

Kīngitanga, the Māori King Movement (Waikato, 1858)

The Kīngitanga arose in 1858 to unite Māori tribes under a single king and to keep Māori land in Māori hands.[290] Pōtatau Te Wherowhero accepted the kingship in 1857, was crowned at Ngāruawāhia in 1858 and was anointed there in 1859 by Wiremu Tāmihana, known as the kingmaker.[290] Mountains were named as the boundary markers (pou) of the Kīngitanga territory, the Rohe Pōtae.[291] Pōtatau died at his home at Ngāruawāhia in June 1860, and Wiremu Tāmihana anointed his son Matutaera as the second king on 5 July 1860; Matutaera took the name Tāwhiao in 1864.[290,291]

The early reign of Tāwhiao was dominated by the New Zealand Wars: troops crossed the Mangatāwhiri Stream in July 1863, about 1.2 million acres were confiscated, and Tāwhiao's followers withdrew behind an aukati on the Pūniu River, the area known as the King Country.[290] In 1881 his followers laid down their weapons at Pirongia and returned to Waikato, and in 1884 Tāwhiao travelled to England seeking redress but was refused an audience with Queen Victoria.[290] Te Ara describes the Kīngitanga as one of New Zealand's most enduring political institutions.[290]

Kīngi Tūheitia, the seventh monarch, died on 30 August 2024, and on 5 September 2024 his daughter Ngā Wai Hono i te Pō was named the eighth Māori monarch.[290,292]

Lamb Island, Republic of Ngudurooistan

In late 2013 Lamb Island, a Queensland island in Southern Moreton Bay with about 430 permanent residents, considered secession from Australia after the store manager Tony Gilson floated the idea and a tweet carried it into national news, with the name Republic of Ngudurooistan.[293] In a vote in mid-October 2013, 49 people supported secession, 34 opposed it and 317 abstained. By March 2014 the movement had subsided into a debate about an independent council for the four inhabited islands.[293]

Murrawarri Republic

In 2013 the Murrawarri people issued a Declaration of the Continuance of the State of Murrawarri Nation. According to Time, the Murrawarri People's Council, led by chairman Fred Hooper, had written on 31 March to Queen Elizabeth II and the Australian government demanding evidence of a treaty or deed of cession, with a deadline of 28 days, and the declaration followed when neither replied.[294] Curtis Kline reports that the Queen's receipt of the letter was dated 10 April 2013, that she was asked for evidence of a treaty, a deed of cession or a declaration of war, and that she did not respond.[295]

Kline records that the Peoples Council elected Fred Hooper chairman at its first meeting on 13 July 2013 and that 27 other Aboriginal groups requested the Murrawarri declarations and constitution as templates.[295] Time reported that the Attorney-General's Department had not replied to the assertion of independence and said that there are no constitutional means available for the establishment of separate political communities in Australia, and that international law recognises Commonwealth authority over the continent. It quoted the Sydney human-rights lawyer George Newhouse as unsure that the declaration had any meaning in law.[294]

North Solomons, Republic of the (Bougainville Declarations of 1975 and 1990 and the Referendum of 2019)

On 1 September 1975, ahead of Papua New Guinea's independence on 16 September, Bougainvillean leaders issued a Unilateral Declaration of Independence of the Republic of North Solomons, led, according to the DADM project, by Leo Hannett and John Momis.[296,297] The Interim Provincial Government had agreed on secession on 28 May 1975 after negotiations collapsed over control of revenue from the Panguna mine.[297] The bid for United Nations recognition and a possible union with Solomon Islands both failed, Bougainville accepted Papua New Guinean authority in early 1976, and the Bougainville Agreement of August 1976 restored provincial government provisions to the constitution.[297] The claim to independence returned in 1988 with the turn to violence, and the declaration of 1990 and the referendum of 2019 belong to the same continuing dispute.[297]

A second declaration followed on 17 May 1990, when Francis Ona, leader of the Bougainville Revolutionary Army, and the Bougainville Interim Government proclaimed independence from Papua New Guinea.[296] Papua New Guinea had declared states of emergency from 23 December 1988, launched an offensive on 11 January 1990, agreed a ceasefire that took effect on 2 March 1990 and imposed a blockade of Bougainville in May 1990.[296] New Zealand facilitated talks from 28 July 1990, and the Endeavour Accord of 5 August 1990 provided for lifting the blockade.[296]

Bougainville's Revolutionary Army waged a civil war against Papua New Guinea from 1988 to 1998, triggered by local grievances over environmental damage and the distribution of revenue from the Panguna copper mine, a conflict that killed an estimated 15,000 to 20,000 people before a peace agreement in 2001 established the Autonomous Bougainville Government and provided for a referendum in which independence would be one of the options, the outcome being subject to the final decision-making authority of the National Parliament.[298,299] That referendum, held in late 2019, returned 97.7 per cent in favour of independence from Papua New Guinea, but under the 2001 agreement the outcome is non-binding and requires ratification by Papua New Guinea's national parliament.[298] The April 2022 Era Kone covenant committed the two governments to tabling the result in parliament by 2023 and to a final political settlement no later than 2027, but the 2023 deadline passed without parliamentary action.[298]

The Pacific Islands News Association reported on 28 July 2026 that Papua New Guinea had introduced a requirement of a 75 per cent vote in the National Parliament by sessional order, which the Autonomous Bougainville Government regarded as a possible attempt to make ratification fail, and that the Bougainville Independence Leaders Consultation Forum had endorsed a Final Bougainville Position providing for self-government from 2027 and recommending 1 September 2030 as the date for a declaration of independence.[300] The National Indigenous Times reported on 31 August 2026 that the parliament had delayed a vote on the result, that Prime Minister James Marape had said that the ratification vote would come in October at the earliest, and that the two governments disagreed on the majority required, Papua New Guinea citing two-thirds or three-quarters and Bougainville a simple ma-

jority of 60 seats; Bougainville's government said it plans to declare independence by 2030 if parliament delays further.[301] The result had not been ratified as at 31 August 2026.

Pakumotu, Republic of (French Polynesia, from 2010)

On 19 January 2010 Beky Teamo and about 100 supporters met on Moorea and proclaimed a new state, citing the high cost of living and announcing 12 ministers, three senators and seven representatives.[302] Athanase Terii (also rendered Teiri) emerged as the leading figure. In June 2010 he declared himself King Pakumotu at the Assembly of Polynesia and claimed authority over all of French Polynesia.[302] The group says that it issues its own identity cards, has printed them for over 2,600 people, and wishes the territory to be added to the United Nations list of non-self-governing territories.[303]

The group tried to raise its flag at the Assembly of Polynesia in July 2010 and April 2013, occupied an abandoned hospital in Tahiti in July 2012 and attempted a land occupation at Outumaoro in October 2013.[302] Later activity has not been verified as at October 2026.

Papua Besena (Papuan Separatist Movement from 1973)

Papua Besena, meaning Papua for the Papuans, was a movement led by Josephine Abaijah, the first woman elected to the House of Assembly of Papua New Guinea, whose central aim was a Papuan state separate from New Guinea.[304,305] In December 1973 the Christchurch Press described it as a new movement and reported her argument that Papua had been neglected and could prosper on its own, her readiness to take the question to a referendum and accept the result, and the response of Chief Minister Michael Somare, who offered to tour depressed areas and to direct government money to them.[304] The platform it took to the 1977 national elections was framed around the slogans Justice, Integrity and Development, with separation implicit rather than stated, and Abaijah described Papua Besena as a movement rather than a party.[306] In March 1975 the movement made a unilateral declaration of independence for Papua, which David Hegarty's volume describes as amounting only to a symbolic protest.[306] Papua New Guinea became independent as one state on 16 September 1975.

Rotuma, Republic of

Rotuma, a Polynesian island north of Fiji's main islands, was ceded to Britain by its chiefs under a Deed of Cession in 1881 and was afterwards administered with Fiji.[307] After Fiji's coups of 1987 the Council of Rotuma resolved in May and again in September 1987 that Rotuma would remain part of Fiji, including after Fiji became a republic.[307] In October 1987 a Rotuman living in New Zealand, Gibson, who had been reported in the media as king of Rotuma, declared the island independent, wrote to Queen Elizabeth II seeking recognition and appealed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.[307] His movement, known as the Mölmahao, argued that because the cession had been made to Britain and not to Fiji, Fiji lost its right to govern Rotuma when it left the Commonwealth.[307] The movement adopted a flag of a gold circle on purple, designed by Gibson, and its followers set up a new islandwide council to replace the Council of Rotuma.[307]

The movement won limited support. A district officer deposed that the "overwhelming view of the majority" at district meetings in 1987 was that Rotuma should remain part of Fiji, although Alan Howard notes that many Rotumans sympathised with independence or greater autonomy.[307] Rotuma remains part of Fiji.

Tafea and the John Frum Movement (Tanna, 1980)

The John Frum movement on Tanna, in the New Hebrides (now Vanuatu), began around 1940, when nocturnal meetings drew the attention of the British District Agent James Nichol and men reported a masked figure called John Frum.[308] Early teachings urged cooperative work and obedience to the government and the missionaries; they shifted later towards the revival of kastom and then towards millenarian expectations that Europeans would leave and goods would arrive.[308] In 1956 the movement was redefined as religious and not political, and it adopted a policy of non-interference until 1980.[308]

By the 1970s the movement was seeking control over manufacturing and the economy and had become a political party.[308] In 1980, as the New Hebrides approached independence, its leaders declared the separate nation of Tafea, and Lindstrom reports the death of the John Frum member of parliament Alexis Iolou in June 1980.[308] The Tafea revolt failed, but Lindstrom argued that the movement would survive it, because its ideology addressed economic concerns and because it was a strong local political competitor.[308]

United Tribes of New Zealand

The United Tribes of New Zealand, also called the Confederation of United Tribes, arose from the efforts of the British Resident James Busby to give northern Māori chiefs a collective standing in the eyes of foreign powers. A flag for the United Tribes was chosen in March 1834 and was acknowledged by the Crown, and on 28 October 1835 chiefs gathered at Waitangi signed He Whakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni, the Declaration of Independence of the United Tribes of New Zealand, drafted by Busby.[309,310] The declaration was in part a response to the Frenchman Charles de Thierry, who announced plans to proclaim an independent state in Hokianga.[310]

The English text declares that "All sovereign power and authority within the territories of the United Tribes of New Zealand" resides "entirely and exclusively" in the hereditary chiefs and heads of tribes. It provides for a Congress to meet at Waitangi in the autumn of each year to make laws for justice, peace, good order and trade, and the chiefs entreat the King of England to continue to be "the parent of their infant State" and to become "its Protector from all attempts upon its independence".[311] Thirty-four chiefs signed on the day, and eighteen more by 22 July 1839, among them Te Hāpuku of Hawke's Bay and Te Wherowhero.[310] The Crown acknowledged the declaration in May 1836.[310] Governor Bourke of New South Wales called it "a paper pellet fired off at Baron de Thierry".[310]

In 1840 Lieutenant-Governor William Hobson proclaimed British authority on 21 May, after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, and in May 1841 New Zealand became a separate Crown colony.[312]

Vemarana (Espiritu Santo, 1980)

Jimmy Stevens, the leader of the Nagriamel movement on Espiritu Santo in the Anglo-French Condominium of the New Hebrides, declared Santo independent on 27 December 1975 and again in August 1976, when Nagriamel issued its own silver currency.[313] Nagriamel had begun about 1960 as a movement to reclaim land from foreign owners and, by 1976, was the dominant party on Santo.[313] A Vemarana headquarters opened at Luganville in January 1980 and a Vemarana flag was raised at Big Bay; its constitution was completed by the lawyer Thomas Eck, whom Lindstrom names as a principal of the Phoenix Foundation, an American libertarian organisation,[314] and about 1,000 copies were confiscated at the airport in April 1980.[313] After a rebellion that began in late May 1980, Stevens declared a provisional government for an independent state (also spelled Vemerana), which Keesing's Record of World Events dates to 1 June 1980.[315]

About 200 British Royal Marine commandos and French paratroops were sent to Santo before independence on 30 July 1980.[313] After independence the government of Walter Lini obtained the agreement of the Papua New Guinea Prime Minister to send the Papua New Guinea Defence Force, and the Kumul Forces arrived on Santo on 18 August.[313,315] On 31 August Papua New Guinea troops stormed the rebel stronghold at Vanafo (Fanafo) and captured 71 men, among them Stevens.[316] He was sentenced in November to 14 and a half years in prison.[313] Mark Berg, who writes that the Phoenix Foundation gave Nagriamel about 130,000 dollars in goods and services and political advice but no weapons, argues that its influence was subordinate to local causes.[313]

West Papua, Republic of

West Papua is the western half of the island of New Guinea, which the Netherlands retained as a separate colonial territory after recognising Indonesian independence in 1949. On 1 December 1961 the Morning Star flag was flown beside the Dutch tricolour for the first time; an elected council of indigenous Papuans in the main had commissioned the flag and an anthem, and full independence was envisaged for 1970.[317] By the New York Agreement, signed on 15 August 1962, the Netherlands placed the territory under a temporary United Nations administration (UNTEA), which began in October 1962 and handed the territory to Indonesia on 1 May 1963.[317]

The act of self-determination followed as the Act of Free Choice (Pepera), held in consultative assemblies between 14 July and 2 August 1969.[318] About 1,025 representatives, said to have been selected by Jakarta, met under Indonesian military supervision and chose integration, with no dissent, with Indonesia; Papuans say the process was not free.[317,318] The United Nations representative, Fernando Ortiz-Sanz, reported that he had held no political or administrative authority in the second phase and not even a power of control, and that the Indonesian Government was the only executive authority empowered to take political and administrative decisions on the Act.[318] On 19 November 1969 the General Assembly took note of the Secretary-General's report and acknowledged the completion of the tasks entrusted to him under the 1962 Agreement, by Resolution 2504, with 84 votes in favour, none against and thirty abstentions.[319] An armed resistance, associated with the Free Papua Movement, continued afterwards.[317] In December 2023 Asia Pacific Report described Morning Star flag-raising protests across Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific, the flag being banned in Indonesia.[320] No state has recognised an independent West Papua.

Western Australia, Secession Movement of

The Dominion League, established in 1930, campaigned for Western Australia to leave the Australian Federation, citing the effects of federal policy on the state.[321] On 8 April 1933 a state referendum returned more than 66 per cent in favour of secession, with a solid majority in most districts and the goldfields rejecting it.[321,322] The result had no binding legal force, and on the same day voters returned an anti-secessionist Labor government under Philip Collier, who then appointed a delegation of secessionist leaders to take a petition to London.[322,323]

The petition was presented to both Houses of the British Parliament in December 1934 and referred to a Joint Select Committee.[324] In May 1935 the British Parliament refused to receive the petition.[322] The committee held that Parliament could act only upon the definite request of the Commonwealth of Australia.[325] According to Robert Fletcher and Benjamin Mountford, a Joint Committee at Westminster found the petition "not proper to be received", and they treat the episode as a lens on the constitutional politics of the interwar empire.[326] By then the economy had improved and the movement had lost momentum.[323]

Western Samoa, Mau Movement and Parallel Administration (1927 to 1936)

The Mau movement, which began as the League of Samoa in March 1927, campaigned for self-government and an end to New Zealand's administration of Western Samoa under the slogan Samoa mo Samoa.[327] Its leaders included Olaf Nelson, who lobbied in New Zealand and petitioned the League of Nations, and the high chief Tupua Tamasese Lealofi III.[327] Alongside protest the movement built a parallel administration: Mau police enforced discipline, district councils and village committees stopped meeting the administration, children left government schools, Samoans gave money to the Mau instead of paying taxes, and a boycott of European stores in Apia began in January 1928.[327] New Zealand answered with a Royal Commission in September 1927 that backed the administration, the deportation of leading supporters, Nelson among them, in early 1928, and the despatch of Royal Navy warships and marines.[327]

On 28 December 1929 a march of the Mau into Apia led to a clash with the police in which a New Zealand constable, Abraham, was beaten to death and police opened fire on the crowd. Tamasese was among the Samoans killed; Archives New Zealand gives the number of dead as 11 and NZHistory names eight.[328,329] The Administrator declared the Mau seditious on 13 January 1930, and a truce followed in March 1930 that allowed noncooperation to continue.[327] After the Labour election victory of 1935 the Mau was recognised as a legitimate political organisation, and the Samoan Offenders Ordinance was repealed in June 1936.[327,328] Western Samoa became independent on 1 January 1962.[327]

Western Solomons, Independence Movement of the (1977 to 1978)

As the British Solomon Islands moved towards independence in the mid-1970s, the Western District discussed its future status in a new nation that many expected would be dominated by Malaita because of its population. The Bougainville secession movement of 1975 influenced the West, and people in Choiseul and the Shortland Islands discussed leaving the Solomons to join Bougainville.[330] Western politicians cited that example, and also a 1977 Act that transferred large areas of leased land to national control.[331]

In early 1977 Geoffrey Beti, member for Roviana, moved in the Legislative Assembly for the separation of the Western Solomons, and withdrew the motion in August.[331] A Western Breakaway Movement Working Committee formed at Munda, New Georgia, in January 1978, with John Talasasa as its main political force.[331] Some local politicians wanted a separate state, but the Western Council did not, and most Western leaders sought "maximum autonomy within the Solomons state".[331] The West boycotted the independence celebrations on 7 July 1978 and held its own a year later, when Prime Minister Kenilorea visited and the national flag was raised.[330,331]

Yidindji Government (Murrumu Walubara Yidindji, Cairns, 2014)

The Yidindji Government was declared in 2014 by Murrumu Walubara Yidindji, born Jeremy Geia, who renounced his Australian citizenship that year and returned his passport, health documents and driving licence.[332] In Guardian Australia on 26 August 2014 Paul Daley reported him as saying that the Yidindji hold dominion over their lands and that he was going back to his original law, without declaring war on white Australia.[333] According to a report of September 2019, the government claims about 15,539 square kilometres of north-eastern Australia, including part of the Great Barrier Reef, issues its own identification documents, has a cabinet of ten ministers, and claims close to 100 citizens, most of them also Australian citizens.[332]

The 2019 report states that Australia has not recognised the government, quotes Anne Twomey, professor of constitutional law at the University of Sydney, as describing the claim as one to a political and not a legal claim, and records that some experts consider negotiation unlikely in the near future.[332] The government states that it seeks a treaty and recognition. As at September 2024, SBS reported the government, with Murrumu as minister for foreign affairs and trade, organising an intertribal foreign affairs forum in Cairns.[334]

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Part IV

Unilateral Secessions of Europe and Eurasia

Europe and Eurasia furnish the densest concentration of breakaway republics in this compendium, because the collapse of four empires in 1917 and 1918 and the dissolution of the Soviet Union produced waves of declarations within a few years. The sections begin with Western and Southern Europe and move east through Central and Eastern Europe and the Balkans, the Russian Civil War, the Caucasus and Siberia, and Central Asia. The post-Soviet de facto states that survived into the present are treated separately in Part V, because their dependence on a patron state sets them apart from the cases gathered here.

SECTION IV.1

Western and Southern Europe

Entries in this section chronicle breakaway republics and short-lived states of Western and Southern Europe, from the revolutionary and federalist risings of the 1790s and the Italian republics of 1848, through the Cantonal rebellion in Spain and the Carlist state, to the partisan free zones of 1944 and the autonomy movements of the present day.

Alba, Republic of (1796)

In April 1796, as Bonaparte's army entered Piedmont, the Jacobin writer Giovanni Antonio Ranza proclaimed a republic at Alba, announcing popular rule and an end to tyranny.[1] Ranza designed a coat of arms and a tricolour of red, blue and orange for it, but the hopes of the patriots of Alba were short-lived.[1]

The Armistice of Cherasco of 28 April 1796 left King Victor Amadeus on his throne and in independence, in return for the surrender of fortresses and a right of passage for French forces across Piedmont, and the Piedmontese territory that remained under the Crown stayed under monarchical rule.[2] Ranza continued his radical journalism in Milan, where he published the newspaper L'amico del popolo from 22 September 1797 to 25 March 1798.[3]

Anglo-Corsican Kingdom (1794 to 1796)

Pasquale Paoli, who had led the Corsican Republic from 1755 to 1769, returned to the island under the French Revolution but broke with the Convention, which he came to regard as excessive, and was accused of counter-revolution and declared a traitor to the French Republic.[4] In June 1794 he convened an assembly at Corte, was named Father of the Fatherland, and presided over the separation of Corsica from France and its union with Britain.[4] The Constitutional Act of Corsica, adopted at Corte on 19 June 1794, placed the island under the British Crown, naming George III and his successors as kings of Corsica, established a Parliament, declared the Catholic faith the national religion while tolerating other worship, protected personal liberty against arbitrary detention, and prescribed a standard bearing the Moor's Head with the King's arms.[5] Sir Gilbert Elliot accepted the crown on the King's behalf, the King and his representative swore to uphold Corsican liberty under the constitution, and Elliot served as the kingdom's viceroy.[5,4]

The union lasted from June 1794 to October 1796.[4] Mária Tandori attributes the failure of the regime to the gap between eighteenth-century English and Corsican society and politics, pointing to clan structures, and records disputes over religion, the jury system, taxation and diplomacy, together with personal conflicts between the leaders; she sets aside the wider French and European events, which she treats as the main external reasons for the collapse.[6] Paoli retired to London in 1795 on a pension from George III, and in 1796 the islanders, with French help, drove the British out.[4]

Bavaria, Räterepublik (Soviet Republic) of (1919)

The Bavarian Soviet Republic (Münchner Räterepublik) was proclaimed in Munich on 7 April 1919 by members of the Independent Social Democrats on the city's Central Council.[7] After the failure of the government's attack of 13 April against the republic's Red Army, the Munich Communist Party took over the leadership; Eugen Leviné headed the republic from 13 to 27 April, when the Independent Social Democrat Ernst Toller took over.[7,8] The republic had little power beyond the city limits of Munich.[7] Freikorps units entered Munich on 1 May 1919 and the republic was suppressed on 3 May; the fighting killed over 600 people, among them 335 civilians.[7] On 2 May the anarchist Gustav Landauer was beaten and shot by soldiers in Stadelheim prison.[9] Leviné was arrested on 13 May, sentenced to death by the Munich Sondergericht and shot on 5 June 1919.[8]

Bremen Soviet Republic (1919)

On 10 January 1919 a mass demonstration organised by the German Communist Party in Bremen heard representatives of the Communists, the Independent Social Democrats and the soldiers' councils proclaim Bremen an independent socialist republic.[10] Government troops suppressed the republic on 4 February 1919 on the orders of Gustav Noske.[10] Units that included the Gerstenberg Division and the Caspari Freikorps were deployed in Bremen in February 1919, and, according to a conference programme prepared with the Bremen archives, more than 70 people died in the fighting in and around the city, among them combatants, people executed and bystanders.[11]

Canary Islands, Movement for the Self-Determination and Independence of the Archipelago (MPAIAC)

The lawyer Antonio Cubillo, born at La Laguna in Tenerife in 1930, founded the Movement for the Self-Determination and Independence of the Canarian Archipelago in Algiers on 22 October 1964, after a break with the Spanish Communist Party, with the aim of an independent socialist republic for the islands.[12] Algeria supported him, and his programme La Voz de Canarias Libre was broadcast from Radio Argel until the Algerian authorities closed the station under Spanish pressure.[12] A closed meeting of the Organisation of African Unity's Liberation Committee at Khartoum in 1968 declared the archipelago African territory, which Pomares Rodríguez and Pérez García call Cubillo's greatest diplomatic success; his proposals to the Committee at Tripoli on 16 February 1978, among them a federation with the former Spanish Sahara, did not succeed.[12] A congress of 1979 adopted a draft constitution for a Guanche People's Republic, and the movement's flag, which Cubillo claims to have devised, carried seven green stars.[12] The movement began what it called armed propaganda in November 1976, with a first bombing on 1 November.[12] Cubillo died on 10 December 2012.[13] The authors of the 2017 study conclude that the movement had little social and political impact beyond its armed propaganda.[12]

Carlist State (Carlos VII, 1872 to 1876)

The Carlist State arose within the Third Carlist War, which began in April 1872 when the pretender Carlos VII called his supporters to arms.[14] Government troops under General Morriones defeated the Carlists at Oroquieta on 4 May 1872, and on 24 May 1872 General Serrano, then president of the government under Amadeo I, and the Biscayan Carlist deputies signed the Convention of Amorebieta, which recognised the Biscayan fueros.[15] The war regained momentum after the proclamation of the Republic in February 1873, when other monarchist groups joined the Carlists.[14]

During the Third Carlist War the pretender Carlos VII entered Spain on 16 July 1873, and the Navarrese town of Estella became what Francisco Caspistegui, quoting the language of the period, calls the unofficial capital of Carlism.[16] In April 1874 the Carlists created a central government under Carlos VII, as head of state, with three secretariats (War; Foreign Affairs and State; Grace, Justice and Finance), and relied on the foral deputations of the Basque provinces for men and money.[17] By the end of 1874 the territory under Carlist control covered the Basque provinces, Navarre and part of northern Catalonia.[18] A Higher Tribunal was restored by royal decree on 12 August 1874 with its seat at Oñati, and on 3 October 1874 the Royal and Pontifical University of Oñati was founded with papal backing, its chairs financed by the deputations of Gipuzkoa and Bizkaia.[17,18] A Carlist penal code, based on the Spanish code of 1850 with slight changes, was promulgated by royal decree on 15 May 1875 and took effect on a provisional basis on 1 June 1875.[18,19] The newspaper El Cuartel Real served as the official gazette of the Carlist state.[18] José Gómez de Maya describes the whole as a small-scale state with the usual attributes of authority, which nonetheless never adopted a constitution.[19]

On 3 July 1875 Carlos VII was sworn and proclaimed Lord of Bizkaia beneath the Tree of Gernika.[18] Liberal forces took Estella on 19 February 1876.[16] According to Javier Barraycoa, Carlos VII crossed into France on 28 February 1876, the day recalled in his political testament: "Volveré, os dije en Valcarlos, aquel amargo día".[20] Barraycoa treats that day as the end of the Third Carlist War, and the Carlist State did not outlast the war.[20]

Catalan Republic of 1931 and Catalan State of 1934

On 14 April 1931 Francesc Macià proclaimed a Catalan Republic in Barcelona, envisaging a future federation of Iberian peoples, before any republican declaration in Madrid.[21] The provisional Republican government in Madrid regarded the act as a threat, and on 17 April 1931 a delegation of three ministers, Marcel·lí Domingo, Fernando de los Ríos and Lluís Nicolau d'Olwer, agreed with Macià that the name Catalan Republic would be dropped in favour of Generalitat de Catalunya, under his presidency.[21] A draft statute, the Estatut de Núria, was approved in a Catalan referendum on 2 August 1931, with about 99 per cent in favour on a turnout of 78 per cent, women being excluded from the vote; Madrid approved a reduced version in 1932.[21]

On 6 October 1934 Macià's successor, Lluís Companys, proclaimed the Catalan State within the Spanish federal republic from the balcony of the Palau de la Generalitat at about 8 p.m.[22] The proclamation was made within the framework of the federal Republic and not as a declaration of independence. The army took over the Generalitat and the rising failed: Companys surrendered to General Domingo Batet at 6 a.m. on 7 October, after a rebellion of less than ten hours.[22] The Law of 2 January 1935 suspended Catalan autonomy and a governor was appointed to head the Generalitat, and a criminal case for military rebellion was brought against Companys and his government before the Tribunal de Garantías Constitucionales, which on 6 June 1935 sentenced them to thirty years' imprisonment.[22]

Catalonia, Independence under Pau Claris and the Protection of Louis XIII (1640 to 1652)

In June 1640, during the rising known as the Corpus de Sang, harvest labourers (segadors) killed the viceroy, the Count of Santa Coloma, in Barcelona.[23] Pau Claris, president of the Generalitat, led Catalan resistance to Madrid, and the Catalan authorities deposed Philip IV and recognised Louis XIII as Count of Barcelona.[23,24] On 23 January 1641 the Catalan institutions asked Louis XIII to become ruler of the Catalans; the French king's reply came only on 30 December 1641, when he swore to the laws and constitutions of the Principality.[24] Antoni Simon argues that Catalonia was an independent republic from 10 September 1640 to 30 December 1641, so that no single date for a proclamation in January 1641 can be given.[24] Claris died on 27 February 1641, in circumstances Simon regards as suspected poisoning.[24]

The war ended in 1652, twelve years after it began, when Don Juan José of Austria seized Barcelona in October 1652; a large part of Catalonia remained under French occupation until the Treaty of the Pyrenees in 1659.[23]

Catalonia, Republic of (Referendum and Declaration of 2017)

The Catalan government of Carles Puigdemont held a referendum on 1 October 2017 on the question "Do you want Catalonia to be an independent country?", after Spain's Constitutional Court had declared the vote illegal.[25] Spanish police acted at 625 locations during polling, with violence reported at 77 of them, and Catalan health authorities reported 1,066 people injured; the Catalan government's own count recorded 2,286,217 ballots, a turnout of 43.03 per cent, and reported 90.18 per cent in favour of independence.[25] On 27 October 2017 the Parlament voted by 70 to 10, with two blank ballots, to declare Catalonia independent, a vote from which most opposition members withdrew in protest before the count.[26] Within minutes the Spanish Senate approved the request of Prime Minister Mariano Rajoy to invoke Article 155 of the Spanish Constitution, enabling direct rule; Rajoy called regional elections for 21 December 2017.[26] The Constitutional Court suspended the declaration and, on 8 November 2017, annulled it; in a second decision it declared the transitional law that had accompanied it unconstitutional.[27]

Organic Law 1/2024, dated 10 June 2024 and published the following day, granted an amnesty for acts linked to the consultation of 9 November 2014, the referendum of 1 October 2017 and the wider independence process between 1 November 2011 and 13 November 2023.[28] On 26 June 2025 the Constitutional Court upheld the core of the law.[29] On 16 July 2026 the Court of Justice of the European Union ruled in cases C-523/24 and C-666/24 that EU law does not preclude the amnesty law.[30,31]

Corsican Republic

The Corsican Republic was proclaimed in 1755 by Pasquale Paoli following the island's rebellion against Genoese rule, which had been contested since 1729,[32] and it governed the interior of Corsica as an independent state for fourteen years while Genoa retained only a handful of coastal fortress towns.[33] Paoli's constitution, adopted at Corte in 1755, established an elected legislature and a separation of executive and judicial power.[33] James Boswell visited Paoli and published An Account of Corsica in 1768.[34] Genoa transferred its rights over the island to France by the Treaty of Versailles of 1768, and French troops defeated Paoli's forces at the Battle of Ponte Novu in May 1769, ending the republic's independence and forcing Paoli into exile in Britain.[33]

Dithmarschen, Peasant Republic of

Dithmarschen, a marshland district on the North Sea coast of Holstein, formed an autonomous peasant polity within the Holy Roman Empire. After the battle of Bornhöved in 1227 it came under the Prince-Archbishopric of Hamburg-Bremen, but the archbishops did not exercise executive power, and the peasants ran the legal and religious administration.[35] Its customary law, the Land Law, was first written down in Low German in 1447, and a second redaction was compiled between 1467 and 1480 and printed in 1487 or 1488.[35] On 17 February 1500 the outnumbered peasant defenders under Wulf Isebrand defeated at Hemmingstedt an invading army, reported at 12,000 men, sent by King John of Denmark and his brother Frederick.[35]

The polity was conquered in the Last Feud, which began on 22 May 1559 and ended with the capitulation of 20 June. King Frederick II of Denmark, with his uncles Adolf I and John the Elder under the command of Johann Rantzau, led an army reported at 18,000 men; Meldorf was taken on 3 June and the decisive battle was fought at Heide on 13 June.[35,36] The capitulation ended Dithmarschen's independence.[36] The three rulers first divided Dithmarschen into three parts; after John died without an heir in 1580 it was split between the Duke of Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorf, who took the north, and the Danish crown, which took the south.[35]

Euzkadi, Basque Government of (1936 to 1937)

The Basque Government was created on 7 October 1936, at the start of the Spanish Civil War, under the Statute of Autonomy approved that month, with the Christian democrat José Antonio Aguirre as its president.[37] It exercised authority over the Basque territory that remained loyal to the Republic and enlarged its powers beyond the limits of the Statute, relying on the tacit acquiescence of the Republic.[37] A decree of 17 October 1936 turned the volunteer militias into a Basque army of operations, and a decree of 28 April 1937 created a regular Basque army; the government also set up a police force and a navy.[37] Bilbao was occupied by Franco's forces on 19 June 1937, two days after the last issue of the government's official gazette appeared.[37] The government continued its work after it left the Basque Country, and through the long years of Franco's rule it maintained itself in exile.[37]

Faroe Islands, Independence Declaration and Referendum of 1946

The Faroese claim to independent statehood arose from a referendum held on 14 September 1946, in which a narrow majority, 5,660 votes (50.7 per cent) to 5,499 (49.3 per cent), favoured secession from Denmark over the arrangement proposed by the Danish government; the margin was 161 votes and turnout was 67.5 per cent.[38] The result was not implemented. On 25 September 1946 the Løgting was dissolved and a new election called, an act that the king ordered but that the Danish government in fact took, and in the election of 8 November 1946 supporters of independence were left in the minority.[38] Negotiations on home rule followed and produced the Home Rule Act of 23 March 1948, in force from 1 April 1948, under which the islands became a self-governing community within the Danish realm, a status they retain.[38,39]

Ireland, Confederation of Kilkenny (1642 to 1649)

The Confederate Catholics organised after the rebellion began in Ulster in 1641; their General Assembly first met at Kilkenny in October 1642, and the confederacy took its name from the city.[40] Each General Assembly elected a Supreme Council of 24 members to run day-to-day administration, and the council became the dominant political body, in peace negotiations above all.[40] In August 1646 the Supreme Council published a treaty negotiated with the royalist lord lieutenant, James Butler, Earl of Ormond; the papal nuncio Rinuccini, who had arrived in November 1645, and his war party opposed it, and it was later overturned.[40] A second peace with Ormond was published in January 1649, dealing with religious freedom, compensation for Ulster and the constitutional relationship of Ireland with England; Rinuccini left Ireland in February 1649,[41] his allies continued to oppose the settlement, and it collapsed as Cromwell invaded in August 1649.[40]

Irish Republic (1919 to 1922)

The Irish Republic traced its legitimacy to the proclamation read outside Dublin's General Post Office during the Easter Rising of 1916, a rebellion crushed within a week whose surviving participants regrouped under Sinn Féin and won a majority of Irish parliamentary seats in the December 1918 general election. Rather than take those seats at Westminster, the successful candidates convened at Dublin's Mansion House on 21 January 1919 as the First Dáil, adopting a Declaration of Independence that ratified the Republic proclaimed in 1916.[42] During the War of Independence the Dáil government built a parallel apparatus alongside British administration: Dáil Courts, established on a national scale under Austin Stack, Minister for Home Affairs from November 1919, as an alternative to the British court system, and a Republican police force set up to support them.[43]

The Anglo-Irish Treaty, signed on 6 December 1921, was ratified by the Dáil by 64 votes to 57 in January 1922 and provided for the Irish Free State, a self-governing dominion within the British Commonwealth, which came into being on 6 December 1922 without the six counties of Northern Ireland. The division over the Treaty led to civil war.[44]

Italian United Provinces (1831)

In early February 1831 revolutions broke out in the Duchy of Modena, the Duchy of Parma and the Papal States. The Habsburg rulers of the two duchies fled in the first days of the rising, and revolutionary governments took control of both duchies and of the Papal States other than Rome and its surroundings.[45] Around the turn of February and March the government at Bologna declared a new state, the United Italian Provinces, and proclaimed a constitution.[45]

The Austrian chancellor Metternich would not allow political change that threatened European peace or Austrian dominance in Italy, and imperial units from Lombardy-Venetia were sent against the insurgents in early March.[45] The insurgent governments adhered to non-intervention, which fragmented the movement, and the Austrian army intervened in all three states with little difficulty. The struggle ended with the capitulation of the revolutionaries at Ancona at the end of March 1831.[45]

Liège, Revolutionary Government of the Prince-Bishopric of (1789 to 1791)

The Prince-Bishopric of Liège entered revolution on 18 August 1789, after discontent with political and economic inequality and with the authoritarian rule of the prince-bishop, who fled to Trier with several dignitaries to seek the help of the emperor.[46] The revolutionaries did not overthrow the Estates of clergy, nobility and third estate, which continued to represent the population. In March 1790 the lay Estates proposed a revolutionary regency council to replace the absent prince-bishop, and the third estate and the privileged orders disagreed over its powers, the nobility and clergy restricting it to a provisional role.[46] On 13 September 1790 the Estates named Ferdinand de Rohan regent of the Liège nation, and he took the constitutional oath, although part of the Estates, including the radical wing of the third estate, was absent.[46]

Rohan sought the coadjutorship of Liège from Emperor Leopold II, the Imperial Chamber rejected his argument, and he fled in December 1790. The regency council never came into being, and on 4 January 1791 the remnants of the Estates abolished it.[46] In January 1791 Austrian troops entered Liège, ended the revolutionary experiment and returned the principality to the authority of the prince-bishop.[46]

Lombardy, Provisional Government of (1848)

A provisional government for Lombardy took office in Milan on 22 March 1848 under the moderate leader Count Gabrio Casati.[47] A central provisional government for Lombardy was formed on 8 April 1848 in place of the separate city governments.[47] In a referendum on 29 May 1848, 561,002 voters supported immediate union with Piedmont and 681 voted for postponement.[47] Radetzky defeated the Piedmontese army at Custoza in late July 1848, and his troops entered Milan in early August, which ended the authority of the provisional government.[47]

Norway, Declaration of Independence and Constitution of 1814

By the Treaty of Kiel of 14 January 1814 Denmark ceded Norway to Sweden.[48] On 16 February 1814 Prince Christian Frederik, Denmark's vice-regent in Norway, met leading Norwegians at Eidsvoll, and they resolved to summon a constituent assembly, whose elected members first met at Eidsvoll Manor House on 10 April 1814 and formed a constitutional committee and a finance committee.[48] The wording of the constitution was settled by 16 May 1814. The constitution is dated 17 May 1814, and on that day the assembly elected Christian Frederik King of Norway.[48] It met for the last time on 20 May 1814, its members swearing to be faithful and true until Dovre falls.[48]

The summer of 1814 brought war with Sweden and peace negotiations at Moss, where a convention was concluded on 14 August 1814; Christian Frederik then gave up the throne.[48,49] The first Storting met in Christiania in October 1814, and on 4 November 1814 it adopted the constitution as amended for a union with Sweden and elected Carl XIII King of Norway.[48] The outcome was a negotiated union in which Norway kept its own constitution.[48] The union lasted until 1905, when it was dissolved after the Storting's declaration of 7 June and Sweden recognised Norwegian independence on 26 October.[49]

Padania

Padania was the name Umberto Bossi, leader of the regionalist party Lega Nord, gave to an ill-defined region of northern Italy for which he claimed independence. On 15 September 1996, at the end of a three-day journey along the Po that began at the river's source, where Bossi filled a vial with water, he proclaimed in Venice: "We the people of Padania solemnly proclaim that Padania is an independent and sovereign federal republic."[50] He gave the Italian state one year to accept Padania's right to self-determination and called on followers to join a "National Guard", and Prime Minister Oscar Luigi Scalfaro replied that incitement to illicit acts would be dealt with by the competent judicial authorities.[50]

Palatinate, Autonomous Government of the (1923 to 1924)

In November 1923, in the French-occupied Palatinate, Franz Josef Heinz, who called himself Heinz-Orbis, proclaimed a government of an Autonomous Palatinate at Speyer, intended to operate within the "Rhenish Republic".[51]

On 9 January 1924 Heinz was shot dead by opponents of the separatists at the Hotel Wittelsbacher Hof in Speyer, an attack reported to have had the approval of the Bavarian government, which then administered the Palatinate.[51] The separatist movement collapsed in the weeks that followed.

Roman Republic (1849)

The second Roman Republic was proclaimed on 9 February 1849, four days after the Constituent Assembly convened, when the Assembly abolished the temporal power of the pope.[52] Pope Pius IX had fled the city. Giuseppe Mazzini was elected to the governing triumvirate together with Aurelio Saffi and Carlo Armellini.[52]

The republic depended on armed defence against Catholic powers committed to papal restoration. A French expeditionary force landed at Civitavecchia at the end of April 1849 to restore the pope, and Garibaldi commanded the defence of Rome against it under the republic.[52,53] French attacks were resisted until 1 July 1849, and on 3 July, after the constitution of the republic had been proclaimed at noon, French troops entered the city that evening. A detachment of Garibaldi's men withdrew northwards towards Venice.[52] Pius IX returned to Rome in April 1850, guarded by a French garrison.[52]

San Marco, Republic of (Venice, 1848 to 1849)

Daniele Manin was freed from prison, together with Niccolò Tommaseo, on 17 March 1848. On 22 March, after the arsenal workers rose, he went to the gates of the Arsenal and proclaimed the Republic, crying "Viva S. Marco", and repeated the proclamation that afternoon in the Piazza San Marco.[54] The state came to be known as the Republic of San Marco. Manin headed a provisional government from 23 March 1848, was elected in August 1848 to a triumvirate with near-absolute powers, and after the decision of 2 April 1849 to resist, taken after the Piedmontese defeat at Novara, held unlimited powers until the siege ended.[54]

The capitulation, signed on 22 August 1849 by the Austrian general Gorzkowski, brought the Republic to an end.[54] Manin left Venice on 27 August, reached Paris in October 1849 and died there on 22 September 1857.[54]

Schleswig-Holstein, Provisional Government of (1848)

A provisional government for the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein was proclaimed at Kiel in the night of 23 to 24 March 1848, with Wilhelm Hartwig Beseler as its president.[55] On 24 March Prince Frederik of Noer, war minister in the new government, led about 250 chasseurs and some 100 civilians by train into the fortress of Rendsburg and took control of it without resistance. He persuaded General Lützow, the commander in the duchies, to hand over command, and declared that the provisional government acted on behalf of the Danish king.[56]

Prussia recognised the provisional government. Under pressure from the great powers it agreed to an armistice with Denmark at Malmö on 26 August 1848 and then withdrew its troops, and the forces of the duchies were outmatched by Denmark.[55] On 15 September 1848 the Landesversammlung passed the Staatsgrundgesetz, a constitution for the duchies.[55] The London Protocol of 1852 placed the duchies again under the Danish king, which ended the uprising.[55]

Scotland, Independence Referendum of 2014 and Subsequent Constitutional Proceedings

The Scottish independence referendum of 2014 produced a vote of 55 per cent to 45 per cent to remain in the United Kingdom. In 2022 the Lord Advocate referred to the UK Supreme Court, under paragraph 34 of Schedule 6 to the Scotland Act 1998, the question whether a provision of a proposed Scottish Independence Referendum Bill, asking "Should Scotland be an independent country?", was outside the legislative competence of the Scottish Parliament because it related to reserved matters.[57]

On 23 November 2022 a panel of five justices (Lord Reed, Lord Lloyd-Jones, Lord Sales, Lord Stephens and Lady Rose) gave a unanimous judgment that the provision related to the reserved matters of the Union of the Kingdoms of Scotland and England and the Parliament of the United Kingdom, and that without a modification of those reserved matters the Scottish Parliament could not legislate for an independence referendum.[57] The Court also held that the question was a devolution issue and accepted the reference.[57]

A Scottish Parliament election was held in May 2026. According to the Scottish Elections Study, pro-independence parties won what it called the largest pro-independence majority of seats ever elected to the Parliament, although by a narrow margin and with a combined list vote share (41.2 per cent) below that of 2011, 2016 and 2021. The study concluded that the result both did and did not give a mandate, and noted that, because of the 2022 ruling, the Parliament cannot call a referendum without a Section 30 order.[58]

Sicily, Kingdom of (1848 Revolution)

The Sicilian revolution began at Palermo in January 1848 and grew from a local uprising into the secession of the island from the Bourbon Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Ruggero Settimo became head of the provisional government on 1 February 1848 and later presided over the new Sicilian state.[59] Bourbon troops under Carlo Filangieri took Messina on 13 September 1848.[59]

Bourbon forces under Carlo Filangieri occupied Palermo on 15 May 1849,[60] which ended the island's independence. Settimo went into exile on Malta, was named to the Senate of the Kingdom of Italy in 1861, and died at Valletta on 2 May 1863.[59]

Sicily, Movement for the Independence of (1943 to 1946)

The Movement for the Independence of Sicily arose in Sicily after the Anglo-American occupation of July and August 1943. Treccani describes it as a political grouping that planned the dissolution of the Italian unitary state and its reorganisation on federalist lines; its most representative figure was Andrea Finocchiaro Aprile.[61] It built irregular military forces linked to the Volunteer Army for the Independence of Sicily (EVIS), a clandestine military formation whose leading figures included the jurist Antonio Canepa (1908 to 1945) and the bandit Salvatore Giuliano.[62]

The special statute of Sicilian regional autonomy was approved by Royal Legislative Decree no. 455 of 15 May 1946 and later given constitutional rank by Constitutional Law no. 2 of 26 February 1948.[63] According to Treccani, the movement lost its purpose after the statute and failed at the elections of 2 June 1946.[61]

Siena, Republic of, in Montalcino (1555 to 1559)

Siena expelled its Spanish garrison on 27 July 1552 with the support of French troops and of the population, and surrendered to Cosimo I de' Medici on 17 April 1555 after a siege that had begun in January 1554.[64,65] On 21 April 1555 a group of French soldiers, armed commoners and noble citizens with their families left the city carrying its insignia and seals, to maintain the Republic of Siena under French protection at Montalcino.[65] The Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis of 3 April 1559 required French troops to leave Tuscany and ended the Montalcino republic; the small state was granted to Cosimo as a fief by Philip II of Spain and annexed to his domains.[64,65,66]

United Belgian States (1790)

The Brabant Revolution arose in the Austrian Netherlands in opposition to the enlightened despotism of Emperor Joseph II.[67] Brussels was liberated on 13 December 1789, and the United Belgian States were founded soon after the Austrians were expelled.[67] The Treaty of Union of 11 January 1790 joined the provinces in the new federal state. Leadership divided between the conservative Statists, named Nootists after Henri van der Noot, and the reforming Vonckists, followers of Jean-François Vonck.[67]

Eric Mielants argues that the governments of Brabant and Flanders alike remained conservative, with traditional elites keeping power throughout, although public opinion in Flanders was the more reform-minded.[67] Austrian troops returned to the provinces in December 1790, and Emperor Leopold II carried out the restoration without significant resistance, which ended the state.[67]

Veneto, Venetian Most Serene Government and the Serenissimi (1996 to 1997)

The Veneto Serenissimo Governo declared the independence of Veneto on 24 August 1996, according to the newspaper Il Post.[68] Between about 1 and 2 a.m. on 9 May 1997 a group of men occupied St Mark's Square in Venice with a homemade armoured vehicle and a single submachine gun, climbed the campanile, raised a flag with the winged lion of St Mark and installed a radio transmitter, intending to hold the tower until 12 May, the anniversary of the fall of the Venetian Republic in 1797.[68] The carabinieri's special intervention group ended the occupation soon after 9 a.m.[68]

Vorarlberg, Province of (Autonomy and Swiss Accession Vote, 1918 to 1919)

On 3 November 1918, in the collapse of Austro-Hungarian authority, the provisional provincial assembly of the western Austrian province of Vorarlberg declared the province autonomous and part of German-Austria.[69] On 11 May 1919 a referendum asked whether the provincial government should negotiate with the Swiss Confederation about accession, and about 80 per cent of voters said yes.[69] The peace conference at Paris decided the frontiers, and Switzerland did not support the Vorarlberg request there.[69] The Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye, signed on 10 September 1919, made no provision for a Vorarlberg plebiscite and, in Article 88, declared Austria's independence inalienable otherwise than with the consent of the Council of the League of Nations.[69,70] Vorarlberg remained an Austrian province.

Section IV.2

Central and Eastern Europe and the Balkans

Entries in this section chronicle the republics, councils and provisional governments of Central and Eastern Europe and the Balkans, most of them products of the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian, German, Russian and Ottoman empires in 1917 and 1918, and of the wars and unifications of the Balkans.

Albania, Provisional Government of (Vlorë, 1912 to 1914)

On 28 November 1912 the National Assembly meeting at Vlorë declared the independence of Albania and formed a Provisional Government, with Ismail Qemali as prime minister, who also held the foreign affairs portfolio.[71] The government sought diplomatic standing. On 5 December 1912 the foreign minister was instructed to prepare a mission, and on 9 December delegates to the Ambassadors' Conference in London were named, among them Mehmet Konica, Filip Noga and Rasim Dino, who submitted a memorandum of territorial demands in January 1913.[71] Qemali sent telegrams to the six Great Powers and the Ottoman Porte, and on 1 April 1913 he toured Rome, Paris, Vienna and London with Luigj Gurakuqi and Isa Boletini.[71] The Conference of London did not accept the Vlorë government as the legitimate representative of the Albanian nation: Italy and Austria-Hungary saw in it a possible core for a state, while Russia, France and Britain were sceptical.[71] On 29 July 1913 the ambassadors recognised a Principality of Albania as an independent state, but under Greek and Serbian pressure its territory left out close to half of the territory claimed and about 40 per cent of the Albanian population. Qemali announced the decision at a rally in Vlorë on 21 October 1913.[71] Qemali resigned on 22 January 1914 after a plot led by Beqir Grebenë and a revolt led by Esat Toptani, and the International Control Commission created by the Conference then suppressed the Vlorë government.[71]

Banat Republic (1918)

As Hungarian authority dissolved in the autumn of 1918, the Temesvár (Timişoara) lawyer and Social Democrat Ottó Róth announced the Banat Republic from the balcony of the city hall; according to László Gulyás, soldiers' councils were formed in Temesvár on 31 October 1918, and the National Council proclaimed the republic from the balcony in November 1918.[72] Csongor Molnár notes that the sources disagree on whether Róth proclaimed a republic or an autonomy.[72] According to László Gulyás, the government of Mihály Károlyi recognised the republic at once, and the aim was to keep the Banat intact and leave open a later union with Hungary.[73] Serbian troops entered Temesvár on 17 November 1918, and the republic collapsed in practice with the Serbian occupation.[72,73] Gulyás gives 20 February 1919 as the date of its official dissolution, a date that Molnár also reports for the end of local bourgeois power, whereas Rusnac, cited by Molnár, gives 21 February 1919.[72,73]

Belarusian People's Republic

The Belarusian People's Republic, rendered in older English-language sources as the Belorussian Democratic Republic, was proclaimed at Minsk under German occupation, when its Executive Committee declared the republic on 9 March 1918. Its Council adopted a Third Constituent Charter on 25 March 1918 declaring independence.[74] German authorities refused the Council's appeals for recognition.[74] After the German withdrawal in November 1918 Soviet forces began to occupy Belarus, and the Council moved from Minsk to Grodno.[74]

Bukovina, Rival National Councils of

As Austro-Hungarian authority collapsed in October 1918, two rival national bodies laid claim to authority over the multi-ethnic crownland of Bukovina. A Romanian National Assembly of about 400 invited delegates met in Czernowitz on 27 October under the Bukovinian politician Iancu Flondor, claimed the whole province and elected a National Council of 50 members, while Ukrainian representatives claimed the north of the province up to the Sereth.[75] On 6 November Ukrainian troops occupied the state buildings in the provincial capital, and the Austrian provincial president, Josef von Ezdorf, handed authority to representatives of both nations.[75] The dispute was settled by force: Romanian troops entered Czernowitz on 11 November 1918, and Flondor took over the government under Romanian protection.[75] A General Congress of Bukovina voted on 28 November to request union with Romania. In the Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye of 10 September 1919 Austria renounced in favour of Romania all rights and claims to the Bukovina territory on the Romanian side of the frontier.[76]

Carpatho-Ukraine

Czechoslovakia granted autonomy to Subcarpathian Rus after the Munich Agreement of September 1938, and the Greek Catholic priest Avgustyn Voloshyn headed the executive of the autonomous region.[77] A paramilitary defence organisation, the Carpathian Sich, was organised in late 1938.[77] Hungarian forces began their attack on 14 March 1939, as Czechoslovakia collapsed under German pressure and Slovakia declared its own independence.[77] On 15 March 1939 the Diet of Carpatho-Ukraine met at Khust, approved the proclamation of independence, adopted a constitution and elected Voloshyn president.[78] Hungarian forces occupied the whole of the territory within days, and the Diet's presidium was forced into emigration.[78]

Central Albania, Senate of (Essad Pasha Toptani, 1913 to 1916)

Essad Pasha Toptani, a large landowner of central Albania, set up a rival authority on 12 October 1913, when he created a Senate of Central Albania after his proposals for restructuring the provisional government of Ismail Qemali at Vlorë were rejected.[79] He later served as Minister of War under Prince Wilhelm of Wied. After a clash at Durrës on 19 May 1914 he was arrested and exiled to Italy the following day, whereupon his supporters, most of them Muslim peasants, rose against the prince's government.[80] After Wilhelm's departure, Essad concluded an accord with Serbia at Niš on 17 September 1914. Its fifteen conditions included a legislative council with clan representation, the choice of a monarch by a grand assembly with two representatives from each clan, and a Serbian payment each month of 50,000 dinars until his election.[81] He returned to Albania in September 1914 and proclaimed himself head of government at Durrës.[81] According to a case chronology of the Democratic Authoritarian Durability and Mobilization project, he proclaimed himself president and prime minister on 5 October 1914.[80]

The administration depended on external support and faced armed Muslim opposition. Pro-Ottoman insurgents under Hadji Qamil Feiza turned against Essad after the Ottoman Empire entered the war in November 1914. In 1915 Serbian forces under Colonel Dragutin Milutinović seized Tirana and Elbasan and freed Essad, who had been besieged at Durrës, after an intervention ordered by Nikola Pašić in May 1915.[81] Essad left for exile in Italy on 24 February 1916 and was assassinated in Paris on 13 June 1920.[80]

Central Lithuania, Republic of

The Republic of Central Lithuania was proclaimed at Vilnius on 12 October 1920, three days after troops led by General Lucjan Żeligowski staged a mutiny and took the city from Lithuanian control. According to Poland's Institute of National Remembrance, Józef Piłsudski had prepared the plan under which the operation was carried out.[82] In February 1922 the elected Sejm of Central Lithuania declared the Vilnius region part of Poland, and on 6 April 1922 the Polish Legislative Sejm incorporated it. The Conference of Ambassadors recognised Poland's eastern frontier, with Vilnius on the Polish side, in March 1923.[82] Lithuania treated Kaunas as its temporary capital throughout the interwar period, and the Soviet-Lithuanian treaty of 1939 ceded Vilnius and its region to Lithuania, whose army entered the city on 28 October 1939.[83]

German Bohemia and Sudetenland, Provinces of (1918 to 1919)

As the Habsburg monarchy dissolved in October 1918, German-speaking representatives from the Bohemian lands moved to detach their districts from the emerging Czechoslovak state and attach them to German-Austria. On 29 October 1918 the German-Bohemian deputies constituted themselves as a provisional provincial assembly and declared Deutschböhmen a province of German-Austria. On 30 October a corresponding provisional assembly was constituted for the region styled Sudetenland, and separate district representations for German South Moravia and the Bohemian Forest followed.[84] Rudolf Lodgman von Auen was elected Landeshauptmann, or provincial governor, of Deutschböhmen when Rafael Pacher resigned, and the historian Ladislav Lipscher describes him as the undisputed political leader of the movement in this period.[85,84]

On 22 November 1918 the German-Austrian National Assembly passed legislation declaring the Sudeten territories part of the German-Austrian Republic.[84] When Czech troops occupied Deutschböhmen, Lodgman and his provincial government fled through Saxony to Vienna, where he advocated an all-German people's state in which Deutschböhmen would form an autonomous federal member.[85] On 23 September 1919, after the Treaty of Saint-Germain, the German-Austrian cabinet resolved to liquidate the provincial governments and cede the territories to Czechoslovakia.[84]

Greece, Provisional Democratic Government of (1947 to 1949)

On 24 December 1947 it was announced that General Markos Vafiadis, the Greek guerrilla leader, had proclaimed a Provisional Democratic Government in northern Greece. A report on the United Nations Balkans Committee, printed in the New Zealand parliamentary papers for 1948, records that the body did not in fact possess the qualifications of a government in international law and that no state had accorded recognition to Markos.[86] The communist insurgency that the government served was defeated by government forces in 1949.

Greece, Regional Governments of 1821 (Peloponnesian Senate, Senate of Western Continental Greece and Areopagus of Eastern Continental Greece)

Three regional governing bodies arose in Greece in 1821, in the first year of the War of Independence. The statute of the Peloponnesian Senate (the Act of Kaltezoi) is dated 26 May 1821, the organisation of the Senate of Western Continental Greece was issued at Mesolonghi on 9 November 1821, and the Legal Order of Eastern Continental Greece was issued at Salona on 15 November 1821.[87] According to the Hellenic Parliament, these governments were founded by regional assemblies during that first year.[88] The First National Assembly at Epidaurus adopted the first Greek constitution, the Provisional Constitution of Epidaurus, in January 1822.[88]

Herceg-Bosna, Croatian Republic of

The Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna was proclaimed on 18 November 1991 by Bosnian Croat leaders as a political and territorial entity within the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Its founding decision listed municipalities including Jajce, Mostar and Livno as its territory, and the Prosecution at the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) describes it as proclaimed a separate "political, cultural, economic and territorial whole".[89,90] Mate Boban and other leaders established the Croatian Defence Council (HVO) on 8 April 1992 as the supreme defence body, and on 15 May 1992 it was declared the supreme executive and administrative body. Boban was president of the Community from its inception, and Jadranko Prlić became HVO president on 14 August 1992.[89]

In August 1993 the entity renamed itself the Croatian Republic of Herceg-Bosna, a step dated to 28 August 1993. The Constitutional Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina declared the entity illegal on about 14 September 1992 and again on 20 January 1994, and neither Bosnia and Herzegovina nor the international community recognised it as a state.[89,90] The Washington Agreement of March 1994 created the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Hungarian Soviet Republic

On 21 March 1919 a socialist-communist government under Béla Kun proclaimed the Hungarian Soviet Republic. The change followed the Vix Note of 20 March, which ordered Budapest to limit its control to the approximate territory of present-day Hungary and which led to the abdication of the president, Mihály Károlyi.[91] The government nationalised industry and raised a Red Army that numbered almost 200,000 men at its peak.[91] Romanian forces opened an offensive on 16 April, and Czechoslovak forces joined it about ten days later.[91] In April 1919 General Jan Smuts led an Allied mission from the Paris Peace Conference to Budapest to negotiate over the territory to be evacuated.[92] The republic ended when Romanian troops occupied Budapest on 4 August 1919.[91]

Hungary, Declaration of Independence and Governor-Presidency of (1849)

On 14 April 1849 the Hungarian Diet issued a declaration of independence that declared the House of Habsburg deposed and informed the civilised world of Hungary's independence, in the expectation that other nations would accept Hungary as "the youngest but not unworthy brother" among independent nations.[93] The Diet elected Lajos Kossuth governor-president, an election proclaimed in the Reformed Great Church at Debrecen.[94] Austrian and Russian forces defeated the Hungarian army in the summer of 1849, and Kossuth went into exile in the Ottoman Empire.

Hutsul Republic (1919)

According to the Encyclopedia of Ukraine, a Hutsul force drove the Hungarian garrison from Yasinia on 7 January 1919 and, with a company of Sich Riflemen, occupied Sighet (Sighetu Marmației) between 14 and 16 January. On 5 February a Hutsul Republic was proclaimed in Transcarpathia, with a four-man Ukrainian government and a forty-two-member Hutsul Council headed by Stepan Klochurak. The republic lasted until 11 June 1919, when Romanian troops occupied the area.[95]

Ikaria, Free State of (1912)

On 17 July 1912 inhabitants of the island of Ikaria rose against the Ottoman garrison, and after the Ottoman forces left the islanders declared independence and founded the Free State of Ikaria.[96] The physician Ioannis Malachias, leader of the revolution, headed a provisional government as president.[96] The state issued its own postage stamps, and Yvonne Cartledge records that it had a president, an anthem, a flag and armed forces.[96,97] Ikaria joined Greece on 4 November 1912, after about four months of self-government.[96,97]

Ilirida, Republic of (Western Macedonia, 1992)

In January 1992 ethnic Albanians in Macedonia voted in an unofficial referendum on territorial and political autonomy. The Political Handbook of the World 1998 reported 99.9 per cent support, while Owen Bennett Jones, citing Radio Free Europe, reported a 74 per cent majority and added that the government denied the poll's validity.[98] A 1998 article in The Washington Quarterly states that Albanians declared the autonomy of the 'Republic of Ilirida' in western Macedonia, but the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada found that its sources did not identify which group, if any, made the declaration.[98]

Korçë, Autonomous Province of

French forces occupied Korçë in the autumn of 1916. On 10 December 1916 Colonel Henri Descoins signed a protocol with fourteen Albanian representatives that set up an autonomous region under French protection and administered by Albanians; the Albanian nationalist Themistokli Gërmenji became prefect of police and head of the gendarmerie.[99] The region opened some sixty Albanian primary schools and one secondary school, and Greek-language schools were closed.[99] Gërmenji was arrested on 2 November 1917 and executed at Thessaloniki on 9 November 1917. On 12 February 1918 the French military authorities dissolved the Administrative Council, and on 16 February 1918 they abrogated the protocol and placed the region under direct French administration.[99]

Kosovo, Republic of (Parallel State of the 1990s and Declaration of Independence of 2008)

After Serbia revoked Kosovo's autonomous status within the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1989, the province's ethnic Albanian political leadership held an unofficial referendum in September 1991 that returned a large majority for independence. In May 1992 it held clandestine elections that made Ibrahim Rugova president of a self-declared Republic of Kosovo.[100] The parallel administration then operated a shadow state in non-cooperation with the Serbian authorities: Albanian-language schooling was given in private homes after ethnic Albanian teachers and pupils were excluded from state schools, a parallel health network provided care, and voluntary taxation, collected from the diaspora, funded these institutions. Albania alone recognised the republic. Rugova's policy of non-violent resistance gave way after 1998 to conflict between Serbian forces and the Kosovo Liberation Army, which led to NATO intervention in 1999 and to United Nations administration under Security Council Resolution 1244.[101]

On 17 February 2008 Kosovo declared itself an independent state, describing itself as a democratic, secular and multi-ethnic republic. The declaration accepted the obligations in the plan of the United Nations Special Envoy Martti Ahtisaari, invited an international civilian presence and a European Union rule-of-law mission, affirmed the continued NATO role under Resolution 1244, and described Kosovo as a special case that set no precedent.[102] The United States recognised Kosovo on 18 February 2008, and by July 2008 at least 43 states had done so. Serbia and Russia objected.[103] A constitution took effect on 15 June 2008. It incorporated provisions of the Ahtisaari proposal, prohibited union with any other state and placed an International Civilian Representative at the head of an International Civilian Office.[103]

The General Assembly asked the International Court of Justice whether the declaration accorded with international law. On 22 July 2010 the Court answered, by ten votes to four, that the declaration of independence adopted on 17 February 2008 did not violate international law.[104] It found no general prohibition of declarations of independence, held that territorial integrity operates between states, and held that Resolution 1244 did not reserve the final determination of Kosovo's status to the Security Council. It added that the authors of the declaration acted not as the Provisional Institutions of Self-Government but as representatives of the people of Kosovo. The Court declined to decide whether international law confers a right to independence or supports remedial secession.[104]

Recognition is broad but incomplete, and Kosovo holds no seat at the United Nations. According to the Kosovo Foreign Ministry, 117 countries recognised Kosovo in January 2023; Serbia's President Vucic claimed in the same month that nine states had withdrawn recognition, a claim Kosovo disputed.[105] Five members of the European Union (Cyprus, Greece, Romania, Slovakia and Spain) withhold recognition, China and Russia oppose Kosovo's membership of the United Nations, and Serbia refuses recognition, citing its constitution and Resolution 1244. The European Union facilitated the Brussels Agreement of 2013, which Kosovo alone ratified as an international agreement, and the Ohrid framework of February

2023 with its implementation annex of March 2023, which the parties interpret in different ways.[106] As at May 2026, according to the news service European Western Balkans, the European Union's Special Representative for the dialogue, Peter Sørensen, had met the chief negotiators of Kosovo and Serbia in Brussels to outline a work plan, and the High Representative, Kaja Kallas, said that a high-level political meeting was planned but delayed by forthcoming elections in Kosovo.[107]

Kruševo Republic (1903)

After the Ilinden Uprising of 1903 against Ottoman rule in Macedonia, a republic was set up at Kruševo that lasted ten days.[108] According to the Parliamentary Institute of the Republic of North Macedonia, the new rule began on 3 August 1903, after the liberation of the town, when an assembly of the sixty most prominent citizens representing the town's ethnic groups elected a six-member interim executive government.[108] The Kruševo Manifesto, issued in the republic's name, is described in that account as one of the most important documents in the history of the country's national liberation movement and as an expression of equality among nationalities. The account is an official national narrative that regards the republic as a foundation of Macedonian statehood.

Lajtabánság (Leitha Banat, 1921)

During the dispute over the transfer of western Hungary to Austria as the Burgenland, the paramilitary leader Pál Prónay proclaimed a state, Lajtabánság or Leitha Banat, at Felsőőr (Oberwart) on 4 October 1921, and was to serve as its head (bán).[109] Joseph Imre records that the state was suspended on 4 November 1921, after talks at Venice produced a protocol that, among other points, provided for a referendum at Sopron (Ödenburg) and its surrounding communities.[109] The plebiscite took place from 14 to 16 December 1921.[110] According to Imre, city voters favoured Hungary by 73 per cent, whilst rural settlements favoured Austria by 55 per cent.[109] Sopron and its immediate surroundings remained Hungarian, and Austria took over the rest of the Burgenland.[109,110]

Lemko-Rusyn Republic and Komancza Republic (1918 to 1921)

Two bodies styled republics appeared in the Lemko region of the western Carpathians in 1918. At Komańcza (the Komancza Republic), a rally on 4 November 1918 read out the Lviv proclamation of the West Ukrainian People's Republic and a Ukrainian National Council for Sanok county was formed, which Przemysław Mazur treats as an expression of Ukrainian national feeling.[111] At Florynka on 5 December 1918 a rally formed the Supreme Ruthenian Council, which Mazur says was headed by the priest Mychajło Jurczakewycz; Jarosław Kaczmarczyk, who appears to have taken power after the rally, led the "Lemko-Rusyn" movement. Most of its activists favoured Russia, and after rejecting Polish and Ukrainian options they turned towards Czechoslovakia.[111] Polish forces began to suppress the Lemko region in February 1919, and in January 1921 the authorities decided to arrest the main leaders.[111] Bogdan Horbal writes that the republic ended with the arrest of its leaders, who were acquitted at trial some months later,[112] whereas Andrzej Zięba argues that the councils were local national representations rather than a government and that none of their stages was linked with the idea of a separate Lemko state.[113] The period of the entry therefore runs from the rally at Komańcza on 4 November 1918 to the arrest of the leaders that the authorities decided upon in January 1921, which Horbal treats as the end of the republic.[111]

Lithuania and Belorussia, Soviet Socialist Republic of (Litbel)

The Lithuanian-Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, known as Litbel, was proclaimed at Vilnius on 27 February 1919 by a joint session of the central executive committees of the Soviet republics of Lithuania and Belorussia, which it merged.[114] After Polish forces entered Vilnius in April 1919 and the Red Army left on 21 April, its central bodies were evacuated to Minsk.[115] Polish troops took Minsk on 8 August 1919.[114,115] Moscow kept the republic in nominal existence for another year, until the proclamation of a Belorussian Soviet republic on 31 July 1920, which, in Aleksandr Shubin's words, put an end to the history of Litbel.[115] The frontier in the region was settled by the Peace of Riga in 1921.

Makhnovshchina (Insurgent Territory of Southern Ukraine, 1918 to 1921)

The Makhnovshchina was the region of south-eastern Ukraine around Hulyai Pole in which the anarchist Nestor Makhno and his insurgent army held military and political control during the Russian Civil War. Authority rested on periodic regional congresses of peasants, workers and insurgents: the first met at Velyka Mykhailivka on 23 January 1919, the second at Hulyai Pole on 12 February and the third at Hulyai Pole on 10 April. The second congress set up a Revolutionary Military Soviet to handle civilian affairs and to exercise nominal oversight of the army, which remained under Makhno and his staff.[116]

The movement dates from 1918. Makhno returned to Hulyai Pole in July 1918, when Austrian troops and the militia of Hetman Skoropadsky held it, and organised a partisan force that raided the Austrians, the Hetmanites and the nobility; after his men defeated a larger Austrian force at Dibrivka in September 1918 they gave him the title bat'ko.[117]

The territory's survival depended on shifting arrangements with the Bolsheviks. An agreement signed at Nyzhnyodniprovske on 26 January 1919 provided that Makhno's forces would become a Red Army brigade under his command, keeping their internal organisation, including elected commanders.[116] On 4 June 1919 Trotsky's Order 1824 forbade the fourth congress, and Makhno resigned his command on 9 June. The Bolsheviks declared him an outlaw on 9 January 1920. A further agreement against General Wrangel was signed in October 1920.[116] In November 1920, after the Crimean campaign, the Bolsheviks turned their forces against the Makhnovists and Hulyai Pole, and Makhno crossed the Romanian border on 28 August 1921, which ended the movement's presence in Ukraine.[118]

Mirdita, Republic of

The Republic of Mirdita was proclaimed in July 1921 in the name of Marka Gjoni, chieftain of the Catholic Mirdita region of northern Albania. According to Limon Rushiti, Gjoni, having failed to obtain a post in Tirana, turned to the Yugoslav military authorities at Prizren, who supplied arms and money; he proclaimed the republic on 12 July 1921 and headed it.[119]

The venture depended on Belgrade and failed when the Allied Powers intervened. The League of Nations ordered the Yugoslav government to stop aiding the insurgents, and on 2 November 1921 the Conference of Ambassadors instructed it to halt military operations.[119] The Conference's decision of 9 November 1921 recognised the Government of Albania and constituted a commission to delimit its frontiers; the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes accepted it under protest.[120] Rushiti cites a report of 12 October 1921 stating that the forces of Tirana had ended the rising in Mirdita, and records that on 20 November 1921 the Albanian government launched a general operation against the movement under Ahmet Zogu and Bajram Curri, which he describes as successful.[119]

Münster, Anabaptist Kingdom of (1534 to 1535)

Anabaptists won the Münster council elections on 23 February 1534 and, under threat of violence, expelled those of other faiths from the city.[121] Jan Bockelson (Jan van Leiden) took over the leadership of the community in January 1534 on the orders of the prophet Jan Matthys, who died on 5 April 1534 during a sortie from the besieged city. At the end of August 1534 Bockelson secured kingship on the strength of inner revelations, taking the style of king in the seat of David, and he introduced polygamy.[122]

After a siege of several months the city fell on 25 June 1535, taken through treason according to Robert Stupperich.[122] Bockelson, Knipperdolling and Krechting were executed on 22 January 1536 on the Prinzipalmarkt, and their bodies were hung in iron cages from the tower of St Lamberti, where the cages still hang.[121]

Northern Epirus, Autonomous Republic of

The autonomy of Northern Epirus was declared in February 1914, after the districts of Korçë and Gjirokastër had been placed within the Albanian state, with Georgios Christakis-Zografos as president of a provisional government. The Great Powers disapproved, since the acts did not emanate from the Greek government.[123] According to the United States consul at Salonica, the declaration was made on 23 February 1914, with Gjirokastër (Argyrokastron) as its seat.[124]

The Protocol of Corfu, signed on 17 May 1914 after a conference convened by the International Commission of Control with Epirote leaders, secured for the Greek Orthodox Church full religious freedom, official recognition of the Greek language, Christian governors in the claimed districts, and administrative councils apportioned by religion. The Albanian government approved it on 7 June 1914.[124] The settlement did not hold: the consul reported that Muslim groups were dissatisfied, that the followers of Essad Pasha revolted and that civil war followed, and that Epirote forces reoccupied Korçë on 7 July 1914.[124] In November 1921 Northern Epirus was ceded to Albania.[123]

Podgorica Assembly of 1918 and the Contested End of the Montenegrin Monarchy

The Great National Assembly of the Serb People in Montenegro met at Podgorica from 24 to 29 November 1918. On 26 November it resolved to depose King Nikola Petrović and to unite Montenegro with Serbia. The resolution was signed by 165 delegates, most of them Orthodox Serbs, with some Muslims and Albanians.[125] Slavenko Terzić describes the decisions as a democratic expression of the political will of the majority of the Serb people in Montenegro, and records that supporters of King Nikola, with Italian assistance, tried to overturn them in the Christmas Rebellion.[125]

Srdja Pavlovic takes the opposite view: he argues that the union was an annexation of Montenegro by Serbia, carried out with the political approval of the Entente, that the assembly's proceedings cast serious doubt on the legality of its decision-making, and that the rules for selecting delegates did not conform to the Montenegrin constitution.[126] Matija Stojanović records the arguments of critics of the assembly, that it was constituted contrary to the 1905 Constitution and convened in haste with the help of Allied, above all Serbian, forces, and that the Montenegrin legal order survived through the internationally recognised king and government in exile; he himself concludes that the decisions were valid within the international legal order, because the Great Powers withdrew recognition from King Nikola's government in late 1920.[127]

Deborah Natale treats the resolution as a stage in the Montenegrin question, and examines the assembly's legitimacy, the contested nature of Montenegrin identity and the tension between unionist and independence-minded positions.[128] Milan Šćekić writes that the assembly's decisions ended the rule of the Petrović-Njegoš dynasty, which had lasted more than two centuries.[129]

Poland, Provisional People's Government of the Republic of (Lublin, November 1918)

A Provisional People's Government of the Republic of Poland was formed at Lublin on the night of 6 to 7 November 1918, with Ignacy Daszyński, leader of the Galician socialists, as premier.[130] According to Włodzimierz Suleja, its manifesto promised an eight-hour working day, the compulsory expropriation of large and medium landed estates and the nationalisation of mines, salt works, oil and transport, and settled in effect the republican form of the state.[130] Piłsudski arrived in Warsaw from Magdeburg on 10 November, and on 11 November took command of the army from the Regency Council.[130] The Lublin government, though with reluctance, placed itself at his disposal, and on 18 November Jędrzej Moraczewski, another Galician socialist, formed a new government.[130] Suleja observes that the Lublin government did not extend its influence even to the area around its seat.[130]

Prekmurje (Mura) Republic (1919)

On 29 May 1919 Vilmos Tkálecz, a twenty-five-year-old former teacher and First World War veteran who had served as deputy people's commissar for the Vendvidék under the Hungarian Soviet Republic, proclaimed a Mura Republic (the Vend Republic in Hungarian usage) at Muraszombat (Murska Sobota).[131] The republic claimed the Slovene-inhabited parts of Vas and Zala counties, with about 70,000 inhabitants, about 85 per cent of them Slovene.[131] The Hungarian historian László Göncz characterises the venture as an adventure without constitutional foundations or a coherent political concept, and attributes it to Tkálecz's wish to escape an investigation into corruption and smuggling, which suggests that it reflected personal circumstance more than Slovene national or socialist aims.[131] Tkálecz had expected backing from Austria and Yugoslavia, which did not arrive, and Red Army forces suppressed the republic within days, with fighting concentrated around Belatinc and Alsólendva.[131] The Paris Peace Conference referred to the episode in its discussion of the disposition of the Muravidék.[131]

Republika Srpska (Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serb Republic of)

Republika Srpska was proclaimed by the Assembly of the Serbian People in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992 as the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and was renamed Republika Srpska on 12 August 1992.[132] Under Annex 4 to the 1995 Dayton Agreement, which contains the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the state consists of two Entities, the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republika Srpska.[133]

A snap presidential election was held on 23 November 2025. According to preliminary results reported by the Centre for Eastern Studies, Siniša Karan of the Alliance of Independent Social Democrats won with 50.3 per cent against 48.36 per cent for Branko Blanuša.[134] Irregularities found in that vote led to a repeat at 136 polling stations on 8 February 2026, which Karan won.[135]

General elections were held on 4 October 2026. According to preliminary results reported by European Western Balkans, the Alliance's Savo Minić led the contest for president of the entity with 202,245 votes to 160,935 for Blanuša, who conceded. As at 5 October 2026 the Central Election Commission had still to publish final results.[136]

Serbian Krajina, Republic of

The Republic of Serbian Krajina emerged from the Serb Autonomous Oblasts in Croatia during the break-up of Yugoslavia. On 19 December 1991 Milan Babić, for SAO Krajina, and Goran Hadžić, for SAO Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem, announced that the areas were being joined to form a single Serbian 'state' in Croatia, and in February 1992 the two declared independence from Croatia and named the entity the Republic of Serbian Krajina.[137] The Trial Chamber of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia found that the government of SAO Krajina later evolved into that of the republic, and Milan Martić became its president on 25 January 1994.[138]

The Croatian army launched offensives in May and August 1995 against Sector West and the Krajina proper. They resulted in the expulsion or departure of some 200,000 Serbs, of whom 60,000 to 70,000 went to Eastern Slavonia.[137] The Erdut Agreement of 12 November 1995 provided for Eastern Slavonia to return to Croatian authority, and the United Nations Transitional Administration in Eastern Slavonia governed the region, with a mandate extended to 15 July 1997 and the possibility of a reduced presence until 15 January 1998.[137]

Slovak People's Republic (Košice and Prešov, December 1918)

On 11 December 1918 a Slovak People's Republic was proclaimed in the town hall of Košice, in the weeks when Czechoslovak authority had not yet reached eastern Slovakia.[139] Viktor Dvortsák, head of the East Slovak National Council, served as its president, a government and ministries were named on the same day, and Prešov was designated the capital.[139] The proclamation used the slogan that its supporters would be neither Czechs nor Hungarians but free Slovaks in a free Slovak land, and it came from a Temporary Executive Committee of the Slovak People's Republic.[140]

The idea failed to take hold despite the organisers' efforts to reach the Slovak population beyond the east.[140] Dvortsák's government left Košice for Miskolc on the morning of 29 December 1918, as Czechoslovak forces took control of eastern Slovakia.[139] The episode is distinct from the Slovak Soviet Republic proclaimed at Prešov in June 1919.

Slovak Soviet Republic

The Slovak Soviet Republic (Slovenská republika rád) was proclaimed at a workers' assembly in Prešov on 16 June 1919, while troops of Béla Kun's Hungarian Soviet Republic occupied parts of eastern Slovakia during the war with Czechoslovakia.[141,142] A Czech communist, Antonín Janoušek, headed it.[143] Its emergence was tied to the Hungarian revolution and to the advance of the Hungarian Red Army, and it could not outlast Hungarian support: the Hungarian army began to evacuate Slovak territory on 30 June 1919 under Allied pressure, and the republic ceased to exist in July 1919, after which the territory remained part of Czechoslovakia.[142,143]

Tarnobrzeg, Republic of (1918 to 1919)

After Austria-Hungary withdrew from Galicia in autumn 1918, committees managed the transfer of power to Poland, but peasants in four central districts attempted to build their own political order around the town of Tarnobrzeg, where thousands gathered every Wednesday.[144] Tim Buchen describes the Republika Tarnobrzeska as a short-lived peasant republic led by a priest and former Habsburg officer, whose agenda centred on land distribution and local rule, and he examines the violence and social upheaval that accompanied it.[144]

According to Marek Przeniosło, the republic's origin is dated, at least in form, to 6 November 1918, when a gathering of several thousand to perhaps a dozen thousand people, most of them peasants, gathered at the Bartosz Głowacki monument in Tarnobrzeg and a Peasant Committee of 17 members was formed. Its leading organisers were the priest Eugeniusz Okoń, of Radomyśl nad Sanem, and Tomasz Dąbal, a former Austrian army lieutenant, who was named commander of the district gendarmerie on 2 November and of the district military command on 13 November.[145] The republic was in effect liquidated in January 1919 by a military and gendarmerie operation: Okoń was arrested for a time on 6 January 1919 and taken to Rzeszów, and both leaders were later elected deputies to the Constituent Sejm.[145]

Thessaloniki, Provisional Government of National Defence at (1916 to 1917)

The Movement of National Defence was organised in August 1916 by Venizelist officers and citizens who sought to bring Greece into the war on the side of the Entente, and by October 1916 two Greek states coexisted, one at Athens under the king and one at Thessaloniki.[146] Supreme power at Thessaloniki rested with a triumvirate of Eleftherios Venizelos, Admiral Pavlos Koundouriotis and General Panayotis Danglis, and the provisional government controlled the northern regions.[146] According to the National Archives, Venizelos converted the defence committee into a government of national defence after his arrival in October, and the Allies at first hesitated, afraid of setting a precedent of supporting an unofficial government.[147]

The division ended when pressure from the Great Powers forced King Constantine to leave the country in June 1917 and to resign in favour of his son Alexander, after which Venizelos returned to power at Athens.[148]

Ukrainian People's Republic

The Central Rada, a Ukrainian representative council formed at Kyiv in 1917 under the historian Mykhailo Hrushevsky, proclaimed Ukrainian autonomy by its First Universal of 23 June 1917. Its Third Universal of 20 November 1917 proclaimed the Ukrainian National Republic within a federated Russia, and its Fourth Universal, dated 22 January 1918 and passed by the Little Rada on 25 January, declared the republic an independent state.[149] Under the Hetman government of Pavlo Skoropadsky the republic was renamed the Ukrainian State, from 29 April to 14 December 1918; the Directory then restored the name, and the state existed on Ukrainian territory until 1920.[150] In the Treaty of Riga of March 1921 Poland and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic recognised the independence of Ukraine and Belarus, and the delegations of the Ukrainian National Republic were not admitted to the negotiations.[151]

The republic's government institutions were evacuated from Ukraine in part at the end of 1919 and in full in 1920, most of them to Tarnów in Poland; the Directory adopted the legal basis of the government in exile on 12 November 1920.[152] The Encyclopedia of Ukraine lists the heads of the Directory as Symon Petliura until 25 May 1926, Andrii Livytsky from 1926 to 1954, Stepan Vytvytsky from 1954 to 1965, Mykola Livytsky from 1967 to 1989 and Mykola Plaviuk from 1989 to 1992.[152] On 22 August 1992 Plaviuk handed the government's authority, state symbols and heraldry to Leonid Kravchuk at a ceremony in Kyiv, which the Ukrainian World Congress presents as the execution of a resolution of 1919 providing that the government's activities would end once an independent Ukrainian state was proclaimed.[153]

Užice Republic (1941)

In autumn 1941 Partisan forces held a liberated territory in western Serbia centred on the town of Užice, which the National Museum of Užice describes as the first large liberated territory in occupied Europe in that year. Chetnik troops entered Užice on 21 September and handed the town to the Partisans on 24 September; the museum gives the duration of the republic as 67 days and its population as about one million.[154] Užice housed the Supreme Headquarters of the National Liberation Partisan Troops of Yugoslavia, led by Josip Broz Tito, together with the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and the Central Committee of the League of Yugoslav Young Communists.[154] Pre-war factories and workshops resumed production, and several newspapers were printed.[154] The German offensive against the territory began on 25 November 1941. On 29 November the Workers' Battalion and other Partisan units made a stand on the hill of Kadinjača against a larger German force; the battalion was destroyed, and the Supreme Headquarters withdrew to the Sandžak.[154,155] The German offensive ended on 1 December 1941, when the 342nd Division reached the demarcation line with the Italian zone, and the uprising in Serbia was suppressed.[156]

West Ukrainian People's Republic

The West Ukrainian People's Republic was a Ukrainian state in Galicia that emerged at the collapse of Austria-Hungary in 1918. A Ukrainian government took power in Lviv on 1 November 1918; the Encyclopedia of Ukraine dates the establishment of the republic by the Ukrainian National Rada to 9 November 1918 and its constitution to 13 November 1918, with the State Secretariat as its executive.[157] The republic fought the Polish-Ukrainian War in Galicia from 1918 to 1919.[157] On 3 January 1919 the Rada approved a preliminary agreement of union with the Ukrainian People's Republic, which the Directory approved on 22 January, when the union was proclaimed. The union was not carried out in practice, and the institutions of the western government continued to operate as a separate administration.[157] The government of the Ukrainian People's Republic recognised Polish rule west of the Zbruch, a policy that the western government rejected.[157] On 25 June 1919 the Supreme Council of the Paris Peace Conference instructed Poland to occupy Galicia on a temporary basis while recognising its special status, and in July 1919 Poland occupied most of the republic's territory. The Conference of Ambassadors recognised the Polish occupation on 14 March 1923, on the footing that eastern Galicia would remain autonomous.[157,158]

Western Bosnia, Autonomous Province of

The Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia was the political project of Fikret Abdić, a critic and rival of Alija Izetbegović, in the Cazin Krajina region of north-western Bosnia during the war of 1992 to 1995.[159,160] According to Dariusz Wybranowski, the province and its successor, the Republic of Western Bosnia (1994 to 1995), had their own political institutions and armies, and Abdić stated that he sought political cooperation with Serbs and Croats on the basis of common economic interests. Admir Mulaosmanović records that Abdić made agreements in October 1993 with Radovan Karadžić and Mato Boban which envisaged Bosnia and Herzegovina as a union of republics, that the autonomy was planned as a quasi-state and became a republic in May 1995, and that it collapsed in late autumn 1994 before being re-established with the support of Serb military and political forces.[159] Wybranowski adds that the elimination of the autonomy was seen as a natural consequence of the end of the Bosnian conflict.[160]

Western Thrace, Independent Government of (1913)

In 1913 an administration styled the Garbî Trakya Hükûmet-i Müstakilesi, the Independent Government of Western Thrace, was established with its centre at Gümülcine (Komotini).[161,162] Ibrahim Kamil's study, published by the Turkish Academy of Sciences, dates its foundation to 31 August 1913, while the KÜRE Encyclopedia records a declaration of independence at Gümülcine on 25 September 1913.[161,162] The latter source names Hoca Salih Efendi as president and Major Süleyman Askerî Bey as chief of the general staff, and states that Süleyman Askerî wrote the national anthem on 3 September 1913 and that a commission adopted a three-colour flag of black, green, and white and red.[162] The Treaty of Constantinople between the Ottoman Empire and Bulgaria, signed on 29 September 1913, gave Bulgaria the territory west of the Maritsa (Meriç) beyond a strip of 25 to 30 kilometres.[161] According to the KÜRE Encyclopedia, the handover timetable required the administration to be left to Bulgaria by 25 October 1913, and Kamil states that the government lasted for close to two months and dispersed when the help it expected did not arrive.[161,162] Bulgaria administered the region until 1919.[161]

Zaporozhian Host

The Zaporozhian Host was a Cossack polity based at fortified encampments, or Sichs, beyond the Dnieper rapids. The first Sich is dated to about 1552, when Prince Dmytro Vyshnevetsky founded it on Mala Khortytsia Island; later Sichs followed, and the last, the New Sich, was built in 1734.[163] The Host's central administrative body was the Kish, led by an elected Kish otaman and an elected council of officers (starshyna); the supreme representative body was the Sich Council, and the army was divided into 38 kurins, each with several hundred Cossacks.[164] The Zaporozhians took a leading part in the anti-Polish rebellions of the 1590s, 1620s and 1630s and in the first period of the Cossack-Polish War of 1648 to 1657, and Khmelnytsky captured the Sich at Mykytyn Rih in 1648.[163,164] Muscovy, Ottoman Turkey and the Crimean Khanate sought to use the Zaporozhian leaders against the Hetman state, and the Eternal Peace of 1686 made the Host a Muscovite protectorate that kept its autonomy.[164] On the orders of Catherine II a Russian army under General P. Tekeli destroyed the New Sich on 15 and 16 June 1775, and her manifesto of 14 August 1775 abolished the Host, calling it a 'political monstrosity'.[163,164]

Section IV.3

The Russian Civil War, the Caucasus and Siberia

Entries in this section chronicle the governments that appeared as the Russian Empire collapsed and the Civil War followed: national republics, Cossack hosts, regional councils and Soviet republics in European Russia, the Volga and Urals, the Caucasus and Siberia, and the autonomy claims of the Soviet period and its aftermath.

Abkhaz People's Council (1917 to 1918)

After the collapse of imperial authority in the Caucasus, the Congress of the Abkhazian People met at Sukhum on 8 November 1917 and set up the Abkhaz People's Council under Simon Basaria.[165] According to the historian Stanislav Lakoba, who writes from an Abkhaz standpoint, Abkhazia joined the Union of United Mountain Peoples of the Caucasus at that congress, rather than looking to Tiflis.[166] On 9 February 1918 the Council signed an agreement with Georgia's National Council which recognised an undivided Abkhazia between the Inguri and Mzymta rivers and provided that the form of its future political order would be decided by an elected Abkhaz Constituent Assembly.[165,167] Lakoba argues that the agreement contains no grant of autonomy.[166] On 11 May 1918 the independence of the Mountain Republic was declared at Batum, with Abkhazia counted within its borders, according to Lakoba.[166] In June 1918 Georgian troops under General Mazniashvili occupied the coast; Lakoba calls this an occupation, while he reports that Georgian historians present it as the defence of Georgia's territorial integrity.[165,166] In August 1918 the Council announced its dissolution in protest at Georgian actions.[165] Georgia and Abkhazia signed a union treaty in December 1921, and in 1931 Abkhazia was reduced to an autonomous republic within the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic.[165]

Aras, Republic of (Aras Turkish Government, Nakhchivan, 1918 to 1919)

The Aras Turkish Government (Aras-Türk Hükûmeti), also called the Aras Republic, was established at a meeting in the township of Kamerli on 18 November 1918, with Iğdır as its centre.[168] According to Mustafa Sarı, its chairman was Emir Bey Zimanbeyzade, Cihangirzâde İbrahim Bey was minister of war and Kamber Ali Bey Benanyari minister of finance, and it raised twenty battalions of between 250 and 500 men.[168] Armenian forces began a general offensive against it on 10 December 1918, and Sarı reports that the government ceased to function once its war minister was recalled to Kars.[168]

An Azerbaijani account in the ADA University biweekly, summarising Niftaliyev, describes the Araz Republic as proclaimed by the Muslim Turkic population of the southern districts of Erivan guberniya (Nakhchivan, Sharur-Daralagez, Ordubad, Vedibasar, Zangibasar and Kamarli), with its capital at Nakhchivan and strong ties to the Azerbaijani Republic. It states that British command liquidated the government in March 1919, regarding it as

a covert Turkish advance, and that the district was then placed under Armenian administration from May to July 1919, until Baku appointed Samed Bek Jamilinsky governor general at the end of July.[169] The two sources differ on the chronology and extent of the entity, and neither reports recognition by any state.

Armenia, First Republic of (1918 to 1920)

An independent Armenian republic was declared in May 1918. The Library of Congress country study states that the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF) filled the top posts of the government, with R. I. Kachaznuni as prime minister and A. I. Khatisian as foreign minister.[170] By the Treaty of Batum of 4 June 1918 the republic accepted a frontier that left much of Sharur-Daralagiaz and most of Nakhichevan to the Ottoman Empire, and Richard Hovannisian writes that the additional treaty signed the same day attested to Armenia's being a vanquished nation.[171] Armenia signed the Treaty of Sèvres on 10 August 1920, through Avetis Aharonian, president of the Armenian delegation; in it Turkey recognised Armenia as a free and independent state and agreed to submit the frontier in the vilayets of Erzurum, Trebizond, Van and Bitlis to arbitration by the President of the United States.[172] The treaty was never ratified.[173] In November 1920 the ARF government reached a political agreement with the communists to form a coalition government.[170] On 2 December 1920 Dro and Terteryan, for Armenia, and Legran, for Soviet Russia, signed an agreement that declared Armenia a Soviet republic; the Armenian government resigned that day and transferred its military and civil authority to Dro.[174] In the early hours of 3 December the Armenian delegation signed the Treaty of Alexandropol with the Turkish nationalist government, by which Armenia renounced the Treaty of Sèvres and in effect lost Kars and Surmalu, which the treaty treated as contested territory subject to a referendum within three years.[173] Neither side ratified the treaty.[173] The republic lasted until December 1920.[170]

Azerbaijan, Democratic Republic of (1918 to 1920)

On 28 May 1918 the National Council of Azerbaijan adopted the Declaration of Independence, and on 17 June 1918 it suspended its activities and transferred legislative and executive authority to the Provisional Government headed by Fatali Khan Khoyski.[175] The parliament held its first session in Baku on 7 December 1918, and on 18 December it decided to send a delegation led by its speaker, Alimardan Topchubashov, to the Paris Peace Conference; according to the Presidential Library of Azerbaijan, the delegation obtained de facto recognition of the republic, although the occupation of northern Azerbaijan by the Red Army hampered its work.[175] The parliament held its last session on 27 April 1920, which ended the parliamentary period of the Democratic Republic.[175]

Buryatia, State of (Burnatskom and the Pan-Mongolist Movement)

After the February Revolution Buryat political leaders formed the Central National Committee of Buryat-Mongols of Eastern Siberia, known by its Russian abbreviation Burnatskom (Burnatcom), created by the First All-Buryat Congress on 25 April 1917. L. V. Kuras describes it as the highest executive and administrative body of Buryat state power in 1917 to 1919; its tasks included organising elections to the Constituent Assembly, preparing the Buryat population for zemstvo self-government, and forming a system of national administrative units (aimak, khoshun, somon).[176] In November 1918 it was reorganised as the Buryat-Mongol People's Duma (Burnarduma).[176] Kuras records that Semyonov, the Transbaikal ataman, attempted to create a 'Great Mongolian State', and that in autumn 1919 Burnarduma was in effect defeated because it disagreed with Semyonov's policy.[176] In a later study Kuras treats the Burnatskom and Burnarduma project as the first of three stages in Buryat statehood in 1917 to 1919, and Semyonov's scheme of 1919 as an attempt at a federative Mongol state on pan-Mongolist principles, to include the Mongol peoples of Transbaikalia and Inner and Outer Mongolia; he adds that none of the projects succeeded.[177]

Crimean People's Republic (1917 to 1918)

The Crimean People's Republic grew out of the Crimean Tatar national movement in the year of the Russian revolutions. According to the historian Vladyslav Starodubtsev, the Second All-Crimean Muslim Congress met at Simferopol on 2 October 1917 and called elections to a national assembly, the Kurultai; the elections of late November 1917 returned 76 deputies, four of them women, and most were members of the Milliy Firqa party, founded by Noman Çelebicihan, a lawyer, poet and socialist.[178] The statement of the Chairman of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on the centenary of the Kurultai records that it opened on 9 December 1917 in the Khan's palace at Bakhchysarai and approved the Crimean Tatar basic laws, described as the first Crimean constitution, and elected a national government known as the Directorate.[179] Starodubtsev dates the proclamation of the republic to 13 December 1917.[178] At the end of January 1918 the Bolsheviks seized all of Crimea and announced the dissolution of the Kurultai and of the Council of People's Representatives.[179] Çelebicihan was imprisoned at Sevastopol on 27 January and shot on 23 February 1918.[178]

Don Republic (Great Don Host)

The Great Don Host (Vsevelikoe Voisko Donskoe), also called the Don Republic, was the Cossack state set up in the Don territory of south Russia in May 1918, during the Russian Civil War; one study dates the Host from 4 May 1918 to 2 February 1919.[180] In May 1918 the Circle for the Salvation of the Don elected General Pyotr Krasnov ataman, and the Circle's legislation proclaimed the Don an independent state separate from Russia.[180] The Cambridge University Library exhibition on the first Bolshevik year records that the Don Cossacks declared their own independent republic in May 1918, and that Krasnov led the Don Army until February 1919, when it joined Anton Denikin's anti-Bolshevik forces in southern Russia.[181] Krasnov resigned on 2 February 1919 and left the Don on 4 February, after military setbacks, financial and economic instability and the Soviet advance, and after a long rivalry with Denikin.[180]

Donetsk-Krivoy Rog Soviet Republic (1918)

The Donetsk-Krivoy Rog Soviet Republic was proclaimed in February 1918 over the industrial region of the Donbas, with Kharkiv as its capital and Fyodor Sergeyev, known as Artem, as chairman of its Council of People's Commissars.[182] The Encyclopedia of Ukraine gives its existence as February to April 1918. The Second All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets resolved on 17 to 19 March 1918 to abolish the republic, after Lenin had ordered its representatives to attend, at the urging of Mykola Skrypnyk.[182] In November 1918 Donbas Bolsheviks, among them Artem, joined the Provisional Workers' and Peasants' Government of Ukraine, and the question of a separate republic was no longer raised.[182]

Evenki (Tungus) Republic, Provisional Central National Administration of (1924 to 1925)

The Tungus Republic was a separatist movement on the Okhotsk coast, within the Yakut Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, formed in a rebellion against Soviet rule in 1924 and 1925. It was led by the Yakut Mikhail Artemyev and the Tungus (Evenki) P. V. Karamzin. According to the historian E. P. Antonov, the causes included OGPU terror during the New Economic Policy, executions and mass arrests, the impoverishment of herders, unequal trade (a pack of tea exchanged for eight squirrel pelts) and a lack of national schools and native cadres.[183]

On 10 May 1924 a detachment under Artemyev took Nelkan, and on 6 June about sixty insurgents under Artemyev and Karamzin took the port of Ayan after a battle of eighteen hours.[183] A congress at Nelkan in June 1924 set up a Provisional Central Tungus National Administration, chaired by K. Struchkov, with Karamzin as commander of the Tungus forces, and resolved to separate from Soviet Russia and form an independent state.[183] The insurgents adopted a tricolour flag of white (snow), green (forest) and black (earth), and demanded national self-determination, rights for small peoples and a national-territorial unit.[183]

In January 1925 a commission was sent to talk with the rebels. On 9 May 1925 a delegation of the Yakut Central Executive Committee led by R. F. Kulakovsky signed a ceasefire with Artemyev, and the rebels agreed to lay down their arms; Karamzin's group surrendered near Okhotsk on 18 July 1925.[183] In all 519 insurgents surrendered, 484 with Artemyev and 35 with Karamzin.[183]

Far Eastern Republic

The Far Eastern Republic was created under Bolshevik leadership in the Russian Far East and existed from 6 April 1920 to 14 November 1922, according to the editorial notes to Lenin's collected works.[184] The same notes describe it as a 'buffer state' with a bourgeois-democratic system but in substance conducting a Soviet policy, formed in the course of the struggle against foreign armed intervention in the Far East, and explain that Soviet Russia wished to avoid an open armed clash with Japan and to gain a long breathing space on its eastern front.[184] Andrei Baksheev and his co-authors reach a similar conclusion, that the republic was a buffer state which its creators intended to dissolve once it had shielded Soviet Russia from Japanese aggression.[185] Lenin wrote in 1922 that Alexander Krasnoshchekov, whose name is also rendered Krasnoshchyokov, had been chairman of its government and had organised almost everything there.[184] After the expulsion of the Japanese interventionists the People's Assembly of the republic asked to be merged into the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic, and on 15 November 1922 the All-Russia Central Executive Committee declared it an inseparable part of that republic.[184]

Georgia, Democratic Republic of (1918 to 1921)

On 26 May 1918 the National Council of Georgia, elected at a national congress in Tbilisi on 19 November 1917, issued the Act of Independence, and the new republic was led by Noe Jordania.[186,187] The first democratic elections took place on 14 February 1919: fifteen parties stood, six won seats in an assembly of 130 members that included five women, and the Social Democratic Party formed the first government.[187] The Allied Supreme Council recognised Georgia de facto in January 1920, Soviet Russia concluded a treaty with it on 7 May 1920, and the Supreme Council recognised it de jure on 27 January 1921.[186,188] Georgia applied for admission to the League of Nations in 1920, and the report of the Fifth Committee of 10 December 1920 proposed to tell it that its application had been examined with sympathy but that circumstances did not yet allow a definite decision.[189] The Constituent Assembly adopted the first constitution on 21 February 1921, which, in the words of JAMnews, "lasted only four days".[187]

The Red Army invaded in February 1921, from five directions at once according to the Association, and JAMnews gives both 12 and 15 February as the date of the invasion.[186,187] The Red Army entered Tbilisi on 25 February 1921, when a Soviet republic of Georgia was proclaimed.[186] The Constituent Assembly held its last meeting in Batumi on 16 March 1921 and ordered the government to leave the country.[186] JAMnews dates the government's departure from Georgia to 17 March 1921.[187]

Idel-Ural State

The Idel-Ural State was a project of Tatar and other Muslim national leaders in 1917 and 1918 for a federal state of the Turkic peoples of the Volga-Ural region. The National Assembly (Milli Mejlis), created to carry out Sadri Maksudi's plan for extraterritorial national-cultural autonomy, decided at Ufa on 29 November 1917 to reorient itself towards a territorial Volga-Ural project; the term 'state' (shtat) pointed to the United States as a model of treaty federation.[190] The proclamation of the state was planned for 1 March 1918, but it did not take place: the leadership of the Muslim military council (Voshuro) was arrested on the eve of that date, and the project ended without bloodshed.[191] Soviet authorities issued instead a decree creating a Tatar-Bashkir Soviet Republic, signed on 22 March 1918, which one study describes as a co-option of the indigenous nationalist plans for an Idel-Ural state.[190,192] The Tatar-Bashkir Soviet Republic was itself abandoned by about 1920.[190]

Karakorum Government (Altai, 1918 to 1919)

The Karakorum Government was an Altaian autonomous administration established in 1918. In summer 1917 Grigory Choros-Gurkin, Grigory Potanin and Shatilov sponsored the autonomous Altaian Mountain Duma, and in spring 1918 the Duma reconstituted itself as the 'Karakorum-Altaian Soviet district' with Choros-Gurkin as its leader.[193] At a meeting in 1918 the Tomsk professor Vasily Anuchin urged the delegates to 'shape history in a revolutionary manner'; they named the district autonomy Karakorum and appointed Anuchin 'kagan' (chief commissioner) to work out an 'Oirot Republic'.[193] Anuchin's vision covered the Altai, the Khakass, the Uriankhai (Tuvinians) and Jungaria as one 'great Asian republic', and the leaders of Karakorum regarded it as a step towards a large Republic of Oirot within the borders of the seventeenth-century Oirot confederation.[193] Andrei Znamenski connects the movement with Burkhanism, the prophetic cult launched in 1904 by Chet Chelpan, which strengthened Altaian ethnic self-awareness.[193] After the defeat of the Whites in 1919 the Bolsheviks abolished Karakorum and placed the Mountain Altai under a revolutionary committee; in summer 1922 they established the Oirot Autonomous Province within the borders of the former Karakorum district.[193]

Karelia, Republic of (Uhtua, 1920)

The Uhtua government of 1920 was set up in the East Karelian settlement of Uhtua (later Kalevala). According to the Finnish historian Markku Kangaspuro, it was established by Onega Karelians and some Finnish merchants and declared the willingness of the Karelian people to join Finland.[194] According to Fenno-Ugria, an Estonian organisation, a congress of 118 delegates from eleven parishes met at Uhtua from 21 to 29 March 1920 and on 27 March announced the independence of Karelia; the provisional government remained at Uhtua until 18 May 1920, when it moved to Vuokkiniemi.[195]

The Karelian Labour Commune was founded as a national autonomy within the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic on 8 June 1920, according to material supplied by the National Library of the Republic of Karelia.[196] According to Fenno-Ugria, the provisional government fled to Finland on 17 June 1920, together with members of the Karelian Parliament.[195] Kangaspuro records that the Uhtua government fled to Finland and that the region passed under the control of Soviet organs.[194] When Finland ceased to press the question of East Karelian independence, which Kangaspuro glosses as union with Finland, the dispute turned to the legal status of Karelian autonomy.[197]

Kuban People's Republic

The Kuban People's Republic was proclaimed on 16 February 1918 by the Kuban Legislative Council on the territory of the former Kuban oblast of the Russian Empire, and existed in several forms until May 1920, when the Bolsheviks consolidated their power in the region.[198] A Territorial Council served as constituent assembly and the Legislative Council as legislature. The Chief Otaman, elected for four years by the Territorial Council but answerable to the Legislative Council, was commander-in-chief of the armed forces and head of government.[198] Cossack opinion divided between an orientation towards Russia and one towards Ukraine.[199] Some reports state that on 20 January 1918 the Legislative Council resolved to join the Ukrainian National Republic on federative principles, a resolution that the Russian offensive prevented from taking effect.[198] According to a study of the Kuban electoral law, changes made in November 1919, in the conflict between the command of the Armed Forces of South Russia and the separatist Cossacks, abolished the Legislative Rada; an emergency regional Rada restored it on 2 January 1920, and the Red Army occupied the territory of Kuban in the months that followed.[199]

On 4 December 1918 the Territorial Council adopted a constitution that renamed the republic Kuban Krai. The constitution declared the krai independent until order was restored in Russia, after which it could join a future Russian Federated Republic.[198]

Moldavian Democratic Republic (Sfatul Țării, 1917 to 1918)

Sfatul Țării, the National Council of Bessarabia, was inaugurated in Chișinău on 21 November 1917 as a provisional legislative body, with 150 deputies planned, of whom 105 (70 per cent) were to be Moldovans.[200] On 2 December 1917 the deputies proclaimed the Moldavian Democratic Republic, and on 7 and 8 December they voted in a Council of General Directors, headed by Pantelimon Erhan.[200] In the night session of 23 and 24 January 1918 the deputies adopted the declaration of independence, and Ion Inculeț was elected president of the independent republic.[200] On 27 March 1918, of 125 deputies present, 86 voted for union with Romania, three against and 36 abstained.[200] On 27 November 1918 the Council voted the declaration of unconditional union of Bessarabia with Romania, and then ceased to exist.[200]

Mountain Republic (Mountainous Republic of the Northern Caucasus)

The Mountainous Republic of the Northern Caucasus was proclaimed in May 1918 on behalf of the mountain peoples of the North Caucasus, with Tapa Chermoev at its head, in the same month in which Georgia declared its independence.[201] The mountaineers acted under Ottoman patronage, and on 8 June 1918 the Ottoman Empire signed a treaty of friendship with the North Caucasian delegation under Haydar Bammat at the Batum conference.[201,202] By 1919 the republic had lost most of its territory to General Denikin's forces, and from 1920 it came into open conflict with the Bolsheviks and was defeated.[201] Its fate was to be decided at the Paris Peace Conference, which Chermoev attended as a delegate.[203]

Mountainous Armenia, Republic of (Syunik)

After Armenia's capitulation to Bolshevik forces in late 1920, Garegin Nzhdeh refused to accept the proposed transfer of Syunik and Nagorno-Karabakh to Soviet Azerbaijan, and on 25 December 1920 he declared Syunik a self-governing territory.[204] The Second Pan-Zangezur Congress, held on 26 April 1921, renamed the state the Republic of Mountainous Armenia.[205] According to the Museum of the History of Armenia, it won no international recognition, and its short existence lasted from December 1920 to July 1921.[205] Its borders later became the foundation of the Zangezur district of Soviet Armenia.[205]

North Caucasian Emirate (Uzun Haji)

Uzun Haji Saltinsky (1848 to 1920), a Chechen sheikh, proclaimed a gazawat, or holy war, against the Whites and in September 1919 founded a North Caucasian Emirate, a Muslim state under the protectorate of Turkey with its capital at the Chechen settlement of Vedeno.[206,207] He formed a government and a military staff, and a religious war was waged under his command in 1919 and 1920.[206] Clerical opinion in the region was divided over a gazawat, and a struggle for influence developed among religious leaders, among them Ali Hadji Akushinsky, Sheikh of Dagestan, who stated in May 1919 that his aim was to introduce Sharia in Dagestan.[206]

According to a review of G. I. Kakagasanov's biography of Uzun Haji, he fought General Denikin's forces together with leaders of the Mountainous Republic of the Northern Caucasus and with Ali Hadji Akushinsky; his authority fell after a defeat on 31 January 1920, and after his death in March 1920 the emirate ceased to exist.[207] The Mountainous Republic itself was split from within and liquidated by the Bolsheviks.[206]

North Ingria, Republic of (Pohjois-Inkeri)

The Republic of North Ingria (Pohjois-Inkeri), also called the Kirjasalo republic, was a short-lived polity of Ingrian Finns on a wedge of land in Lembolovo volost projecting into Finnish territory north of Petrograd. Armed groups seized the Kirjasalo area on 11 June 1919, and on 9 July 1919 an assembly of about 400 refugees at Rautu declared the independence of Ingria, with the aim of federating with Finland, Estonia and Karelia.[208] An executive committee, the Pohjois-Inkerin Hoitokunta, was elected at the assembly.[208,209] The Treaty of Tartu between the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic and Estonia, signed on 2 February 1920, recognised Western Ingria as Estonian territory and the Ingrian units there were disbanded.[208] The Treaty of Tartu between Finland and Soviet Russia, signed on 14 October 1920, fixed the frontier between the two states.[210] The republic ceased to exist in December 1920, when Finland disbanded the North Ingrian battalion.[208]

Priamurye, Provisional Government of

The Provisional Priamurye Government took power at Vladivostok on 26 May 1921 in a coup by non-socialists in southern Primorye that overthrew the authority of the Far Eastern Republic there; it was headed by S. D. Merkulov.[211] According to the historian V. L. Zemlyanskiy, the change of power owed its success to the benevolent neutrality of the Japanese troops stationed in the region.[212] The Primorye regional People's Assembly was dissolved on 30 May 1921 for refusing to recognise the new government.[211]

The government then sought a representative body in a Priamurye People's Assembly. Merkulov dissolved it by decree in May 1922 because it had passed a law on a Priamurye Constituent Congress.[213] After a failed attempt by the National Democratic faction to take power, which ended in June 1922, the Assembly chose a new government headed by Lieutenant-General M. K. Diterikhs, who submitted to the Merkulov government and confirmed the dissolution of the Assembly.[214]

The Siberian Volunteer Druzhina, an anti-Bolshevik force organised in the summer of 1922 that landed at the port of Ayan and campaigned on the Okhotsk coast and in Yakutia, surrendered at Ayan on 17 June 1923, after a Soviet landing party under Vostretsov had come ashore on 4 June.[215]

Siberia, Provisional Government of (Tomsk and Omsk, 1918)

The Provisional Siberian Government was created at Tomsk in January 1918 by the Siberian Regional Duma. Its Council of Ministers, chaired by Pyotr Vologodsky, took over from the West Siberian Commissariat on 30 June 1918, after the Czechoslovak Legion had helped to free Siberia from Bolshevik authority, and the ministers worked from Omsk, where Vologodsky addressed a congress of trade and industrial organisations on 14 July 1918.[216]

In early November 1918 the government transferred its powers to the Provisional All-Russian Government, the Ufa Directory;[217] a decree of that government dated 4 November provided that regional governments were to cease and that army units would pass under a single supreme command.[218] Vologodsky became chairman of the new Council of Ministers.[217]

On the night of 18 November 1918 officers arrested Socialist Revolutionary members of the Directory, and, according to a memorandum of the Russian Embassy in Washington, the Council of Ministers conferred supreme authority on Admiral Alexander Kolchak.[219] Vologodsky remained chairman of the Council of Ministers in the Russian Government that followed under Kolchak as Supreme Ruler.[217] The establishment of that regime is the subject of the second part of Jonathan Smele's study of the Kolchak government.[220]

South-East Union of Cossack Hosts, Mountain Peoples and Free Steppe Peoples (1917)

On 20 October 1917 the Don, Kuban, Terek and Astrakhan Cossack hosts concluded a union treaty with the mountain peoples of the Caucasus, among them the Dagestanis, Circassians and Abkhazians, and with the free peoples of the steppe.[221] The treaty declared support for a Russian Democratic Federative Republic in which the members of the union would be recognised as separate states, and it created a Joint Government with its seat for the time being at Ekaterinodar, to which each member appointed two representatives, the mountain peoples' union four, and the Astrakhan Cossacks with the Kalmyks one.[221] The treaty provided that each member kept full independence in its internal life and the right to conclude separate agreements.[221]

In its declaration of 16 November 1917 the Joint Government stated that the Cossacks, highlanders and steppe peoples had taken power into their own hands to protect their communities against revolutionary disorder, and it recorded that the Ural Cossacks, who are not named in the treaty of 20 October, had joined the union on 31 October.[222] A United States diplomatic file records a conference of the Don, Kuban, Terek and Astrakhan hosts at Vladikavkaz that proposed the creation of a Russian federal republic whose members would be states.[223]

South-West Caucasian Republic (Kars)

After the Ottoman withdrawal from the Kars region at the close of the First World War, Muslim leaders meeting at Kars on 5 November 1918 created a Muslim Shura, or council, which refused to recognise Georgia or Armenia.[224] According to Vanik and Hrant Virabyan, the Muslim National Council proclaimed a Southwestern Caucasian Republic on 1 December 1918, and on 17 and 18 January 1919 Muslim delegates merged the local shuras into a Provisional National Government of the Southwestern Caucasus headed by Cihangirzade İbrahim Bey, which declared independence on 18 January.[224] The British military governor recognised the Shura in essence, but British forces later gave it an ultimatum, arrested 153 local suspects and deported them to Malta, and on 12 April 1919 the Shura and its assembly were arrested and abolished by British order.[224] Armenian troops entered Kars on 23 April 1919 and the Armenian civil administration followed on 24 April; it lasted until 30 October 1920, when Armenian forces surrendered Kars to Kemalist troops.[224]

Transcaucasia, Democratic Federative Republic of

The Transcaucasian Democratic Federative Republic was proclaimed on 22 April 1918 by resolution of the Transcaucasian Seim, the regional assembly at Tiflis in which Georgian, Armenian and Azerbaijani political parties sat, after the collapse of Russian authority in the south Caucasus.[225] Negotiations with the Ottoman Empire at Trabzon had failed, and the Seim, which lacked the means of defence, declared Transcaucasia independent. A federal government was formed under the Georgian Social Democrat Akaki Chkhenkeli.[225] Renewed talks at Batumi, which the Ottoman Empire occupied, opened on 11 May 1918 and exposed the divisions within the union.[225]

The federation dissolved on 26 May 1918 into the republics of Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia.[225] A Georgian delegate, Zourab Avaloff, stated in a letter of 14 September 1918 to the United States Minister that the Transcaucasian Diet had declared itself dissolved on that date.[226] Azerbaijan and Armenia fell to the Bolsheviks in 1920 and Georgia in 1921.

Ubykhs

The Ubykhs were a north-west Caucasian people of the Black Sea coast who resisted Russian conquest until 1864. In early 1840 some 1,200 Ubykhs, Shapsugs and Natukhais captured the Lazarevskoe fortress, whose garrison of 184 officers and men was killed or captured, and within a period of six weeks they stormed four fortifications in all.[227] Men of one village formed units of ten to a hundred, each under its own commander, and a leader was chosen before each expedition.[227] Hadji Berzeg, who sought to unite the peoples of the western Caucasus, had gathered about 2,500 Ubykhs and Achkhipses by autumn 1840, but internal disputes with other Ubykh notables blocked his plans.[227]

In June 1861 elected elders met in the Sochi valley and created a Medzhlis, or assembly, which divided the land into twelve districts, each with muftis, kadis and a headman, and wrote to the British consul at Sukhum asking for help against Russia; the Russians intercepted the letter.[227] Surrounded by Russian forces, the Ubykhs ceased resistance on 6 March 1864, and some 30,000 of them made their way to the coast to go to the Ottoman Empire. The author states that no Ubykhs remain in the Caucasus.[227] Tevfik Esenç, regarded as the last speaker of the Ubykh language, died on 7 October 1992.[228]

Ural Cossack Host and the Independent Ural Army (1917 to 1920)

The Ural Cossacks began to resist Bolshevik rule after October 1917, refused Soviet orders to disarm and fought armed clashes with Red forces through late 1917 and early 1918.[229] The Host had joined the South-East Union on 31 October 1917.[222] A Host Congress governed the Cossacks at first but proved ineffective in war, and when Uralsk fell to the Reds on 24 January 1919 the Cossacks lost confidence in it.[229] In March 1919 Colonel V. S. Tolstov was elected ataman, and he reorganised the remnants into the Independent Ural Army of about 17,000 troops.[229]

The Ural Cossacks received limited help from Kolchak and Denikin and relied on captured Red weapons, retaining operational independence.[229] By early 1920 the survivors had retreated to Fort Alexandrovsk, which only about 4,375 of some 17,500 people reached, and the survivors were later evacuated to Persia, the Far East and, in the end, Australia.[229]

Section IV.4

Central Asia

Entries in this section chronicle the khanates, autonomies and republics of Central Asia, from the final years of the Russian Empire to the post-Soviet period, including cases in which a territory sought autonomy within a successor state in the early 1990s.

Bukhara, Emirate of

The emirate of Bukhara, ruled by the Manghit dynasty, was conquered by Russia in 1868, in the reign of Amir Muzaffar al-Din (1860 to 1885), and its rulers became vassals of the Russian empire. Their authority was not limited in form, and Russia at first did not interfere in internal affairs.[230] Russian influence grew after a railway was built across the emirate in 1887 and the customs frontier was redrawn in 1895 to include it; the Russian political agent lived at New Bukhara, a Russian settlement at the railway station about eight miles south of the city.[230]

After 1905 a liberal reform movement developed, met strong opposition from the conservative Islamic clergy and was suppressed by the amir.[230] In March 1918 troops of the Tashkent Soviet under F. I. Kolesov tried to take Bukhara and retreated after shelling the city for a day and a half.[230] At the end of August 1920 the Red Army invaded and the last amir, Alim Khan, was overthrown; Bukhara itself was in the hands of the troops of Mikhail Frunze, commander of the Turkestan Front, by 2 September 1920.[231] The amir withdrew to Dushanbe on 1 September 1920, and resistance in the city continued until 4 September.[232] The emirate was abolished and the Bukharan People's Soviet Republic proclaimed in October 1920: Bregel gives 6 October, and the Afghanistan Analysts Network gives 8 October as the date of proclamation.[230,232] Alim Khan crossed the Amu Darya into Afghanistan on 4 March 1921 and reached Kabul on 17 May 1921.[232] The republic was dismembered in October 1924 under the national delimitation of Central Asia.[230]

Gorno-Badakhshan, Autonomous Republic of (Tajikistan, 1991 to 1994)

The Autonomous Republic of Badakhshan was a Pamiri political formation created in the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Region of Tajikistan after the break-up of the Soviet Union. A mass rally began at Khorog on 3 December 1991, and the demand for an autonomous republic and a new relationship with Dushanbe led to negotiations; the Autonomous Republic of Badakhshan was created on 9 December 1991.[233] Shorokhov and Ovsyannikov call it an "ephemeral political formation", and state that Dushanbe never recognised its republican status.[233] On 10 April 1992 the Council of People's Deputies of the region adopted a declaration to transform it into the republic, and a coalition government won out on 11 May 1992.[233]

Minority Rights Group International records that the Pamiri party La'li Badakhshon gained control of the region after 1991 and that a declaration of independence in 1992 was later reversed.[234] The government imposed an economic blockade, and the region, though part of Tajikistan in law, operated as a de facto self-ruled area.[234] The republic ceased to exist in November 1994, when the national constitution was adopted, and central control over the Pamirs was restored from 1994 to 1997.[233]

Ili, Taranchi Sultanate of

The Taranchi sultanate of Ili was a Muslim state set up in the Ili valley of northern Xinjiang during the rebellion against Qing rule. Taranchis and Tungans (Hui Muslims) first fought together against the Qing and forced the surrender of the garrison at Mancheng; enmity then grew between the two groups. The Taranchis established a sultanate in May 1867, with Ailakhan (Abil-oghil), whom they had chosen as amir in 1865, as sultan.[235]

In 1871 Russia ended the sultanate. According to Noda, the reasons given on the Russian side were the sultan's threatening posture, Taranchi violations of the border and the sultan's refusal to hand back Kazakh subjects who had fled to him; hostilities followed and the Russian army advanced into Ili.[235] The sultan surrendered on 22 June 1871 (Old Style), which was 4 July in the Gregorian calendar, and Russia occupied the region until 1881.[235] By the Treaty of St Petersburg of 1881, which replaced the unratified Treaty of Livadia of 1879, Russia returned the Ili region to the Qing, except for the lands west of Khorgos.[235]

Khiva, Khanate of (Russian Protectorate Period)

The khanate of Khiva, ruled by the Qongrat dynasty, became a Russian dependency in 1873. After a Russian campaign, General Kaufman signed the Treaty of Gandemian with the khan, Muhammad Rahim II, on 12 August 1873; the khan submitted, and the territory on the right bank of the Amu Darya was annexed to Russia.[236] Reforms were promulgated in April 1917 under Khan Isfandiyar.[236]

In spring and summer 1918 the Turkmen leader Junaid Khan was the de facto ruler of Khiva; Isfandiyar was assassinated by Junaid's son on 30 September 1918 and was succeeded by ʻAbd-Allāh.[236] The Bolsheviks invaded Khorezm on 25 December 1919, Khiva fell on 1 February 1920 and ʻAbd-Allāh abdicated afterwards. At the end of April 1920 the first All-Khorezmian congress of soviets abolished the khanate and proclaimed the Khorezm People's Soviet Republic, after some 47 years of Russian dependency.[236]

Kobdo

Kobdo, a district of western Mongolia populated by Oirat Mongols distinct from the Khalkha majority elsewhere in the country, became the base of the self-styled lama and warlord Dambijantsan, known as Ja Lama, who presented himself as an incarnation of the legendary hero Amursana and led Oirat forces against Chinese garrisons in 1912.[237] His assault on Kobdo's fortress inflicted about 140 Chinese casualties against three Mongolian dead, and Mongolia's spiritual ruler, the Bogd Khan, rewarded the victory with the title Dokshin-nojoon-khutagt.[237] Ja Lama went on to command some five thousand horsemen from a headquarters near Mundizkhur monastery, enforcing strict religious discipline and holding the Mongolian government's own appointed governor hostage within his own residence; alarmed at his growing independence, the Bogd Khan requested Russian intervention, and Russian consular troops arrested Ja Lama in 1914, exiling him first to Tomsk and then to Astrakhan.[237] Released after the Russian Revolution, Ja Lama returned to Mongolia in 1918 and established a fresh base in the Black Gobi, but he was unable to rebuild his former strength, and Mongolia's new Communist government had him killed in 1922.[237]

Tannu Tuva (Tuvan People's Republic)

The Tuvan People's Republic, in Tannu Tuva between Siberia and Mongolia, originated in August 1921, when the All-Tuvan Constituent Khural, meeting at Sug-Bazhy, proclaimed the independent Republic of Tannu-Tuva on the second day of its session and adopted a constitution of 22 articles.[238] The Soviet Union concluded a treaty with the republic in 1925, and Mongolia, which had withheld recognition in the early years, recognised it by a treaty of friendship signed at Ulan Bator on 16 August 1926.[239] On 26 April 1941 the Central Committee of the ruling party and the government of the republic asked the Soviet Union to admit the Tuvan people into the USSR; the German attack on the Soviet Union postponed a decision.[238] In August 1944 an extraordinary session of the Little Khural adopted a declaration on entry into the Union. By decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of 11 October 1944, the request was granted and Tuva was placed within the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic with the rights of an autonomous oblast.[240]

Transcaspian Government

The Transcaspian Government, known also as the Ashkhabad Committee, was an anti-Bolshevik administration set up at Ashkhabad in Russian Turkestan in July 1918. Dominated by Mensheviks, it asked Britain for help and received military and financial aid; in return it was to help secure the Transcaspian railway and ban cotton exports.[241] General Wilfrid Malleson, who reached Meshed in July 1918, sent Indian machine-gunners to help resist a Bolshevik attack at Bahram Ali on 12 August 1918, and at Dushak on 13 and 14 October 1918 Anglo-Indian troops did most of the fighting, the Transcaspian forces being described as "somewhat unreliable".[241]

The British and Indian governments ordered Malleson to halt, and the British forces had left by mid-April 1919. The Bolsheviks then retook Merv, Ashkhabad was abandoned in July 1919, and the anti-Bolsheviks were defeated by 1920. The Committee had by then been replaced by a Committee of Public Safety, itself succeeded by representatives of Denikin's army.[241]

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Part V

Settler Republics, De Facto States and Client States

The three sections of this part treat polities whose independence was either the work of settlers who left an existing state to found their own, the product of a sustained standoff with a recognising patron, or the creation of an external power. The Voortrekker republics of southern Africa opposed British rule from within the settler population. The post-Soviet de facto states survive under the protection of a patron state and with only occasional recognition. The client and puppet states, among them the French sister republics, the Axis satellites and the Soviet and Japanese creations, owed their existence to a stronger power that made them, and in most cases ended them.

Section V.1

The Voortrekker Republics

The Voortrekker republics considered in this section arose from the nineteenth-century migration of Boer settlers away from British colonial authority at the Cape into the southern African interior, where they repeatedly organised themselves into small, formally constituted republics under an elected volksraad and president, often purchasing or otherwise securing territory directly from neighbouring African polities. Few of these republics survived more than a decade, dissolving through merger with a larger neighbouring trekker state, incorporation into the eventual Orange Free State or South African Republic, or annexation by Britain, yet each maintained, for a period, the genuine institutional and territorial substance of an independent polity.

Klip River, Republic of (1847)

Boer settlers in the Klip River district of northern Natal, led by Andries T. Spies, claimed in 1847 the land between the Thukela and Mzinyathi rivers and the Drakensberg under a treaty with the Zulu king Mpande, signed around 1 to 4 May 1847 and backdated to 7 January.[1] Michał Leśniewski calls the episode the "so-called Klip River Republic" and records that in June 1847 Spies refused to circulate the proclamation of the Natal lieutenant-governor, Martin West.[1] Mpande told a British officer in August that he had refused the Boers' offer; troops reached the Bushman's River on 4 December 1847, and most of the Boers then emigrated.[1] Wassermann and Pretorius say that the county "very briefly, in 1847, functioned as the Klip River Republic".[2]

Klipdrift Republic

The Klipdrift Republic, also called the Diggers' Republic, was proclaimed in 1870 at the Vaal River diamond diggings by British and other immigrant diggers who opposed the Transvaal's claim to the diamond fields. South African History Online gives the date of proclamation as 30 July 1870, and F. G. Brownell notes that the British correspondence is unclear and that various writers give that date.[3,4] Stafford Parker, a former Royal Navy seaman and general dealer who ran a music saloon at Klipdrift, led the diggers' Mutual Protection Association as Commandant and became president.[4] South African History Online puts the number of British settlers in the republic at about 10,000 by December 1870.[3]

The republic was short-lived. The magistrate John Campbell arrived at Pniel on 12 December 1870 and met Parker at Klipdrift, and Parker, who had wanted British authority over the diggings, did not resist.[4] The name Griqualand West had been coined in August 1870 by the Griqua agent David Arnot for the territory claimed under the chief Nicolaas Waterboer, and the area was proclaimed a British Crown Colony on 27 October 1871. Many diggers were angered, but Parker persuaded them to accept that the Diggers' Republic no longer existed.[4]

Natalia, Republic of (1839 to 1842)

The Republic of Natalia was established by Voortrekkers in Natal after their victory over the Zulu king Dingane at the Battle of Blood River in December 1838, under the command of Andries Pretorius. Its council, the Volksraad, had 24 members, elected in March 1839, and sat at Pietermaritzburg.[5]

The republic ended in conflict with Britain. On 23 and 24 May 1842 Boer forces defeated British troops under Captain Thomas Charlton Smith at Congella, and Smith was then besieged at Port Natal. Lieutenant-Colonel Abraham Josias Cloete reached Port Natal aboard HMS Southampton with five companies of the 25th Regiment on 25 June 1842, and on 15 July 1842 the Republic submitted to British rule.[5] Natal was declared a British colony on 12 May 1843.[5] J. M. Wassermann, in a study of the Afrikaners of Natal, describes Natalia as a "successful, but short lived Republic".[6]

New Republic (Vryheid)

The New Republic (Nieuwe Republiek) was a Boer state formed in 1884 in Zululand. Boer volunteers from the Transvaal allied themselves with the Zulu prince Dinuzulu, and after the victory over his rival Zibhebhu on 5 June 1884 they received land in return for their support. According to Johan Wassermann, the Boers formed the New Republic with Vryheid as its capital and Lucas Meyer as its president.[7]

Britain recognised the New Republic in October 1886.[7] Its independent existence was short: Wassermann states that it was absorbed into the Transvaal in 1887.[7] Archontology dates the agreement of incorporation, signed at Vryheid, to 20 July 1888, which is the date used here for the end of the republic.[8]

Orange Free State

The Orange Free State was a Boer republic between the Orange and Vaal rivers, from 1854 until Britain annexed it in 1900; the Peace of Vereeniging ended it in 1902. It arose from the withdrawal of Britain from the Orange River Sovereignty, a territory that Sir Henry Smith, Governor of the Cape Colony, had annexed. The Bloemfontein Convention, signed on 23 February 1854 by Sir George Clerk for Britain and by 25 representatives of the inhabitants, established the Republic and guaranteed its independence; British troops left in March 1854.[9] An elected Volksraad drew up a constitution, and in May 1854 Josias Philippus Hoffman was elected the first State President.[10]

On 22 December 1871 the United States and the Orange Free State signed at Bloemfontein a convention of friendship, commerce and extradition, ratified in 1873. According to the Office of the Historian, full diplomatic relations were never established, the Free State denounced the convention on 4 January 1895, and a separate extradition treaty was signed at Washington on 28 October 1896.[11,12] The United Nations lists an award of 19 February 1870 on the boundary between the Free State and the South African Republic, in which both appeared as parties.[13]

The Free State fought beside the South African Republic in the war that began in October 1899. Lord Roberts issued a proclamation on 28 May 1900, back-dated to 24 May, annexing the Free State as the Orange River Colony. A study by Jaco de Bruin, André Wessels and Johan Henning tests the British claim of conquest against the law of nations, with reference to the Brandwater Basin surrenders of July and August 1900 and to the position of President M. T. Steyn.[14] The Terms of Surrender signed on 31 May 1902 ended the State's existence, although the United States consular post at Bloemfontein remained open until 30 November 1928.[12]

Rehoboth, Baster Self-Government of

The Basters of Rehoboth, a community that left the Cape Colony and settled at Rehoboth in what is now central Namibia around 1871, promulgated a constitution, the Paternal Laws (Vaderlike Wette), in January 1872.[15] The laws provided for an elected Captain (Kaptein).[16] After German annexation a treaty was concluded with the Basters which recognised the rights and freedom they had acquired at Rehoboth; according to the Supreme Court of Namibia, Germany often ignored it.[15]

Under South African administration of the mandated territory, an agreement of 1923 acknowledged the community's right and title to the land it occupied and its right to local self-government. In 1924, by Proclamation 31, the powers of the Kaptein and certain officials were transferred to a magistrate and his court.[15] The Rehoboth Self-Government Act 56 of 1976, promulgated on 10 December 1976, granted self-government in accordance with the Paternal Law of 1872 to the citizens of the Rehoboth Gebiet. The Captain was elected every five years and appointed a cabinet, and its laws required the approval of a Volksraad of nine members.[15,16] By Proclamation 32 of 1989 the powers granted under the Act were transferred to the Administrator-General in preparation for Namibian independence on 21 March 1990, and the Act was later repealed under the Namibian Constitution.[15] Hans Diergaardt, the leader of the community in its later years, is recorded by the United Nations Human Rights Committee as the late Captain of the Rehoboth Baster Community, who died on 10 May 1998.[16]

South African Republic (Transvaal)

The South African Republic, known as the Transvaal, was the Boer state north of the Vaal River. Its independence dates from 1852; Britain ruled it from 1877 to 1881 and annexed it in 1900, and it ceased to exist by treaty in 1902. At the Sand River Convention of 17 January 1852 the British Assistant Commissioners guaranteed the emigrant farmers beyond the Vaal "the right to maintain their own affairs, and to govern themselves according to their own laws", "without any interference on the part of the British Government"; the farmers undertook to permit no slavery.[17]

Marthinus Wessel Pretorius took the oath as President of the Executive Council on 6 January 1857,[18] and a constitution followed in 1858.[19] On 12 April 1877 Theophilus Shepstone, special commissioner from Natal, proclaimed the annexation of the Republic at Pretoria with a staff of 25 Natal Mounted Police, and the Executive Council advised against armed resistance.[20] Independence was declared again on 13 December 1880.[19] The Pretoria Convention of 3 August 1881 restored self-government from 8 August "subject to the suzerainty of Her Majesty", reserving to Britain control of external relations and a British Resident.[21] The London Convention of 27 February 1884 provided that the state "shall hereinafter be called the South African Republic" and barred treaties with any state other than the Orange Free State unless Britain did not object within six months.[21,22]

The Republic appeared as a party in international arbitration: the United Nations lists an award of 19 February 1870 on its boundary with the Orange Free State and one of 5 August 1885 on its boundary with the United Kingdom.[13] After its ultimatum of 9 October 1899 expired the war began.[23] Lord Roberts proclaimed the annexation of the Republic as the Transvaal, effective 1 September 1900, and President Kruger rejected it as invalid on 3 September.[24] The Terms of Surrender signed at Pretoria on 31 May 1902 ended the fighting and the Republic's existence.[25]

Stellaland

Stellaland and Goshen were Boer republics established on the western border of the Transvaal, in Bechuanaland. According to South African History Online, Goshen was founded in January 1882, with its capital at Rooigrond, some 16 km south-east of Mafeking, and Stellaland on 6 August 1883, south of Goshen, with Vryburg as its capital.[26] Both republics lay across the British route to the north.[26]

In March 1885 a force under Sir Charles Warren ended both republics without bloodshed, and on 30 September 1885 they became part of the Crown Colony of Bechuanaland.[26] Contemporary chronologies record the sequence as the setting up of the republics, the British annexation of southern Bechuanaland and a protectorate over the north, and Warren's expedition.[27]

Upingtonia

Upingtonia was a short-lived republic of Boer trekkers in the Grootfontein district of what is now northern Namibia. According to Klaus Dierks's chronology of Namibian history, William Worthington Jordan bought land from Kambonde, king of Ondonga, on 21 April 1885 and named it the Republic of Upingtonia, and trekkers from Angola, the Dorsland trekkers, settled in the Otavi and Otjiwanda area.[28] The Namibian gives 20 October 1885 as the date on which Jordan declared the republic.[29] The purchase increased tension between Kambonde and the Ondonga leader Nehale lyaMpingana.[28]

Jordan was killed in 1886; according to The Namibian, the attack was led by Nehale, and the republic collapsed, with the Boer settlers dispersing.[29] Dierks records the dissolution of the republic in June 1887.[28]

Utrecht, Republic of

The Republic of Utrecht was a Boer polity formed in 1854 in the Buffalo River district of northern Natal. According to South African History Online, Voortrekker settlers had arrived along the Buffalo River in 1852. In 1854 the community gave the Zulu king Mpande 100 cattle in exchange for grazing land, and A. T. Spies was elected governor of the new republic.[30]

The republic did not last. Utrecht had first sought incorporation into the Transvaal and, when it was ignored, turned to Lydenburg, into which it was incorporated in 1858. When Lydenburg was incorporated into the Transvaal in 1860, Utrecht became part of the Transvaal, as its community had long wished.[30,31]

Section V.2

Post-Soviet De Facto States

The territories treated in this section declared independence from union or constituent republics of the collapsing or newly independent Soviet successor states, generally amid armed conflict, and thereafter maintained functioning, self-governing administrations over territory they controlled for years or decades despite securing little or no international recognition. Their experience varies considerably, from Gagauzia's negotiated resolution within Moldova to Artsakh's eventual military defeat and dissolution, but each case demonstrates a genuine, sustained assertion of separate self-governance rather than a fleeting or merely rhetorical claim.

Abkhazia (post-1992)

Abkhazia, on the Black Sea coast of Georgia, has been governed since the war of 1992 to 1993 by authorities who claim independence. In July 1992 the Abkhaz Supreme Council voted to restore the Abkhaz constitution of 1925. A decree of the Council signed on 29 July 1992 by its first deputy chairman, T. Nadareishvili, declared that decision null and void, on the grounds that it lacked the two-thirds majority required for constitutional change and that the 1925 text had not given Abkhazia full statehood, since its status remained limited by the constitutions of the Georgian SSR, the Transcaucasian SFSR and the USSR.[32]

War broke out on 14 August 1992, according to Human Rights Watch,[33] after Georgia deployed about 2,000 troops in Abkhazia. A ceasefire agreement reached in Moscow on 3 September 1992 stated that "the territorial integrity of the Republic of Georgia shall be ensured". It was never carried out in full and collapsed on 1 October 1992, when Abkhaz forces, supported by North Caucasus fighters, captured major towns. Abkhaz forces occupied Sukhumi on 27 September 1993 and, within days, the rest of Abkhazia, and hundreds of thousands of civilians, the majority of them Georgians, were displaced.[34]

The Georgian and Abkhaz sides signed an Agreement on a Ceasefire and Separation of Forces in Moscow on 14 May 1994.[34] In resolution 937 of 21 July 1994 the Security Council welcomed that agreement and reaffirmed its commitment to "the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Georgia".[35] Russia recognised Abkhazia's independence on 26 August 2008: President Dmitry Medvedev signed decrees recognising "the independence of South Ossetia and the independence of Abkhazia", citing the free will of the Ossetian and Abkhaz peoples.[36] Nicaragua recognised Abkhazia on 5 September 2008,[37] Venezuela on 10 September 2009[38] and Syria on 29 May 2018.[39] Tuvalu, which had recognised Abkhazia in 2011, withdrew its recognition on 31 March 2014, when it agreed to establish diplomatic relations with Georgia.[40] According to Georgia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as reported by Georgia Today on 29 July 2026, the cabinet of Naoero (Nauru) decided on 21 July 2026 to withdraw recognition of Abkhazia and to sever diplomatic relations with it.[41]

Meduza reported on 30 July 2026 that, after the decision of Naoero, four United Nations members recognised Abkhazia and South Ossetia: Russia, Nicaragua, Venezuela and Syria.[42]

Chechnya (Ichkeria)

The Chechen Republic of Ichkeria emerged in 1991 under Dzhokhar Dudayev, a former Soviet general. Presidential and parliamentary elections were held in Chechnya on 27 October 1991 and were won by Dudayev, and at a press conference on 10 November 1991 he announced the Chechen people's wish to establish an independent government.[43] Boris Yeltsin refused to recognise the claim.[44] The First Chechen War followed in 1994, and Russian forces withdrew in 1996. Under the Khasavyurt agreements of 31 August 1996 the question of Chechnya's political status was postponed for at least five years, to 31 December 2001.[44,45] The Second Chechen War began in 1999. In 2007 the Chechen parliament approved Vladimir Putin's nomination of Ramzan Kadyrov as president, and Kadyrov was inaugurated on 5 April 2007.[46] The republic forms part of the Russian Federation.

The Ichkerian exile leadership is associated with Akhmed Zakayev. Zakayev proclaimed himself in July 2022 leader of the independent Chechen Republic. Caucasian Knot reported on 7 April 2026 that a court in Grozny designated the Chechen Republic of Ichkeria and its branches as terrorist organisations.[47] On 18 October 2022, 287 deputies of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine voted for a resolution declaring the Chechen Republic of Ichkeria a territory temporarily occupied by the Russian Federation and condemning the genocide of the Chechen people. According to Meduza, the resolution did not recognise Ichkeria's independence, although some Ukrainian politicians and media said that it did.[48]

Crimea, Republic of (1992 to 1995)

The Crimean peninsula, an autonomous republic within Ukraine, was governed from 1992 to 1995 under a constitution of its own. The Supreme Soviet of Crimea approved the constitution on 7 May 1992; after objections from Kyiv a revised text of September 1992, brought into line with Ukrainian law, described the republic as a legal, democratic and secular state within Ukraine and provided that its territory could not be changed without the consent of the parliaments of both Ukraine and Crimea.[49] Yuriy Meshkov was elected Crimean president on 30 January 1994.[50] On 17 March 1995 the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine cancelled the Crimean constitution and about 40 laws, among them those establishing the presidency, after a dispute that had come close to armed clashes.[50] Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty reports that the Ukrainian parliament voted to annul the Crimean constitution and abolish the presidency, that President Leonid Kuchma issued a decree placing the Crimean government under his direct control, and that effective power passed to a regional prime minister appointed in Kyiv.[51] In July 2011 Meshkov called for a referendum to restore the 1992 constitution.[50]

Crimea, Republic of (2014)

The Republic of Crimea was a state claimed for about a day in March 2014 by the authorities of Ukraine's Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the city of Sevastopol. On 11 March 2014 the Supreme Council of the Autonomous Republic and the Sevastopol City Council adopted a declaration of independence, framed as taking effect if a referendum on 16 March approved joining Russia.[52] The Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs said that the declaration relied on the United Nations Charter and on the International Court of Justice advisory opinion on Kosovo of 22 July 2010.[53]

On 17 March, after the referendum, the Supreme Council adopted Resolution No. 1745-6/14, "On the independence of Crimea". It declared Crimea "an independent sovereign state the Republic of Crimea", gave Sevastopol a special status within it, and proposed that Russia accept the Republic as a new constituent entity.[54] The same day the President of Russia signed a decree recognising the Republic of Crimea "as a sovereign and independent state".[55] A treaty of accession was signed in Moscow on 18 March, and Crimea was treated as acceding from the signature.[52,56]

The legal positions diverge. Russian officials invoked self-determination and Kosovo.[52,56] Ukraine's Constitutional Court ruled the referendum resolution unconstitutional on 14 March, and on 21 March the Venice Commission found that the Ukrainian Constitution allowed no local referendum on secession and that conditions in Crimea did not permit a referendum meeting European standards.[57] On 27 March 2014 the General Assembly adopted resolution 68/262 by 100 votes to 11, with 58 abstentions. It stated that the referendum, "having no validity, cannot form the basis for any alteration of the status" of Crimea or Sevastopol, and called on states not to recognise any change.[58,59] In 2024 the European Court of Human Rights noted that Russia did not contest its jurisdiction over Crimea from 18 March 2014 at the latest.[60]

Dagestan, Islamic State of

In August 1999 the self-styled Islamic Shura (Council) of Dagestan declared an independent Islamic state in Dagestan, a republic of the Russian Federation. According to Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, the statement was issued in Grozny three days after militants had crossed from Chechnya and occupied several villages in the Botlikh district.[61] Enver Kisriev and Robert Bruce Ware date the military actions from 2 August to 16 September 1999 and link them to tensions in Dagestan between fundamentalist Wahhabis and traditionalist Muslims, to economic decline, and to training camps in Chechnya.[62]

By 24 August Russian officials said that federal forces had captured Tando, Rakhata and Ashino and were attacking Ansalta and Shodroda, the last two villages reported to be held by the rebels; the casualty figures that Russian commanders gave could not be confirmed.[63] In early September the fighting moved to the Novolaksky district, where Chechen militants held villages south of Khasavyurt, and to Karamakhi and Chabanmakhi, which Russian forces bombarded by air and artillery.[64] After the first incursion, the Russian prime minister, Sergei Stepashin, warned: "We could lose Dagestan."[61]

Donetsk People's Republic

The Donetsk People's Republic originated on 7 April 2014, when pro-Russian activists who had occupied the regional administration building in Donetsk proclaimed a people's republic independent of Kyiv, announcing, in the words reported by Agence France-Presse, "the creation of the sovereign state of the People's Republic of Donetsk".[65] They promised a referendum by 11 May and, according to Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, called on President Vladimir Putin to send a "temporary peacekeeping contingent", a few weeks after the annexation of Crimea.[66] The organisers held their referendum on 11 May 2014. They claimed about 89 per cent support for self-rule in Donetsk on a turnout of at least 70 per cent, whereas Ukraine's acting president, Oleksandr Turchynov, put turnout in Donetsk at 32 per cent. No international election observers were present, and Kyiv and a number of Western countries, including the United States, rejected the vote.[67]

The republic's representatives took part in the Minsk process. The Package of Measures for the Implementation of the Minsk Agreements of 12 February 2015, circulated as a United Nations document, provided for a ceasefire from 15 February 2015, a regime of special status for certain areas of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions to be set by Ukrainian legislation, and the return of the state border to Ukrainian control. The text lists A. W. Zakharchenko and I. W. Plotnitski among the participants, alongside Heidi Tagliavini, the second president of Ukraine, L. D. Kuchma, and the Russian ambassador to Ukraine, M. Yu. Zurabov.[68]

Russia changed the republic's position on 21 February 2022, when President Putin signed decrees recognising its independence, and that of the Luhansk People's Republic, at a Kremlin ceremony.[69] The Federation Council and the State Duma approved treaties of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance with both entities on 22 February, and Russia invaded Ukraine on 24 February.[70] On 30 September 2022 Putin and the heads of the Donetsk, Luhansk, Zaporizhzhia and Kherson territories signed accession treaties; the Russian Constitutional Court recognised the agreements as valid on 2 October and the State Duma ratified them on 3 October 2022.[71] On 12 October 2022 the UN General Assembly adopted resolution ES-11/4 by a recorded vote of 143 to 5, with 35 abstentions.[72] It condemned Russia's "illegal so-called referendums", called on states not to recognise the annexation claims, and demanded that Russia reverse its annexation declaration.[73]

The legal characterisation of the republic is contested. In its admissibility decision of 25 January 2023 in Ukraine and the Netherlands v. Russia, the Grand Chamber of the European Court of Human Rights held that "Russia had had effective control over all areas in the hands of separatists from 11 May 2014".[74] In its judgment on the merits of 9 July 2025 the Grand Chamber found, in a unanimous holding, patterns of violations of the Convention in respect of the period beginning on 11 May 2014, when hostilities started, and ending on 16 September 2022.[75]

Gagauzia

The Gagauz, a Christianised Turkic-speaking people of southern Moldova, responded in 1990 to Moldova's moves towards independence from the Soviet Union when authorities in Komrat announced a Gagauz Soviet Socialist Republic.[76] The dispute was later settled by law. In December 1994 the Moldovan parliament passed the law "On The Special Legal Status of Gagauz Yeri (land)/Gagauzia", which recognised the Gagauz as a people with a right to self-determination within Moldova and gave the region its own legislature and executive, while the central government kept control of citizenship, finance, defence and foreign policy.[76] The law made Gagauz one of three official languages, with Moldovan and Russian. The region's chief executive, the Bashkan, serves ex officio as a member of the Government of Moldova, and elections for the post were held on 28 May 1995.[76]

Luhansk People's Republic

The Luhansk People's Republic was proclaimed in late April 2014 by armed activists, on 28 April according to Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty and on 27 April according to the Russian news agency TASS. The local state security service headquarters had been seized earlier in April, and at a demonstration on 21 April protesters had "elected" a leadership. Valery Bolotov, who with his inner circle was a veteran of the Union of Paratroopers of Luhansk Oblast, became the dominant figure.[77,71]

Separatist organisers held a referendum on 11 May 2014 and reported about 96 per cent support for independence in Luhansk. Ukraine's acting president, Oleksandr Turchynov, put turnout in Luhansk at 24 per cent, no international election observers were present, and Kyiv and a number of Western countries, including the United States, rejected the vote.[67] I. W. Plotnitski appears among the participants listed in the Minsk Package of Measures of 12 February 2015, which envisaged a regime of special status for certain areas of the Luhansk and Donetsk regions, to be set by Ukrainian legislation.[68]

Russia recognised the republic's independence by decree on 21 February 2022, and the Federation Council and the State Duma approved a treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance with it on 22 February, two days before the invasion of Ukraine.[69,70] The accession agreement was signed on 30 September 2022, recognised as valid by the Russian Constitutional Court on 2 October and ratified by the State Duma on 3 October 2022.[71] On 12 October 2022 the UN General Assembly adopted resolution ES-11/4 by a recorded vote of 143 to 5, with 35 abstentions, condemning Russia's "illegal so-called referendums" in the four regions and calling on states not to recognise the annexation claims.[72,73] The European Court of Human Rights held in its admissibility decision of 25 January 2023 that "Russia had had effective control over all areas in the hands of separatists from 11 May 2014".[74]

Nagorno-Karabakh (Artsakh, standalone)

Nagorno-Karabakh was an autonomous oblast of Soviet Azerbaijan with a majority ethnic Armenian population. On 2 September 1991 regional councils and deputies proclaimed the Republic of Mountainous Karabakh at Stepanakert, and a referendum on 10 December 1991 produced, according to an account published by the Armenian General Benevolent Union, a vote of 99.98 per cent for independence.[78] War with Azerbaijan followed. The Bishkek Protocol of 5 May 1994 led to a ceasefire that took effect on 12 May 1994 and had no fixed end date[79], and negotiations on a settlement under the OSCE Minsk Group continued without result.[78] The republic, which also styled itself Artsakh, had a Supreme Council and held regular elections, and the same account describes its guiding principle as an "Artsakh-Armenia-Diaspora triad" in which Armenia and the diaspora provided funding.[78] No member state of the United Nations recognised it.

Azerbaijan regained territory in the war of 2020, which ended under a trilateral statement of the leaders of Azerbaijan, Russia and Armenia that took effect at midnight Moscow time on 10 November 2020.[80,81] Following an Azerbaijani military operation on 19 and 20 September 2023, Karabakh Armenian representatives and Azerbaijani officials agreed on 21 September on the disbandment and complete disarmament of the separatist regime.[82] President Samvel Shahramanyan signed a decree on 28 September 2023 ordering the dissolution of all state institutions by 1 January 2024, after which the Republic of Nagorno-Karabakh (Artsakh) "shall cease to exist".[83] According to Armenia's deputy prime minister, about 66,500 of the region's population of about 120,000 had left by 10 am that day.[84,85] The decree cited an agreement, mediated by the Russian peacekeeping command, under which residents could leave through the Lachin corridor with their property.[83] On 9 October 2023 the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees told its Executive Committee that Armenia had received more than 100,000 people from Nagorno-Karabakh.[86]

Novorossiya, Union of People's Republics

In a televised question-and-answer session on 17 April 2014, Vladimir Putin used the name Novorossiya for Kharkov, Lugansk, Donetsk, Kherson, Nikolayev and Odessa, which he said had not been part of Ukraine in tsarist times and had been given to it by the Soviet government in the 1920s.[87,88] According to Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, the Novorossiya project was launched on 24 May 2014 in Donetsk, with representatives of seven regions (Dnipropetrovsk, Zaporizhzhya, Odesa, Luhansk, Mykolayiv, Kharkiv and Kherson), and Oleg Tsarev was speaker of the joint parliament of the Donetsk and Luhansk People's Republics.[89]

The project did not extend beyond those two republics. On 20 May 2015 Tsarev announced that all Novorossiya structures were frozen, a decision that he linked to the Minsk agreements, which provided for limited self-government for parts of Donetsk and Luhansk within Ukraine and made no provision for Novorossiya.[89,90] Meduza reported that sources of Gazeta.ru attributed the decision to a shift in Moscow's priorities after Minsk II, and that a Donetsk spokesman said efforts to form a union between Donetsk and Luhansk were suspended, blaming Kyiv for suppressing pro-Russian sentiment.[90] Aleksandr Kofman, a leader of the Donetsk republic, said that supporters in Kharkiv and Odesa had "come out too early", and that many activists had been arrested in Kharkiv.[89]

South Ossetian Democratic Republic

South Ossetian nationalists declared independence from Georgia on 20 September 1990. On 11 December 1990 the Georgian parliament abolished the South Ossetian autonomous oblast, after rejecting the results of elections held there on 9 December.[91] Fighting began in January 1991 and, according to a report of the United States Congressional Research Service, killed an estimated 2,000 to 4,000 people and displaced tens of thousands.[92] On 24 June 1992 Eduard Shevardnadze and Boris Yeltsin signed the Agreement on Principles of Settlement of the Georgian-Ossetian Conflict (the Sochi Agreement), which required the opposing sides to withdraw their armed formations from a corridor along the line of confrontation and provided for joint forces and a mixed Control Commission.[93] The Commonwealth of Independent States deployed a Joint Peacekeeping Force on 14 July 1992, commanded by Russia, with a maximum of 1,500 troops from Russia, Georgia, North Ossetia and South Ossetia.[91]

Large-scale fighting between Georgia and Russia began around Tskhinvali on the night of 7 to 8 August 2008, according to the report of the European Union's Independent International Fact-Finding Mission on the Conflict in Georgia, led by Heidi Tagliavini.[94] Russia recognised the independence of South Ossetia and Abkhazia on 26 August 2008. Nicaragua extended recognition on 5 September 2008, and most other governments condemned the Russian decision.[92] Venezuela recognised South Ossetia and Abkhazia on 10 September 2009[38] and Syria on 29 May 2018.[39]

According to Georgia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as reported by Georgia Today, the cabinet of Naoero (Nauru) decided on 21 July 2026 to withdraw recognition of South Ossetia together with Abkhazia and to sever relations.[95] Meduza reported on 30 July 2026 that the withdrawal reduced the number of United Nations members recognising the two territories to four: Russia, Nicaragua, Venezuela and Syria.[42]

Talysh-Mugan Autonomous Republic

The Talysh-Mugan Autonomous Republic, also rendered Talysh-Mughan, was proclaimed on 7 August 1993 in southern Azerbaijan by Alikram Hummatov (Gumbatov) and his supporters, who elected him its "President".[96] Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty describes the initiative as crushed.[97]

Tatarstan (Declaration of State Status, 1990 to 1994)

Tatarstan, an autonomous republic of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic with a large Volga Tatar population, adopted a Declaration on State Sovereignty on 30 August 1990.[98] It did not sign the Federal Treaty of 31 March 1992, because the document did not reflect the republic's status.[98] A referendum held on 21 March 1992 asked whether Tatarstan should be a "sovereign state and subject of international law", and the Russian Federation Commission on Constitutionality declared it unconstitutional.[99] According to Al Jazeera, 61.4 per cent of the 81.6 per cent of the electorate that voted approved.[100] The republic adopted its constitution on 6 November 1992, which described it as a state linked to Russia through a future treaty.[98] After lengthy negotiations the two governments concluded a bilateral treaty in 1994, in which, according to Al Jazeera, Tatarstan described itself as a "state united with the Russian Federation".[98,100]

Tatarstan did not secede and gained no recognition as an independent state. By 2005 the earlier agreements between federal subjects and Moscow had been annulled, leaving Tatarstan and Chechnya as the only regions with special status.[101] A new treaty, signed on 27 July 2007, was due to expire on 24 July 2017.[101] On 11 July 2017 the Tatarstan State Council adopted a statement urging Putin to extend it, and RFE/RL noted press reports that the treaty would most likely not be prolonged.[101] Meduza reported on the same day that the Kremlin had declined to extend it.[102]

Transnistria (Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic)

The self-styled "Moldovan Republic of Transdniestria" was proclaimed on 2 September 1990 in the territory of Moldova east of the Dniester. The Supreme Council of the territory adopted a declaration of independence on 25 August 1991, and Igor Smirnov was elected "President" in December 1991.[103] Violent clashes in late 1991 and early 1992 killed several hundred people. Moldova alleged that the Fourteenth Army aided the separatists; the Russian Government denied it and said that the army acted as a buffer.[103] On 21 July 1992 Moldova and Russia signed in Moscow an agreement on the principles of a peaceful settlement, which provided for a ceasefire, a security zone, a Control Committee based in Bendery with military contingents of the three sides, and the neutrality of the Fourteenth Army, whose status and withdrawal were to be negotiated.[104] A Russian-Moldovan agreement of 21 October 1994 provided for withdrawal of the army within three years but was never ratified by the State Duma.[103] The Russian Government has stated that it never recognised the territory.[103]

In Ilaşcu and Others v. Moldova and Russia, decided on 8 July 2004, the Grand Chamber of the European Court of Human Rights held that the applicants came within the jurisdiction of both states under Article 1 of the European Convention on Human Rights. Moldova did not exercise authority over the territory but retained positive obligations; Russia was responsible because the territory's regime had remained under its effective authority, or at the very least its decisive influence, and because it had supported the separatist authorities.[105]

After Ukraine declined to extend the gas transit agreement, Gazprom stopped supplying gas to Transnistria on 1 January 2025. According to the Centre for Eastern Studies, all gas-fired heating plants in the territory shut down that day, and scheduled power outages of eight hours a day began by 7 January.[106]

Urals Republic (Sverdlovsk Oblast, 1993)

According to The Moscow Times, Eduard Rossel, governor of Sverdlovsk Oblast, declared in 1993 that the region would become the Urals Republic and draft its own constitution; he and his advisers said that the step would not undermine Russia's territorial integrity.[107] The Jamestown Foundation dates the declaration to 1 June 1993 and the local ratification of the constitution to 27 October 1993, and records that Boris Yeltsin signed a decree ending the activities of the regional legislature on 9 November 1993.[108] The republic was never recognised at the federal level, and after his re-election as governor in 2003 Rossel said that it still existed in law.[108]

Section V.3

Instigated Client and Puppet States

This section gathers polities whose formal independence was substantially instigated, sponsored or imposed by an external power for that power's own strategic purposes, spanning the French revolutionary and Napoleonic sister republics of the 1790s, the Axis puppet states of the Second World War, and a final cluster of Soviet-instigated and other externally sponsored client states of the twentieth century. Each entry considers both the outward institutional forms of sovereignty these states maintained and the degree of substantive independent authority, invariably limited, their governments actually exercised.

Anconine Republic (Repubblica Anconitana, 1797 to 1798)

The Anconine Republic was a short-lived polity centred on the Adriatic port of Ancona under French occupation. The Armistice of Bologna of 23 June 1796 had provided for a French garrison in the city.[109] According to the Guida generale degli Archivi di Stato, Napoleon organised the municipality by an order of 22 pluviôse Year V (10 February 1797); from 17 November 1797 it became the Anconine Republic, and in March 1798 it was joined to the Roman Republic.[110]

Azad Hind, Provisional Government of Free India

Subhas Chandra Bose proclaimed the Provisional Government of Azad Hind (Free India) on 21 October 1943 at the Cathay building in Singapore, then under Japanese occupation, after Rash Behari Bose handed over leadership of the Indian National Army to him.[111] Bose served as head of state, prime minister and minister for war and foreign affairs, with A. C. Chatterjee at finance, S. A. Ayer at publicity and Lakshmi Swaminathan at women's affairs, and the government claimed authority over Indian civilians and soldiers in Japanese-held South-East Asia, in particular Burma, Singapore and Malaya.[112,113] It declared war on Britain and the United States on 23 October 1943, two days after its formation.[112] Germany, Japan and Italy, together with the Axis-aligned governments in Croatia, Nanjing China, Thailand, Burma, Manchukuo and the Philippines, recognised it.[112]

Japan transferred the Andaman and Nicobar Islands to the government in December 1943, and Bose raised the Azad Hind flag at Port Blair on 30 December 1943, renaming the islands Shaheed and Swaraj.[114] Lebra records that, although jurisdiction passed de jure to the government, de facto military control remained with the Japanese admiralty.[112] The government's territorial control ended with the Axis defeat in 1945, when British forces reoccupied the islands.[113]

Azerbaijan, Autonomous Government of

The Autonomous Government of Azerbaijan, also called the Azerbaijan People's Government, was proclaimed at Tabriz in December 1945 under Ja'far Pishevari, who became premier. According to Bruce Kuniholm, the Soviet authorities encouraged the replacement of the Tudeh Party in Azerbaijan by the Democratic Party of Azarbaijan; the Democratic Party held Tabriz by 10 December 1945, and a National Assembly proclaimed the government soon afterwards.[115] Alireza Hodaei dates the announcement of autonomy to 12 December 1945 and the formation of the Azerbaijan Democratic Party to early September 1945, observes that the presence of Soviet troops in northern Iran facilitated the movement and that Pishevari hoped for Soviet support, and records land distribution and a change of the official language.[116] Iranian troops entered Tabriz on 13 December 1946 and Pishevari fled to Baku, so that the government fell almost a year after its proclamation.[115] The episode is treated in the scholarly literature as a significant crisis of the early Cold War.[117]

Batavian Republic

The Batavian Republic was the Dutch state that replaced the Dutch Republic after the French invasion and the Batavian revolution of 1795. By the Treaty of The Hague of 16 May 1795 it came under French influence, obliged to give France military and financial support while keeping its own government.[118] A first National Assembly met from 1 March 1796; a first draft constitution was rejected in 1797, and the constitution that took effect in July 1798, after a second coup, replaced it with an Executive Directorate (Uitvoerend Bewind).[118] Parlement.com describes the Staatsregeling of 1798 as the first Dutch constitution.[119] In September 1801, with French help, the Directorate was replaced by a more authoritarian State Council (Staatsbewind).[118] In 1805 Napoleon replaced that body with a single leader, Rutger Jan Schimmelpenninck, with the title of Grand Pensionary, after a referendum in which few citizens took part.[118,119] A treaty signed in Paris on 24 May 1806 turned the Batavian Republic into the Kingdom of Holland, and Napoleon installed his brother Louis Napoleon as king and dismissed Schimmelpenninck.[120] Napoleon annexed the kingdom to the French Empire on 9 July 1810.[118]

Bergamasque Republic (Bergamo, 1797)

Bergamo declared itself free of Venetian rule on 12 and 13 March 1797 and was the first of the Venetian provinces to do so.[121] The Municipalità Provvisoria had eight members and eight alternates, and the role of the last Venetian podestà, Alessandro Ottolini, remains disputed among historians.[121] The French support given by General Landrieux was not part of any strategic plan of the higher command, and the revolution at Bergamo went beyond what French agents had concerted for the Venetian territories.[121] Bergamo and Brescia were among the earliest cities to be revolutionised, and the democratic municipalities worked under French military oversight while keeping a theoretical autonomy.[122]

A provisional constitution was drawn up between 24 March and 5 April 1797, and a conference programme dates the republic to the period from March to July 1797.[123] On 16 June 1797 Bonaparte replaced the municipalities with seven Central Governments of 23 members each, and delegates met at the Congress of Bassano on 26 July 1797 and confirmed their wish to join the Cisalpine Republic.[122] The Treaty of Campoformio of 17 October 1797 secured Austrian recognition of the Cisalpine Republic, which by then included Brescia, Bergamo and Crema, while Venice and the remaining territories passed to Austria.[122]

Bresciana Republic (Brescia, 1797)

Brescia underwent a revolution in March 1797 during the Triennio repubblicano, after which a republican government came to power in the city.[124] Carlo Bazzani argues that the elite which took power, although influenced by French revolutionary principles, pursued municipal autonomy and the defence of local identity, the piccola patria, rather than the Italian national agenda promoted by other patriots of the period.[124]

Burma, State of (Ba Maw Government, 1943 to 1945)

On 1 August 1943 an administration led by Ba Maw declared independence in Japanese-occupied Burma.[125] A Treaty of Alliance between Japan and Burma was signed at Rangoon on the same day.[126] According to the chronology of the Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, Japan undertook by the alliance treaty to recognise Burma as an independent state and to provide every possible military, political and economic aid towards the aims of the Greater East Asia War.[125]

The State of Burma did not outlast the Japanese defeat in Burma. On 27 March 1945 the Burma National Army under Aung San, which had paraded in Rangoon that day, turned against the Japanese and joined the Allies.[127,128] On 23 April 1945 the Japanese commander Heitaro Kimura ordered the evacuation of Rangoon, and Ba Maw travelled in a convoy that left for Mawlamyine by way of Bago; Allied troops had reoccupied the capital by 3 May 1945.[129] The Burma Area Army of Japan surrendered at Government House in Rangoon on 12 September 1945,[130] and the British administration resumed control of the colonial government in Rangoon on 16 October 1945.[131]

Cisalpine Republic

The Cisalpine Republic was proclaimed on 29 June 1797 over Lombardy, Reggio and Modena, and Napoleon Bonaparte named its four Directors that day.[132] Bonaparte promulgated its constitution on 8 July 1797. It followed the French constitution of 1795: the Milan text had 378 articles against the 377 of the Paris text, the additional article thanking the French Republic.[132] Bologna, Ferrara and the Romagna were added at the end of July and the Valtellina in October.[132] By the Treaty of Campoformio of 17 October 1797 Venice and its mainland passed to Austria, and the Cisalpine Republic by then included Brescia, Bergamo and Crema.[132,122] A second constitution was dated 31 August 1798, and the republic's existence ended on 26 January 1802, when it was replaced by the Italian Republic, which Napoleon made a kingdom under his own crown in 1805.[132]

Cispadane Republic

At a congress of about 100 delegates at Modena on 16 and 17 October 1796, the constitution of the Cispadane Republic was voted and provisional governments were named for Reggio, Modena, Bologna and Ferrara. French armies had entered Reggio on 18 October.[133] The republic was proclaimed "one and indivisible" at Reggio on 27 December 1796, and on 7 January 1797 the assembly resolved to adopt the tricolour as its emblem, with a quiver of four arrows at the centre symbolising the union of the four cities.[133] Zumbini describes the Cispadane experience as short-lived and as succeeded by the Cisalpine Republic, proclaimed on 29 June 1797, which took in Reggio and Modena from the start and added Bologna and Ferrara at the end of July.[132]

The resolution of 7 January 1797 has a lasting place in Italian public life: Law no. 671 of 31 December 1996 provides that 7 January of each year be celebrated as the day of the flag (Tricolour Day).[134]

Cochinchina, Republic of

The Republic of Cochinchina (in French, the République autonome de Cochinchine) was a French-sponsored administration in southern Vietnam, created in 1946 to separate the region from the Democratic Republic of Vietnam of Ho Chi Minh. The Conseil consultatif de Cochinchine held its inaugural session on 12 February 1946 and on 12 March adopted, by nine votes to two, a motion calling for the autonomy of Cochinchina within the Indochinese Federation.[135] According to Brett Reilly, the French governor-general, Thierry d'Argenlieu, appointed Vietnamese and French members to a Cochinchina Council, which elected the physician Nguyen Van Thinh as president in early 1946; the republic was inaugurated in June 1946.[136] Reilly states that the Council had 14 French and 28 Vietnamese members, all appointed by d'Argenlieu, and that it passed a vote of no confidence in Thinh on 7 November 1946 by 26 votes to 3.[136]

The Viet Minh sentenced Thinh to death for treason and made three failed attempts on his life.[136] He hanged himself in November 1946, leaving a letter that closed: "I die to denounce the dangers of a menacing red dictatorship."[136] Reilly places the republic among the non-communist state projects, supported by France, that he treats as part of a Vietnamese civil war which was also a colonial and Cold War conflict.[137]

The republic's separate existence ended in 1949. A French law of 4 June 1949 united Cochinchina with the associated State of Vietnam, and a United States State Department note of December 1949 records that Cochinchina had been part of that State since the law.[138]

Crimean Regional Governments (1918 to 1919)

The first Crimean Regional Government was formed in June 1918, during the German occupation of the peninsula, with the Lipka Tatar general Suleyman Sulkevich (Maciej Sulkiewicz) as prime minister. The finding aid to the government's records at the Hoover Institution dates its establishment to 25 June 1918 under German protection, and records that Germany backed it while German troops remained in Crimea.[139] A study of its municipal policy describes Sulkevich as a German protege who agreed to form a government in early June 1918 and whose authority rested on the occupiers.[140]

According to the Ukrainian state-supported portal Crimea is Ukraine, the German commander General R. Kosch appointed Sulkevich on 5 June 1918, and the cabinet list, published in newspapers on 21 June, included Tatar, German and Russian members.[141] The portal describes two camps in the cabinet: Sulkevich, Seydamet and A. Akhmatovych in the long term envisaged a Crimean Tatar state independent of Russia, while V. Tatishchev, S. Gorchakov, V. Nalbandov and others regarded independence as temporary and hoped for a reunited Russia.[141] The Representation of the President of Ukraine in the Autonomous Republic of Crimea states that Sulkevich agreed the text of a declaration "To the Population of Crimea" with the German command, that the government made Simferopol its capital, that Russian was the official language, with Crimean Tatar and German permitted at the official level, and that Germany supported the government but gave it no recognition.[142] It names Prince Gorchakov as assistant to the prime minister and acting minister of the interior, and Cafer Seydamet Qirimer as minister of foreign affairs.[142]

Under public pressure, the government was forced to resign on 14 November 1918.[140] The Karaite politician Solomon Krym, a former Kadet, then headed a second government, which the Red Army dissolved on 2 April 1919 when it occupied Simferopol.[139]

Croatia, Independent State of

The Independent State of Croatia (Nezavisna Drzava Hrvatska) was proclaimed on 10 April 1941 by the Ustase movement, after Germany and its Axis allies had invaded and dismembered Yugoslavia, and Germany and Italy endorsed it.[143] Ante Pavelic became head of state, and the Wehrmacht entered Zagreb on the same day. Under the Treaties of Rome, Italy received large parts of Croatian territory.[144] The regime built concentration camps to isolate and murder Jews, Serbs, Roma, other non-Catholic minorities and its political and religious opponents. Jasenovac, the largest, was a complex of five camps on the Sava river, and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum gives estimates of between 77,000 and 99,000 people murdered there.[143] The state ended in May 1945: the government left Zagreb on 6 May, units of the 2nd Army entered the deserted city on 8 May, and Partisans took over Jasenovac in early May.[143,144]

Cyrenaica, Emirate of (1949 to 1951)

The Emirate of Cyrenaica was proclaimed at Benghazi in 1949 by Sayyid Idris al-Sanusi, head of the Sanusi order, with explicit British support.[145] Britain, which had administered the territory since the Second World War, was among those who had proposed dividing Libya into three spheres: Cyrenaica under British control, Tripolitania under Italy and the Fezzan under France. Arab nationalists objected to the plan.[146]

The United Nations did not endorse a separate Cyrenaican state.[145] General Assembly resolution 289 A (IV) of 21 November 1949 instead constituted Libya as a single independent state, to be established not later than 1 January 1952.[147,145] Idris, who had returned from exile in Egypt, was offered the throne by a national assembly, and on 24 December 1951 he announced from Benghazi that Libya was independent, becoming King Idris I of the Kingdom of Libya.[146]

East Hebei Autonomous Government (1935 to 1938)

The East Hebei Anti-Communist Autonomous Council was established on 24 November 1935 at Tongzhou, in the eastern part of Hebei province, under Yin Rugeng (Yin Ju-keng), a former Nationalist official backed by Japan, who declared independence from the Nationalist government.[148] On 25 December 1935 the council became the East Hebei Autonomous Government, with Yin as administrative commissioner.[148] The Hong Kong publication Chinese Culture describes it as Japan's second puppet regime after Manchukuo.[148] In August 1937 the capital moved from Tongzhou to Tangshan and Chi Zongmo replaced Yin as administrative commissioner.[148] The government was abolished on 1 February 1938 and merged into the Provisional Government of the Republic of China at Beiping, led by Wang Kemin and founded on 14 December 1937.[148]

East Indonesia, State of, and the Dutch-Sponsored Federal States (1946 to 1950)

The Denpasar Conference, held in Bali from 7 to 23 December 1946 under the chairmanship of the Dutch official Van Mook, led to the proclamation of the State of East Indonesia on 24 December 1946; it covered the former Groote Oost except western New Guinea.[149] Anak Agung Gde Agung served as its prime minister.[149] Susanti and Trilaksana describe it as one of the puppet states created by the Netherlands to weaken the position of the Republic of Indonesia, as part of a divide-and-rule strategy.[149] Through the Federal Consultative Assembly (BFO), a body set up by the Dutch, its cooperation with the Republic helped the Republic to gain recognition in 1949.[149] The state was dissolved in 1950, when the Republic of the United States of Indonesia returned to a unitary form.[149]

Estonian Workers' Commune (Narva, 1918 to 1919)

The Temporary Revolutionary Committee of Estonia proclaimed the Estonian Workers' Commune at Narva on 29 November 1918, with Jaan Anvelt as its leader.[150] It presented itself as a Soviet state, but its governing body had little real power and took direction from the leadership of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic.[150] Volodko writes that its radical agrarian and religious policies and a large-scale campaign of terror cost it popular support.[150]

The army of the Estonian Republic, backed by Nikolai Yudenich's White Northwestern Army and foreign forces, drove the Commune's government and the Red Army out of Estonia.[150] When Moscow moved towards peace with the Estonian Republic, the Commune became an obstacle, and it declared its voluntary dissolution on 5 June 1919.[150]

Finland, Terijoki Government of (Finnish People's Government, 1939 to 1940)

The Finnish People's Government, led by O. V. Kuusinen and based at Terijoki (now Zelenogorsk), signed a treaty of mutual assistance and friendship with the Soviet Union on 2 December 1939, with Molotov signing for the Soviet side.[151] The Soviet Union recognised only this government and not the Finnish government in Helsinki. When an approach was made through Sweden, Moscow refused on 4 December 1939 to negotiate with Finland and said that it would deal only with the People's Government.[151] According to the Winter War Centre, the government was abolished in April 1940, and Kuusinen became head of the Karelo-Finnish Soviet Socialist Republic.[151]

Flanders, Council of

The Council of Flanders was constituted on 4 February 1917 in German-occupied Belgium, when a Flemish-nationalist assembly proclaimed its founding and chose its members.[152] It was the political body of the activist wing of the Flemish Movement, which was willing to seek Flemish independence with German support under the occupier's Flamenpolitik.[153] The council was consultative and depended on the German authorities for its existence.

On 22 December 1917 August Borms proposed at a stormy meeting that the independence of Flanders be declared, and the council created an executive, the Commission of Plenipotentiaries, chaired by Pieter Tack.[154,155] The German authorities rejected the proposal, which obliged the council to resign and call fresh elections; popular assemblies held in several Flemish cities in February and March 1918 elected a second council.[152] The council was abolished in August 1918, when the Commissioners-Plenipotentiary resigned.[154] After the war Borms was tried and sentenced to death in 1919, a sentence later commuted to life imprisonment.[154]

Free Kuwait, Provisional Government of (Iraqi-Installed Administration, 1990)

Iraq announced a puppet administration in Kuwait soon after its invasion of 2 August 1990, naming Alaa Hussein Ali, a Kuwaiti army officer, as prime minister of Kuwait to govern in Baghdad's name, according to Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty.[156] The administration lasted less than a week. Baghdad then decided to annex Kuwait as a province, and the puppet government was disbanded.[156]

Free Lebanon, State of (1979 to 1984)

In April 1979 Major Saad Haddad, who commanded about 700 men at Marjayoun and had joined the Lebanese Liberation Army in March 1976, proclaimed a 'State of Free Lebanon' from Metulla in Israel.[157] His force had been formed under Israeli supervision in October 1976 as the South Lebanon Defence Army, and Israel handed it territory in the south after its invasion of March 1978.[157] In May 1980 Haddad renamed the militia the South Lebanon Army; it then numbered about 2,000 men, most of them Christian, with some Shia and Druze.[157] Its fighters escorted Israeli forces into Beirut in 1982.[157] Haddad died at Marjayoun in January 1984, and Antoine Lahd, a former Lebanese army general, took command in April 1984.[157] The militia collapsed in May 2000 after the Israeli withdrawal, and many of its members fled to Israel.[157]

German Client States of the Eastern Front (1916 to 1918)

Imperial Germany sponsored a number of states described as independent in the east during the last two years of the First World War. The Kingdom of Poland was proclaimed on 5 November 1916 by the emperors of Germany and Austria-Hungary; the proclamation did not transfer full authority to the Provisional Council of State or the later Regency Council, which both operated under the German and Austro-Hungarian occupation authorities, and the Regency Council dissolved itself on 14 November 1918, transferring authority to the Supreme Commander of the Polish Armed Forces.[158]

In Lithuania the Council of Lithuania declared independence on 11 December 1917 on terms that Germany dictated and that would in practice have made the country a German protectorate.[159,160] On 16 February 1918 the Council adopted a new declaration without those ties to Germany, and the German chancellor announced recognition of Lithuania on 23 March 1918.[160]

On 12 April 1918 in Riga the United Land Council for Livland, Estonia, Ösel and Riga, a body of 58 delegates (11 of them Latvians) drawn from German-dominated land councils, declared independence from Russia and a constitutional monarchy in personal union with the Prussian crown, as the United Baltic Duchy.[161] A delegation reached Berlin on 16 April but did not meet the Kaiser, and the chancellor offered only vague promises of support; after the war the idea was dropped in favour of separate Latvian and Estonian states.[161] The Ukrainian State of Hetman Pavlo Skoropadsky arose from a coup supported by the German army on 29 April 1918.[162]

The creations did not outlast the German defeat. The Polish Regency Council dissolved itself on 14 November 1918,[158] and Hetman Skoropadsky abdicated on 14 December 1918, when the Directory of the Ukrainian National Republic replaced the Hetman government.[163]

Gilan, Soviet Republic of

The Soviet Republic of Gilan, also called the Persian Socialist Soviet Republic, took shape in northern Iran after Soviet forces arrived at Anzali on 18 May 1920.[164] The Soviet republic was formed on 5 June 1920, with the Jangali movement of Mirza Kuchek Khan (Kuchik Khan) as its base.[164] In late July 1920 Ehsanollah Khan Dustdar, the leader of the movement's radical wing, backed a coup against Kuchek Khan and became head of the new Soviet government.[164] The Persian communist party, which had dominated the government but would not admit Ehsanollah to its ranks, left the coalition in September 1920 and disavowed his policy of confiscating property.[164]

The Soviet-Persian treaty of friendship, signed in February 1921, ended Moscow's support for a separate regime in Gilan. In early October 1921 Ehsanollah and his colleagues abandoned their enterprise under pressure from the Soviet representative Theodor Rothstein, and left for Baku.[164] The entry on the Jangali movement in the Encyclopedia of the Modern Middle East and North Africa states that the Soviet-Iranian treaty of 1921 stopped Soviet aggression and that Reza Khan, later the first Pahlavi monarch, had destroyed the Jangalis by October 1921.[165] The republic therefore ended in the autumn of 1921, having lasted from June 1920.

Helvetic Republic

The Helvetic Republic replaced the old Swiss Confederation on 12 April 1798, when its constitution took effect, after French troops had advanced into Switzerland from late January 1798 and ended the Confederation in the fighting of early March.[166] France imposed the constitution, which adapted the French Directorial constitution of 1795 and created a unitary state based on legal equality, rule in the name of the people and the separation of powers.[166] After the coups of 1800 the constitutional question divided the revolutionaries into unitarists and federalists, whom Napoleon favoured for reasons of power politics.[166] French troops left in July 1802, but the Stecklikrieg uprising and Napoleon's Proclamation of Saint-Cloud of 30 September 1802 brought them back.[166] The Act of Mediation of 19 February 1803 sealed the end of the republic; on 10 March 1803 executive authority passed to the Landammann of Switzerland and the provisional cantonal governments.[166]

Italian Social Republic

The Italian Social Republic, known also as the Republic of Salò after the town on Lake Garda chosen as its capital, was proclaimed on 23 September 1943, the day on which the Republican Fascist Party was founded to replace the National Fascist Party.[167] German paratroopers had freed Mussolini from his prison on the Gran Sasso, and he resumed his earlier role as head of government.[167] The state covered those parts of the Italian peninsula that the German army occupied; its ministries were spread across cities in Veneto and Lombardy, high commissioners oversaw the occupied territory, and the German ambassador Rudolf Rahn acted as the Reich's plenipotentiary.[167] The state never gained full autonomy and remained a satellite of the Third Reich.[167] It ended in April 1945, when Mussolini was captured and shot by partisans.

Latvia, Socialist Soviet Republic of (1918 to 1920)

The Latvian Socialist Soviet Republic was declared on 17 December 1918, and Soviet Russia recognised it on 22 December.[168] Its government, led by Pēteris Stučka, was based in Riga from 3 January 1919, and a constitution was approved on 15 January 1919.[168] Stučka's own account of the first months describes a one-party administration (in his words, 'the government of one Party, but the only Party') that at once nationalised without indemnification all large estates of over 100 desiatines, and dates its rule in Riga from 3 January to 22 May 1919.[169] Stučka left Latvian territory around 3 January 1920 and, in exile, approved the dissolution of state bodies on 13 January 1920.[168]

Ligurian Republic

The Ligurian Republic arose from the revolution of May 1797, which ended the aristocratic Republic of Genoa; the earliest recorded sessions of its provisional government date from 14 June 1797.[170] The archive of Genoa describes it as a state of Jacobin inspiration whose institutions included a Directory (Direttorio esecutivo) with councils attached to it, the Seniors, Sixty and Juniors, and later a Senate with a supreme magistrate.[170] Its history was marked by several constitutional changes and discontinuities, among them a brief Austrian regency and a reconquest by French troops.[170] It was annexed to the French Empire in 1805.[170]

Lokot Autonomous Administration (1941 to 1943)

The Lokot Autonomous Administration arose in the south of the Bryansk region in the autumn of 1941. According to Zhukov and Kovtun, a Lokot volost self-government was set up in October 1941 in the Brasovo district under the mayor Konstantin Voskoboinik, who began to form militia units with the permission of the German 17th Panzer Division.[171] Partisans attacked Lokot on 8 January 1942 and wounded Voskoboinik, who died of the wounds; his deputy Bronislav Kaminski took power and was treated by the Germans as a reliable collaborator.[171] The area came under the rear area command of the German 2nd Panzer Army, and in July 1942 it was made an okrug that also took in the Dmitriev, Dmitrovsk and Mikhailovka districts of Kursk oblast; Hitler is reported to have authorised the arrangement in March 1942.[171]

The militia became the Russian People's Liberation Army (RONA) in autumn 1942 and carried out punitive operations against partisans and civilians, including village burnings and hostage executions.[171] In late summer 1943 the brigade and its civilian refugees were evacuated to Belarus, which ended its operations in the Bryansk area, and in 1944 it became the 29th SS Division.[172]

Mainz, Republic of

French troops entered the fortress of Mainz without a fight on 21 October 1792, after the Elector and his court had fled.[173] Two days later a Jacobin club, which began with about twenty university professors and officials, was formed; Georg Forster was among its leading figures and a leader of the later convention.[173] The Rhenish-German National Convention, whose deputies were chosen in the Palatinate and in left-bank Rhenish Hesse, met on 17 March 1793 and declared a 'free, independent, indivisible state' from Landau to Bingen, ending feudal rights there.[173] It numbered 128 deputies for 126 places, but only about 8 per cent of those eligible in Mainz took part in the election, and a decree of 21 March 1793 sought incorporation into the French Republic.[173] Austrian, Prussian and other German troops besieged the city from 14 April 1793, and the French capitulated on 23 July 1793, by which time about a third of the city had been destroyed.[173]

Manchukuo

Manchukuo was established on 1 March 1932 in north-eastern China under Japanese backing and lasted until August 1945; China did not recognise it, and the League of Nations withheld recognition.[174] Puyi, the last Qing emperor, became chief executive on 9 March 1932 under the reign name Datong; in 1934 the state became the Empire of Manchuria and he was crowned emperor under the name Kangde.[174] Its capital was Hsinking (Changchun), and it covered the three north-eastern provinces and Rehe, which Japan occupied in 1933, while Lushun and Dalian remained under direct Japanese administration.[174] Japan recognised the state in the Japan-Manchukuo Protocol of 15 September 1932.[174] The Lytton Report of October 1932 concluded that Japan's army general staff directed the state and that it was not the product of a genuine independence movement.[174] Soviet forces entered the north-east in August 1945, and the state fell; Puyi was captured on 19 August 1945.[174]

Mengjiang and the Mongolian Federation Movement (1934 to 1945)

Mengjiang, or Mengkukuo, was a Japanese-sponsored administration in Inner Mongolia, headed by the Mongol prince Demchugdongrub (Prince De) under Japanese supervision. Its origin lay in the Inner Mongolian autonomy movement. The Mongol Local Autonomy Political Affairs Committee was established on 23 April 1934 as a local government at Bailingmiao, and lasted less than two years.[175] In spring 1936 Japan backed a Mongol Military Government in Ulan Chab, which Sechin Jagchid's biography of the prince dates from May 1936 to October 1937.[176,177]

Japan established the Mengjiang United Autonomous Government at Kalgan on 1 September 1939 with Demchugdongrub as head of state.[177] According to the Hoover Institution Library & Archives, the regime was placed under Wang Jingwei's Japanese-sponsored government at Nanjing in name in 1940 while keeping its autonomous status, and Shoji Kanai served as its supreme political adviser from 1939 to 1941.[177] The regime fell in August 1945 when Soviet and Chinese Communist Eighth Route Army forces entered Inner Mongolia; Demchugdongrub fled Kalgan.[177]

Montenegrin State Council (Drljević, 1944 to 1945)

Sekula Drljević, a Montenegrin separatist politician who had first sought Italian protection for a Montenegrin state, turned to Germany after Italy's capitulation and in the middle of 1943 contacted the German embassy in Zagreb.[178] He moved to Zagreb in the spring of 1944 and founded the Montenegrin State Council, a temporary body meant to lead the creation of a Montenegrin state; according to the historian Radoje Pajović it had the full support of the Ustaše leadership and the likely support of the Germans, but the course of the war and the dominant role of the National Liberation Movement made the project unrealistic.[178] Drljević then tried to raise a 'Montenegrin national army' from Montenegrins living outside Montenegro; after a split in March 1945 between the Chetnik leaders Pavle Đurišić and Draža Mihailović, Đurišić's Chetniks became its main base.[178] The formation disintegrated in northeastern Slovenia in May 1945, where units of the Yugoslav National Liberation Army defeated it.[178]

Montenegro, Italian-Sponsored Independent State of (1941)

After the collapse of Yugoslavia in April 1941, Italy occupied Montenegro and its leadership disagreed about the territory's future: King Victor Emmanuel III wanted a greater Montenegro under the Petrović dynasty, while Mussolini wanted a union of Albania and Montenegro under Italian protection.[179] Italy offered the throne to Prince Mihajlo, a nephew of King Nikola, who declined.[179] On 12 July 1941 an 'Independent Montenegro' was proclaimed at Cetinje under Italian auspices, in an assembly arranged by the Civil Commissioner Serafino Mazzolini, who had the delegates briefed beforehand to avoid surprises.[179] Stanić names the Federalist Party and the 'zelenaši' movement led by Sekula Drljević as the separatists who supported the occupation and an independent Montenegro in name.[179]

An armed rising began on 13 July 1941, the day after the proclamation, and about 30,000 people took up arms.[179] Italy sent about 130,000 troops and suppressed the rising by 8 August 1941, and General Alessandro Pirzio Biroli replaced Mazzolini.[179] Stanić describes the occupation until then as the mildest in occupied Europe and notes that Italy never again tried to create a puppet state in Montenegro.[179]

Northern Cyprus

The Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus was proclaimed in November 1983 by the Turkish Cypriot administration that had governed the northern part of Cyprus since the Turkish military intervention of 1974, itself launched in response to a coup d'état against the Cypriot government backed by the military junta then ruling Greece. On 11 May 1984 the United Nations Security Council, in Resolution 550, reaffirmed its Resolution 541 (1983)[180] and condemned all secessionist actions, declared them illegal and invalid, and called on all states not to recognise the purported 'Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus' or to assist it, and to respect the independence, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus.[181] Only Türkiye has recognised it. United Nations-mediated efforts at reunification, including the Annan Plan referendum of 2004, have not resolved the division of the island. On 26 August 2026 the Greek Cypriot leader Nikos Christodoulides and the Turkish Cypriot leader Tufan Erhürman met under United Nations auspices in Nicosia and agreed to meet every week.[182]

Parthenopean Republic

The Parthenopean Republic was proclaimed at Naples on 23 January 1799, according to the Digital History project of the University of Teramo, after French troops under General Championnet had conquered the Kingdom of Naples; Anthony Pagden dates its existence from 24 January.[183,184] It took its name from Parthenope, the ancient Greek settlement on which the city was founded. Its leaders were drawn from the Neapolitan bourgeoisie and intelligentsia.[183]

The republic lasted a few months. It was destroyed on 13 June 1799 by royalist forces under Cardinal Ruffo, with an English fleet under Nelson, and Ferdinand IV of Bourbon returned to his throne.[184,183] Among the republicans executed were the jurist Mario Pagano, the physician Domenico Cirillo, the writer Eleonora Pimentel Fonseca and the naval commander Francesco Caracciolo.[183]

Pasundan, State of (Negara Pasundan, 1947 to 1950)

Negara Pasundan was a state in West Java created within the federal design of the Dutch Lieutenant Governor General Hubertus van Mook. According to Petrik Matanasi, writing in Tirto, Soeria Kartalegawa proclaimed a Negara Pasundan at Bandung on 4 April 1947 with Van Mook present, but the project drew little support and remained theoretical until the Renville agreement forced Republican forces out of West Java.[185] On 24 April 1948 R.A.A. Wiranatakusumah V, who had at first opposed the idea, was installed as head of the state, the wali negara. The first prime minister was R. Adil Puradiredja, and Matanasi reports that the cabinet was led by pro-Republican figures.[185] Ruben Barink records that Adil Puradiredja and Anak Agung Gde Agung, prime minister of East Indonesia, assembled the Federal Consultative Assembly (BFO) in 1948, after the Bandung Conference held by Van Mook from 8 to 15 July of that year.[186]

In the first months of 1950 the coup attempt of the former Dutch officer Raymond Westerling and his Angkatan Perang Ratu Adil made the state a scapegoat. Wiranatakusumah V resigned on 30 January 1950, demonstrations on 8 March 1950 demanded its dissolution, and it ended on 11 March 1950.[185] Barink's thesis observes that within months the federal structure of which Pasundan was a part was aborted, making way for a unitary Indonesian nation.[186]

Philippines, Second Republic of

The Second Philippine Republic was inaugurated on 14 October 1943 under Japanese sponsorship, with Jose P. Laurel as president and Benigno S. Aquino as speaker of the National Assembly. A commission had been set up to prepare for independence, and a constitution was drafted.[187] Japan kept tight control, and the republic had embassies with Japan.[187] By Proclamation No. 30 of 22 September 1944, issued at Manila, Laurel declared that a state of war existed between the Republic of the Philippines and the United States of America and Great Britain from 10.00 a.m. on 23 September, citing American and British air attacks and the Pact of Alliance with Japan.[188] A study of the republic's external relations describes the 1943 pact with Japan as defensive in character.[189]

The republic became irrelevant once American forces landed on Leyte in October 1944 and was dissolved on 17 August 1945. After the war the conduct of its officials was debated as collaboration or as the protection of Filipinos, and most were exonerated.[187]

Piedmont, Republican Provisional Government and French Occupation of (1798 to 1802)

On 8 December 1798 King Charles Emmanuel IV was compelled to sign an act ceding all authority over Piedmont to the French.[190] On 12 December a provisional government of fifteen moderate members was constituted at Turin, and on 19 December ten further members, most of them democrats and among them Guglielmo Cerise and Carlo Botta, were added.[190] General Joubert occupied Turin in December 1798.[190] The Republican Provisional Government lasted until 2 April 1799, and the French commissariat until 28 May 1799.[190]

With the Austro-Russian occupation a provisional royal government under the Marquis Thaon de Revel de Saint-Andrea was re-established at Turin. It worsened the economic and social position, quarrelled with the Austrian military administration, and had lost control to peasant risings by May 1800, before French forces returned after Marengo.[191] General Dupont was then ordered to set up a provisional Piedmontese government made up of a Commissione Governativa and a Consulta. After disputes with the government in Paris he was replaced in August 1800 by Jean Baptiste Jourdan, who on 4 October 1800 dissolved the Commissione and created a new commission of seven members.[192] The Treaty of Lunéville of 9 February 1801 made no mention of Piedmont. By a decree of 19 April 1801 its territory was placed under Jourdan as administrator general, organised as the 27th Military Division, and a senatus consultum of 11 September 1802 annexed it to France.[192] The legal histories consulted describe commissions and a military division for these years, and not a proclaimed republic.[192]

Poland, Soviet Socialist Republic of (Polrewkom)

The Provisional Polish Revolutionary Committee, known by its Russian-derived acronym Polrewkom, was the prospective government of a Soviet Poland during the Polish-Soviet War of 1919 to 1921. Its parent body, the Polish Bureau (Biuro Polskie), was created on 18 July 1920 and followed the advancing Red Army, reaching Białystok, the first large city west of the Curzon Line, at the turn of July and August.[193] Julian Marchlewski chaired the committee, and its manifesto was also signed by Feliks Dzierżyński (Felix Dzerzhinsky), Feliks Kon, Edward Próchniak and Józef Unszlicht.[193]

The manifesto called for a Polish Socialist Soviet Republic, the nationalisation of factories and large estates, and a federal union with Soviet Russia. A citizens' militia and people's courts, whose verdicts could not be appealed, were set up in the first days of August.[193] At its height the committee controlled Podlasie and parts of Mazovia, although Soviet authorities gave its decisions little weight.[193] It operated for 22 days at Białystok, and most of the communists involved left with the Soviet forces when the Red Army retreated.[193]

Ralik Islands, Kingdom of the

The Kingdom of the Ralik Islands was a title that rested on German recognition of the Marshallese chief Kabua. Kabua had risen to the paramount chieftainship of the Ralik Chain after the death of his uncle Kaibuke in 1863, by marrying Kaibuke's widow rather than allowing the succession to pass to his cousin Loiak. For the following decades he competed with Loiak for influence through relations with foreign missionaries and German copra traders, and the rivalry came close to open conflict at Ebon in September 1876.[194]

The German warship SMS Ariadne arrived at Jaluit on 26 November 1878 to negotiate a treaty. Its captain, Bartholomäus von Werner, staged a bayonet charge, a rapid-fire demonstration and an artillery display before the assembled chiefs, and on 29 November Kabua and his rivals signed an agreement granting Germany most-favoured-nation status and harbour rights at Jaluit. German officials took the occasion to recognise Kabua as King of the Ralik Islands, placing him above Loiak.[195] A protection treaty signed at Jaluit on 15 October 1885 treated Kabua and four other chiefs as equals in its Marshallese text, but its German text recognised Kabua alone as King of the Marshall Islands, so that his title rested on German recognition and not on any Marshallese constitutional basis.[195] In 1907, after Loiak's death, German authorities overruled their own earlier rulings on succession and land and threatened Kabua with exile to secure his compliance.[195]

Rauracian Republic

The Rauracian Republic was a sister republic of France, proclaimed on 17 December 1792 in the northern part of the prince-bishopric of Basel. The prince-bishop, François Joseph Sigismond de Roggenbach, had fled on 27 April 1792. On 27 November 1792 a group known as the Vingt-Quatre, composed of 23 former deputies of the Estates and Joseph-Antoine Rengger, proclaimed itself a national assembly, and General Biron, commander of the Army of the Rhine, then called elections to republican institutions.[196]

Three assemblies followed. The first, from 17 December 1792 to 8 January 1793, was dominated by Odon Nicolas Demars, Jean-Baptiste Joseph Gobel and Rengger; the French foreign minister declared it illegal, and plans for a constitution were abandoned. The second, from 8 January to 16 February 1793, was marked by disputes over the admission of deputies from the communes and was dissolved by General Desprez-Crassier. The third, which met from 7 March 1793, promised a territory with its own administration and respect for Catholic worship, and by a rigged ballot approved annexation, recorded as the "vœu librement émis par le peuple souverain du pays de Porrentruy".[196] On 23 March 1793 the territory was united with France as the department of Mont-Terrible, which was dissolved by the law of 17 February 1800 and its cantons attached to the Haut-Rhin.[196,197]

Rhineland, Republic of the (Rhenish Republic)

The Rhenish Republic was the product of a series of separatist attempts, led by the jurist Hans Adam Dorten, to detach the French-occupied Rhineland from Germany after the First World War. Dorten, who had been a judge at Waldbröl from 1912, proclaimed a Rhenish Republic at Wiesbaden on 1 June 1919. The attempt collapsed within about a week, when it lost French backing, and neither the city administration nor the citizens supported it.[198,199]

During the Ruhr crisis of 1923 the separatist movement, led by Dorten and Josef Friedrich Matthes, regained strength. On 21 October 1923 separatists proclaimed an independent Rhenish Republic at Aachen, and in the following days they occupied public buildings at Koblenz, Bonn, Wiesbaden and Mainz.[200] The separatists raised a green, white and red flag and proclaimed the Republic of the Rhineland; French occupation troops and paramilitary Rhineland protection forces supported them, and a cabinet was formed with Matthes as minister president.[198] According to the Neue Deutsche Biographie a provisional government was declared at Koblenz on 25 October 1923, in which Dorten was plenipotentiary for foreign affairs and for the south.[199] Dorten also set up a government for the southern Rhineland at Bad Ems.[198]

On 16 November 1923 citizens' militias defeated the separatists in the battle at Aegidienberg.[200] France ended its support later in 1923, under British pressure. Matthes resigned on 27 November, and Dorten fled to France on 31 December 1923; the movement disintegrated in the following months.[198] Dorten became a French citizen and lived at Nice until his death in 1963.[199]

Roman Republic (1798)

The Roman Republic was proclaimed on 15 February 1798 from the Capitoline Hill by General Louis-Alexandre Berthier, five days after the French army had occupied Rome on 10 February.[201,202] According to Manuela Militi, the Directory had ordered Berthier to take Rome and establish a republic after the killing of General Duphot.[202] Pope Pius VI was seized on 20 February, taken to France, and died soon afterwards at Valence.[201]

Naples declared war after Nelson reached Naples in September 1798, and the Neapolitan army crossed the border on 23 November; the French withdrew from Rome, leaving a garrison in the Castel Sant'Angelo.[202] Ferdinand IV of Naples entered the city on 29 November, and in December French troops drove the Neapolitans out again.[201] The republic came to an end in 1799, in the course of the War of the Second Coalition.

Second Mexican Empire

Archduke Maximilian of Austria accepted the Mexican crown on 10 April 1864 and ratified the Convention of Miramar, and he and his wife Charlotte arrived in Mexico City on 12 June 1864.[203] The empire rested on Conservative factions and on French arms, while the government of Benito Juárez continued to claim authority and to represent republican resistance. In a letter of 21 August 1866 Napoleon III told Maximilian: "Il m'est désormais impossible de donner au Mexique un écu ou un homme de plus."[203] French troops evacuated Mexico City towards Veracruz on 5 February 1867, and Maximilian shut himself in Querétaro on 19 February with the forces that remained to him. He surrendered to General Escobedo on 15 May 1867 and was executed on 19 June 1867 together with Generals Miramón and Mejía.[203]

Serbia, Government of National Salvation (Nedić Regime, 1941 to 1944)

German forces occupied Serbia in 1941 and governed it through a military commander. According to the Historical Archives of Belgrade, Reinhard Heydrich and the military commanders looked for a way to set up a collaborationist government, and Helmut Förster, Harald Turner and the economic plenipotentiary Franz Neuhausen decided to establish a Commissary Government under Milan Aćimović, set up by Förster's order of 1 May 1941.[204] Because it had not pacified the country, it was replaced on 29 August 1941 by a Government of National Salvation, with the retired general Milan Nedić as president of the Ministerial Council.[204]

The Nedić regime ran a Commissariat for Refugees, which housed and fed more than 200,000 Serbs expelled from other occupied Yugoslav territories, and from July 1942 the police officer Strahinja Janjić recruited men for a special police.[204] Nedić took the interior portfolio himself on 1 October 1943. On 3 September 1944 the German military command in the south-east took over all functions of the Serbian government, and on 1 October 1944 many officials of the Belgrade city administration and the special police left for Germany by way of Hungary.[204]

Slovak Republic (1939)

The Slovak Republic was proclaimed on 14 March 1939 under German pressure. On 13 March Jozef Tiso met Adolf Hitler in Berlin, where he was told that Hungarian troops were massing on the border and that occupation of Slovakia by neighbouring states was possible. Tiso refused to declare statehood on his own authority and insisted that the Slovak Diet do so; on 14 March, after his report on the Berlin talks, the Diet's vote for an independent state was unanimous.[205] Act No. 1/1939 stated: "The Slovak nation declares itself an independent Slovak state", and it served as a provisional constitution.[205] A Protection Agreement with Germany of 18 and 23 March 1939 made Slovakia subordinate to German interests in foreign policy, the army and the economy.[205]

Slovakia was independent in name but dependent on Germany. It joined the Tripartite Pact in November 1940 and took part in the invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941.[206] Whatever its dependence, the state won wide recognition: according to Marián Manák, 27 states recognised it by the end of the war, among them the Holy See, Switzerland and Spain in its first months, the United Kingdom on 4 May 1939, and the Soviet Union, with which diplomatic relations began in mid-September 1939.[207] It was the first Axis partner to agree to deport its Jews: between March and October 1942 Slovak gendarmes and paramilitary groups assembled about 57,000 Jews and handed them to the German SS and police, and the Germans killed the great majority of them in occupied Poland.[206] In autumn 1942 the president refused to deport the remaining 24,000.[206] On 29 August 1944 Slovak resistance groups rose against the regime, and German troops entered the country.[206] The Slovak government, which had withdrawn to Austria, capitulated at Kremsmünster on 8 May 1945, and the state ended with the restoration of Czechoslovakia.[207] Tiso was tried by the Slovak National Court from December 1946 to April 1947, convicted of treason and collaboration, and executed.[208]

South African Homelands (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei)

The Bantustans, or homelands, were territories set aside by the South African government under its apartheid policy for the African population. Four were declared independent by Pretoria: Transkei in 1976, Bophuthatswana in 1977, Venda in 1979 and Ciskei in 1981, a policy that stripped their inhabitants of South African citizenship.[209] No state other than South Africa recognised any of them. In a note of 15 December 1981 on the declaration of Ciskei's independence, the President of the Security Council recorded that the Council declared the declaration invalid, did not recognise any of the so-called independent homelands, and asked governments not to recognise them in any form.[210]

Lucas Mangope ruled Bophuthatswana from 1977 until March 1994.[209] In Ciskei, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo led the government from 1990.[211] KwaZulu, led by Mangosuthu Buthelezi, received self-government in 1977 and did not take independence.[212] All the homelands were reincorporated into South Africa on 27 April 1994.

Ukrainian State (Hetmanate of Pavlo Skoropadsky, 1918)

The Ukrainian State, also called the Hetmanate, was proclaimed on 29 April 1918 through the Manifesto to the Entire Ukrainian Nation and the Laws on the Provisional State System of Ukraine.[213] It was formed by a coup against the socialist-leaning Central Rada and the Ukrainian National Republic, led by Pavlo Skoropadsky. A review in a peer-reviewed journal summarises recent scholarship as concluding that the coup was initiated and organised by the German military political leadership, with the support of Ukrainian conservatives,[214] and Grzegorz Skrukwa describes the German and Austro-Hungarian presence as resembling a de facto occupation.[215] General Wilhelm Groener, chief of staff of the German Supreme Army Command in Ukraine, is named as a key supporter.[213]

The state claimed northern, central, eastern and southern Ukraine, excluding part of the Donets Basin, southern Bessarabia and Crimea, together with Starodub, Belgorod, parts of the Kursk and Voronezh regions, the districts around Homel and Brest, Podlachia, the Kholm region and parts of Transnistria; German and Austrian armies backed these claims.[213] Its capital was Kyiv. After an anti-Skoropadsky uprising and the withdrawal of German troops, Skoropadsky abdicated on 14 December 1918, the Directory replaced the Hetman government and the Ukrainian National Republic was restored.[213]

Valais, Republic of (Rhodanic Republic)

Valais was declared independent under a treaty signed at Sion and Bex on 28 August 1802, a status that Alain-Jacques Czouz-Tornare describes as having the appearance of a protectorate. France pledged to defend the Alpine passes.[216] Napoleon had begun a road linking Paris and Milan across the Simplon, which opened in theory in 1806; by 1807 travellers could go from Geneva to Milan without dismantling their carriages.[216]

The decree of 12 November 1810 declared that "Le Valais est réuni à l'Empire", a union confirmed by a senatus-consulte of 13 December 1810, and the territory became the French department of the Simplon, with its prefecture at Sion, an area of about 5,226 square kilometres and some 126,000 inhabitants. Its first prefect was Claude-Joseph-Parfait Derville-Maléchard.[216] French forces left in late 1813, and the Treaty of Paris separated Valais from France in 1814. On 12 May 1815 the Diet adopted a new constitution that made Valais a Swiss canton.[216]

Vichy France (French State, 1940 to 1944)

France signed an armistice with Germany at Compiègne on 22 June 1940, General Charles Huntziger signing for France and Colonel General Wilhelm Keitel for Germany; the text placed the northern and western part of the country under German occupation, bound the French government to support with every means the regulations resulting from Germany's exercise of occupying-power rights, obliged France to bear the costs of the occupation troops, and permitted Germany to demand the surrender of Germans named by its government.[217] Pétain's government moved to Vichy in the unoccupied zone, and on 10 July 1940 the National Assembly, meeting there, voted full powers to Marshal Pétain, which ended the Third Republic.[218] Constitutional Act No. 1 of 11 July 1940 stated: "déclarons assumer les fonctions de chef de l'Etat français".[219]

The regime's classification as a client state depends on its relation to German power and not on German creation, since the French State arose from a domestic constitutional vote that took place under the armistice's constraints. Pierre Laval became the principal architect of collaboration, which began at Montoire in October 1940; Admiral Darlan led the government for a time; and Germany occupied the southern zone in November 1942, after which the regime introduced compulsory labour service in February 1943. The ordinance of 9 August 1944 provided that the form of government of France "est et demeure la République", declared void the constitutional, legislative and regulatory acts issued on the mainland after 16 June 1940, and referred to the Vichy authority as an "autorité de fait".[218] The Conseil d'Etat held in Hoffman-Glemane on 16 February 2009 that Article 3 of the ordinance could not create "un régime d'irresponsabilité de la puissance publique", and that the State was liable for arrests, internments and convoys to transit camps that facilitated deportation without resulting from direct coercion by the occupier.[220] Whether the French State was a continuation of the Republic, a creation of the occupier or a separate de facto authority remained a matter of judicial and historical debate decades after its end.

Vietnam, Empire of

The Empire of Vietnam came into being after the Japanese coup of 9 March 1945 ended French colonial rule in Indochina. According to Vu Ngu Chieu, the coup gave Vietnam its first government described as independent, led by the historian Tran Trong Kim and made up of technicians and professionals.[221] Despite that composition, the government carried out a partial revolution from above by Vietnamising most French-imposed institutions, and it restored the territorial unity of Vietnam.[221]

Japanese authority remained decisive. After the coup the Japanese took direct military control and governed through local regimes, among them the Tran Trong Kim cabinet under Emperor Bao Dai.[222] The famine of 1944 and 1945, for which estimates range from 600,000 or 700,000 deaths (French figures) to one or two million (Vietnamese official figures), coincided with the empire's existence. Geoffrey Gunn agrees with Bui Minh Dung that Japanese policy, and in particular the requisition of rice in pursuit of military and economic aims, was the largest contributor to it.[222] Vu Ngu Chieu concludes that Ho Chi Minh reaped the political gains of the empire's work in August 1945.[221]

Wang Jingwei Regime (Reorganized National Government of China)

The Reorganized National Government of the Republic of China, known as the Wang Jingwei regime after its president, the former Kuomintang leader Wang Jingwei, was launched at Nanjing on 30 March 1940 under Japanese sponsorship. It presented its move to Nanjing as a return of the Republican state to its capital and claimed to be the legitimate heir to the Republic founded after 1911 and not a new state.[223] It absorbed the Provisional Government of the Republic of China at Beiping and the Reformed Government of the Republic of China at Nanjing, which Japan had set up in occupied northern and central China in 1937 and 1938.

According to Jeremy Taylor the regime existed at the mercy of Japan, which controlled its finances and placed advisers in key ministries, while the China Expeditionary Army acted as its protector; its authority was limited, and it had to follow Japanese policy even when that was humiliating.[223] Tokyo did not recognise it until the Treaty concerning Basic Relations of November 1940, and Italy and Germany did so in 1941.[223] The regime declared war on the Allies in January 1943 and its territory remained fragmented.[223] Wang died in November 1944, and the regime ended with Japan's surrender in August 1945. Many of its officials were afterwards tried for treason by the restored Nationalist government, and some were executed.

Notes to Part V

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Part VI

Internationally Administered Zones and Free Cities

This part treats territories placed under the administration of several powers or of an international body, and cities and territories whose special status was negotiated in a treaty. Their self-government was granted or imposed from above instead of seized from below, which distinguishes them from the unilateral secessions of Parts I to IV; they belong in the compendium because the constitutional settlements that created them were contested, unstable and often short-lived.

Section VI.1

Internationally Administered Zones

Entries in this section chronicle territories placed under the direct or supervisory administration of an international body, most commonly the League of Nations or a coalition of allied powers, rather than governed as either an ordinary sovereign state or a private company's or individual's possession. Each case combines a genuine, if frequently qualified or short-lived, degree of self-governing machinery, a constitution, a legislature, a local currency, with an overriding external authority answerable not to the local population but to the great powers or international body that established the arrangement in the first instance.

Crete, Autonomous State of

The Cretan State was established in December 1898 as an autonomous territory under the suzerainty of the Ottoman Sultan and the supervision of the Great Powers. In the summer of 1897 the Powers had drafted a plan for an autonomous Crete with a governor; Russia and France proposed Prince George of Greece for the post, Britain and Italy supported him, and Germany and Austria-Hungary opposed him.[1] The state came into being in December 1898, when Prince George landed at Souda as High Commissioner.[2] Elektra Kostopoulou has analysed the polity as an arrangement with federal features, shaped by region and religion, in which the Great Powers, Greece and the Ottoman Empire each had a part.[3]

Prince George's authoritarian rule led Eleftherios Venizelos to break with him. In March 1905 Venizelos organised an armed movement at Theriso, which proclaimed union with Greece at once. After about eight months the movement ended in a compromise: union was not achieved, but Prince George was forced to resign and leave the island, and Alexander Zaimis became High Commissioner in 1906.[4] In 1908, after foreign troops began to withdraw in July, the Cretan parliament declared union with Greece; the Greek government did not recognise the declaration, in order to avoid reactions from Turkey and the European powers.[2] Union was completed on 1 December 1913, when the Greek flag was raised at the Firka fortress, following the Treaty of London and a Greek-Turkish treaty in which the Sultan renounced his rights over Crete.[2]

Danzig, Free City of

The Free City of Danzig was created by the Treaty of Versailles of 28 June 1919, in which Germany renounced its rights over a defined territory around the port, bounded by the Baltic Sea, East Prussia and the Vistula (Article 100). The territory was to become a Free City under the protection of the League of Nations (Article 102). Its constitution was to be drafted by its representatives in agreement with a High Commissioner appointed by the League, and guaranteed by the League; the High Commissioner was to reside in Danzig and to deal in the first instance with disputes between Poland and the Free City (Article 103).[5]

A treaty between Poland and the Free City was to bring Danzig within the Polish customs frontier, with a free-port area, to give Poland the use of the port's waterways and facilities and control of the Vistula, most railways and the telecommunications between Poland and the port, and to charge Poland with the conduct of the Free City's foreign relations and the protection of its citizens abroad (Article 104). German nationals resident in the territory became Danzig nationals (Article 105).[5]

Germany annexed the Free City on 1 September 1939, the day of its invasion of Poland. After the Second World War the city, renamed Gdańsk, came under Polish rule.

Hatay, State of

The State of Hatay was formed from the Sanjak of Alexandretta, a district of the French mandate of Syria with a mixed population, which Turkey claimed from 1936. On 27 January 1937 the Council of the League of Nations approved an agreement under which Alexandretta and Antioch were to be independent in internal affairs and tied to Syria in foreign affairs, with their own constitution and with Turkish as the official language.[6] Elections held on 13 August 1938 returned an assembly of forty members: twenty-two Turkish, nine Alevi, five Armenian, two Arab and two Greek Orthodox.[7] The assembly met on 2 September 1938 and proclaimed the Hatay State. Over the following year it worked with Turkey in adopting laws and reforms that reduced Syrian and French influence.[7]

A Turkish-French treaty of 23 June 1939 provided for the return of Hatay to Turkey, and on 29 June 1939 the assembly passed a unanimous vote to join Turkey and dissolved.[6,7] Italy protested to France on 10 July 1939, arguing that the treaty violated the San Remo decision of 1920 and lacked Italian consent, and that it went against the wishes of the local population; Ankara and Paris gave the protest little weight.[6]

Ionian Islands, United States of the (British Protectorate, 1815 to 1864)

The United States of the Ionian Islands was constituted by a treaty concluded at Paris on 5 November 1815 between the United Kingdom, Austria, Russia and Prussia, which placed Corfu, Cephalonia, Zakynthos, Lefkada, Ithaca, Kythira and Paxoi under British protection. The treaty came into force in early 1816, on the exchange of ratifications in London.[8] Its preamble states the purpose of securing the independence, liberty and happiness of the inhabitants of the islands, and speaks of placing them and their constitution under the immediate protection of one of the Great Powers of Europe.[9]

A treaty signed in London on 29 March 1864 by the United Kingdom, France, Russia and Greece provided for the union of the islands with the Kingdom of Greece and ended the protectorate.[10] The Lord High Commissioner's proclamation of 28 May 1864 fixed the transfer for 2 June 1864.[8]

Moresnet, Neutral

Neutral Moresnet was a small territory of about 344 hectares on the border of Prussia and the Netherlands, created by the Aachen boundary treaty of 26 June 1816 to settle a dispute between the two states over the zinc-ore mining at the Altenberg, later worked by the Vieille Montagne company. The treaty divided the area into three parts: one went to Prussia, one to the Netherlands, and the central part was left under joint administration.[11] When Belgium became independent in 1830 it took over the Dutch claim, and the joint system continued unchanged.[11] Prussia and Belgium each appointed a commissioner, and together they formed the supreme authority; the inhabitants elected a mayor and council.[11]

The population grew from 256 in 1815 to 4,668 in 1914, through the labour needs of the mining company, and residents were considered stateless.[12] They were exempt from military service and paid low taxes, although German citizens living there became liable to service from 1875.[11] Article 32 of the Treaty of Versailles of 28 June 1919 required Germany to renounce its claims to Neutral Moresnet in favour of Belgium, and from 10 January 1920 the territory became part of the municipality of Kelmis (La Calamine).[11,12]

Septinsular Republic

The Septinsular Republic, or Republic of the Seven United Islands, was established by the Treaty of Constantinople of 21 March 1800 on the Ionian Islands, which had been under French rule until 1799. It followed a Russo-Ottoman alliance of January 1799 and the occupation of the islands by a joint Russian and Ottoman fleet.[13] Its creation rested on a temporary alliance between Russia and the Ottoman Empire, to which Britain consented, and it was meant as a bulwark against Napoleon's expansion in the eastern Mediterranean; Russian influence soon became dominant.[14]

The islands were under the Sultan's territorial control. The first constitution, approved in Istanbul, provided for a federal structure, a Senate and a Higher Council, and restored noble privileges and titles.[13] In 1807 the republic came under French control, which led to a British operation to take the islands.[13] The state lasted from 1800 to 1807.[14]

Tangier, International Zone of

The International Zone of Tangier was an enclave in northern Morocco placed under international administration by the Convention regarding the Organisation of the Statute of the Tangier Zone, signed at Paris on 18 December 1923 by France, the United Kingdom and Spain and revised by the agreement of 25 July 1928, in which Italy took part.[15,16] The Zone was not a claimant to independence of its own and did not form a separate state. Under Article 1 of the Statute, public order and general administration were entrusted to bodies acting under powers delegated by the Sultan of Morocco, and a dahir of 1924 gave effect to that delegation.[15,17] Its inclusion here rests on its status as a self-governing international territory with its own legislature and administration.

The Statute created four principal organs. The Mendoub represented the Sultan at Tangier, promulgated legislation, administered the native population in person and presided over the International Legislative Assembly without a vote (Article 29). The Assembly, whose seats were divided among the foreign powers and the Moroccan Muslim and Jewish communities, was set out in Articles 32 to 34. A Committee of Control, composed of career consuls of the powers that had signed the Act of Algeciras, held a presidency that rotated each year, supervised the regime of economic equality and could veto enactments within fifteen days (Articles 30 and 31). An Administrator carried out the Assembly's decisions and directed the international administration (Article 35).[15] Article 3 established a regime of "permanent neutrality" and barred military establishments, operational bases and stocks of munitions, with limited exceptions for local defence.[15] A British aide-memoire of 1945 described the Zone under the old regime as demilitarised.[18]

On 14 June 1940, during the Second World War, Spain took over the administration of the Zone.[19] An Anglo-French agreement signed at Paris on 31 August 1945 re-established the international administration: from 11 October 1945 the Zone was to be administered on a provisional basis under the 1923 Convention as modified, Spain was to hand administration and archives to the Committee of Control, and a conference was to prepare a revised statute. The agreement also invited the United States and the Soviet Union to take part, ended the provisions of the 1928 agreement that gave Italy a role, and was ratified by an exchange of instruments on 7 January 1946.[16]

The regime was abolished by the Final Declaration of the International Conference of Tangier, signed on 29 October 1956 by Belgium, Spain, the United States, France, Italy, Morocco, the Netherlands, Portugal and the United Kingdom. The Declaration abrogated the acts and conventions concerning the international regime and restored to the Sultan the full powers over the area, and a protocol ended the delegation of 1924 and transferred the Administration's property and obligations to Morocco.[17]

Trieste, Free Territory of

The Free Territory of Trieste was provided for in the Treaty of Peace with Italy, but its provisions could not be implemented. From the end of the war the United States and the United Kingdom, and Yugoslavia, maintained military occupation and government in two zones of the Territory: Zone A, with the city of Trieste, under Anglo-American administration, and Zone B under Yugoslav administration.[20]

A Memorandum of Understanding initialled in London on 5 October 1954 by the United States, the United Kingdom, Italy and Yugoslavia provided for the termination of military government in both zones. The United States and the United Kingdom were to withdraw their forces from the area north of a new boundary and hand its administration to Italy, while Italy and Yugoslavia were each to extend their civil administration over the areas for which they were to be responsible, within a boundary to be fixed by a commission.[20] The memorandum was communicated to the Security Council of the United Nations on the day it was signed.[21] It entered into force on 5 October 1954.[22] The Treaty of Osimo of 1975 later confirmed the division as the frontier between Italy and Yugoslavia.

Section VI.2

Free Cities and Negotiated Special-Status Territories

Entries in this section chronicle individual cities and small territories granted a distinct, internationally recognised or guaranteed constitutional status short of full ordinary statehood, whether as a neutral buffer between competing great powers, a historic urban republic restored by post-war settlement, or an occupied capital's enclave preserved by continuing four-power agreement. Unlike the supervised zones of Section 1, several entries in this section trace a continuous institutional lineage stretching back to the medieval period, and one, remarkably, persists in modified form within a national constitution to the present day.

Andorra, Co-Principality of

Andorra is governed by two co-princes, the Bishop of Urgell and the President of the French Republic, an arrangement that goes back to the paréages of 1278 and 1288, which settled the rival claims of the Bishop of Urgell and the Counts of Foix to the Pyrenean valleys by establishing a shared lordship.[23]

The Constitution of 1993 makes the two co-princes jointly and indivisibly the head of state (Article 43.1), who hold the office in their personal and exclusive right (Article 43.2); Article 44.1 calls them the symbol and guarantee of Andorra's permanence and independence. Their powers include calling general elections, appointing the head of the government and dissolving the General Council.[23]

Fiume, Free State of

The Free State of Fiume was a city-state created by the Treaty of Rapallo, signed on 12 November 1920 by Italy and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. In Article 4 the two governments undertook to respect in perpetuity the independence and liberty of the State of Fiume.[24] The treaty followed the seizure of the city in 1919 by the poet Gabriele D'Annunzio, who ruled it as the Italian Regency of Carnaro until regular Italian forces expelled his legionaries in the last week of December 1920.[25]

Elections to a Constituent Assembly were held on 24 April 1921, and the Assembly was due to convene on 5 October 1921.[26] The Free State did not survive. By an Agreement concerning Fiume signed in Rome on 27 January 1924, the city passed to Italy, while Porto Baross, part of Sussak and the Eneo river went to the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.[27]

Flaschenhals, Freistaat (Free State of the Bottleneck)

After the Armistice of 11 November 1918 the Allied bridgeheads of Koblenz and Mainz left an unoccupied strip of territory between them, which remained part of Prussia and the German Reich. Its residents styled it the Freistaat Flaschenhals, or Free State of the Bottleneck.[28] At its narrowest point the strip was about 800 metres wide, and about 17,000 people lived there.[28] The mayor of Lorch, Edmund Pnischeck, sent a telegram to the German delegation at Spa asking that the area remain part of free Germany; he was later elected spokesman for the communities of the Flaschenhals.[28]

On 3 January 1919 the Oberpräsidium in Kassel appointed the Landrat of Limburg as acting district administrator for the area. Cut off from ordinary trade, the inhabitants smuggled livestock, meat, flour, grain and wine across the occupation lines, without punishment, since the area had no courts or judges.[28] The administrative structures of the Flaschenhals were dissolved on 1 July 1920; the formal end of the occupation of the Reich on 30 June 1930 removed the territory from the maps.[28]

Hanseatic Free Cities (1813 to 1871)

In 1776 Hamburg, Bremen and Lübeck were independent city-states within the Holy Roman Empire. After Napoleon ended the Empire in 1806, he annexed the three cities to the First French Empire in 1811. They regained their independence in 1813, although the French garrison did not leave Hamburg until 27 May 1814, and the Congress of Vienna in 1815 reaffirmed it.[29,30]

Following the Austro-Prussian War of 1866 the three cities joined the North German Confederation, under the King of Prussia as head of the union, and their diplomatic relations with the United States ended in 1868. In 1871 they entered the German Empire, proclaimed on 18 January of that year, whose foreign policy was made in Berlin.[29] Lübeck lost its statehood on 1 April 1937, when under the Greater Hamburg Act of 26 January 1937 the Land Lübeck passed to Prussia.[31] Hamburg and Bremen remain constituent states of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Kraków, Free City of

The Free City of Kraków was created by the Final Act of the Congress of Vienna, signed on 9 June 1815, which declared the city a free, independent and strictly neutral city under the protection of Russia, Austria and Prussia, whose three powers held supervisory rights over it.[32] After the failed Polish uprising of 1830 and 1831 the city became a refuge for Polish émigrés. On 14 October 1835 the three powers signed a secret agreement at Berlin to close the city's market so that it would seek admission to the Austrian customs zone, and to prevent it from entering diplomatic relations with other states. The city was occupied in February 1836 and placed under Austrian political and economic guardianship. Austrian units withdrew in February 1841, and from that year no representative body sat in Kraków.[32]

An uprising began in Kraków on 20 February 1846 under Edward Dembowski and Jan Tyssowski; Austrian forces withdrew, and Tyssowski declared himself dictator. Austria counter-attacked from 26 February, and on 3 March 1846 Russian and Austrian troops occupied the city. The three powers adopted the Berlin resolutions of 15 April 1846, which provided for the incorporation of the city into Austria. Austria announced the annexation on 6 November 1846, effective 16 November, and Britain and France sent formal protests to the eastern courts.[32] Kraków entered the Austrian customs zone on 1 February 1847, ending its duty-free status.[32]

Miskito Kingdom (Mosquito Coast)

The Miskito Kingdom was a polity of the Caribbean coast of Central America under British protection. According to the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, Britain created the kingdom under its protection in 1687, when the Governor of Jamaica approved the appointment of Oldman as king.[33] In 1847 Britain notified the Central American republics that the Miskito coast extended from Cape Honduras to the southern bank of the San Juan River and that the kingdom should be recognised as an independent nation under British protection.[33]

By the Treaty of Managua of 1860 Britain recognised Nicaraguan supremacy over the Atlantic region and agreed that its protectorate would end on exchange of ratifications, while the Miskito kept their self-government under their own customs. Nicaragua re-enacted the Miskito Reserve by a decree of 12 February 1894 issued by General Rigoberto Cabezas, Inspector General of the Atlantic coast, and on 20 November 1894 the inhabitants of the Reserve accepted Nicaraguan authority, keeping some privileges under the Miskito Convention. According to the Commission, the monarchy ended in 1894. The Altamirano-Harrison Treaty of 19 April 1905 annulled the Treaty of Managua, and Britain recognised Nicaragua's full authority over the former Reserve.[33]

Orania

Orania is a private Afrikaner settlement in the Northern Cape, South Africa, on the site of Vluytjeskraal, a township developed by the Department of Water Affairs from 1963. The Afrikaner Vryheidstigting (Avstig), founded on 21 March 1988, bought the land from the department in 1991 under the leadership of Carel Boshoff, and registered it in a share block scheme within which properties are sold.[34] The share-block structure keeps the town private property.[35]

The Orania Transitional Representative Council was due to merge into a new municipality in 1999 and 2000. Because the provincial government failed to publish the notice in due form, the Council and the Orania residents' association filed a court application on 16 November 2000, and a settlement with the government allowed the Council to keep its independent status while the case was pending.[34] In 2016 Orania lay within the Thembelihle Local Municipality, which, according to the Mail & Guardian, provided it with no services.[35] In that year the town elected a twelve-member Representative Council, eleven of them by residents and one by non-resident shareholders.[35] The population was 2,377 at the end of 2021, and an estimate puts it at about 2,875 at the end of 2023.[34]

Saarland

From 1947 the Saar was joined to France in a customs, economic and monetary union, with limited autonomy under a constitution that placed it in the status of a French protectorate; the French High Commissioner, Gilbert Grandval, retained authority.[36,37] The Paris Agreements of 23 October 1954 proposed that the Saar become a European territory within the Western European Union.[36]

In a referendum on 23 October 1955, 67.7 per cent of Saar voters rejected that status. Prime Minister Johannes Hoffmann, who had supported autonomy and European status, resigned after the result.[36,37] The Luxembourg Agreements of 27 October 1956 provided for the political reintegration of the Saar into Germany, and on 1 January 1957 Saarland joined the Federal Republic as its tenth state.[36,37]

Samos

The Principality of Samos was an autonomous principality under the suzerainty of the Ottoman Empire from 1834 until 1912. A Greek decree of 19/31 August 1834 nominating Loukas Katinakis as vice-consul describes it as an autonomous principality under Ottoman suzerainty.[38] On 11 November 1912, during the First Balkan War, its national assembly declared union with Greece, which was confirmed after the Balkan Wars.[39]

Marinos Sariyannis of the Institute for Mediterranean Studies located the constitutional documents of the principality in Istanbul and prepared a transcription and translation. They are to appear in a forthcoming volume of the Hellenic Parliament Foundation for Parliamentarism and Democracy, a project directed by Sophia Laiou of the Ionian University.[40]

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Part VII

Colonisation, Repatriation and Dominion

This part treats two kinds of settlement in which public authority passed to a body that was not a state in the ordinary sense: the colonies founded to resettle formerly enslaved people in West Africa, and the territories held by chartered orders and by individuals and families as personal dominions. In both, a society, an order or a proprietor exercised powers of government over a territory and its people, and several of these bodies went on to found states or to lose them.

Section VII.1

Repatriation and Colonisation Settlements

Entries in this section chronicle the settlements founded in West Africa to resettle formerly enslaved and free Black Americans under the sponsorship of colonisation societies. Both grew from private philanthropy into governments with constitutions of their own, and one of them became an independent republic.

Liberia, Colony and Commonwealth of

Liberia began as a settlement of free Black emigrants sent from the United States by the American Colonization Society. The first party sailed in 1820, having signed a constitution that required an agent of the Society to administer the settlement under United States law, and the settlement was named Liberia in 1824.[1] In 1838 most of the Society's settlements, with up to 20,000 people, combined into a single organisation, and in 1839 the Society adopted the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Liberia.[1,2]

French and British traders encroached upon Liberian territory, and the Commonwealth struggled to defend its economic interests.[1] On 26 July 1847 it declared independence from the Society, and on 5 October 1847 Governor Joseph Jenkins Roberts was elected the first president of the republic.[2] Britain was the first state to recognise Liberia, signing a treaty of commerce and friendship in 1848, and the United States established diplomatic relations in 1862.[1]

Maryland-in-Africa

Maryland-in-Africa was a colony of free Black emigrants founded by the Maryland State Colonization Society at Cape Palmas, on the coast of present-day Liberia. The Society agreed in 1833 to establish the colony, and in 1834 its agents bought land there from the indigenous inhabitants.[3] The Maryland General Assembly funded the venture with $10,000 a year for twenty years, beginning with the legislative session of 1831 to 1832, and renewed the grant in 1852 for six more years.[3] The Society wrote the colony's constitution and several of its laws.[4]

According to the Maryland State Archives, the colony became independent as the Republic of Maryland on 8 June 1854, after adopting a constitution based on those of the United States and Maryland.[3] In 1856 it found itself at war with neighbouring peoples over trade policy and territory, and asked the Republic of Liberia for military aid. When peace returned, its citizens voted in 1857 to join Liberia, and it became Maryland County.[3] A United States dispatch of 1875 records that the neighbouring Grebo had been dissatisfied with the settlement throughout, and dates the annexation to April 1857.[5] The Grebo later maintained that they had never ceded the disputed land.[5]

Section VII.2

Personal and Chartered Dominions

Entries in this section gather territories governed by a chartered order, a company or a single proprietor or dynasty, among them the Knights of Saint John in the Caribbean, the Brooke rajahs of Sarawak, Leopold II in the Congo and the Scottish adventurer Gregor MacGregor, whose Principality of Poyais existed largely on paper. Each exercised or claimed public authority by grant, purchase or conquest and not through a state in the usual sense.

Independent State of the Congo (État indépendant du Congo)

The Independent State of the Congo (État indépendant du Congo), known in English as the Congo Free State, existed from 1885 to 1908 in central Africa. It grew from the International Association of the Congo, an enterprise directed by Leopold II, King of the Belgians, which presented itself as a government with a flag and administrators. The United States recognised the Association's flag as that of a friendly government on 22 April 1884, and Britain did so on 16 December 1884, during the Berlin Conference.[6] France recognised the Association's flag on 23 April 1884 in return for a right of pre-emption, Germany recognised it before the conference opened in November 1884, and Portugal did so after the conference had opened.[7,8] The General Act of 26 February 1885 guaranteed freedom of trade in the Congo basin (Article 1) and bound the signatories to watch over the preservation of the native tribes (Article 6).[9] The Belgian Chambers authorised Leopold to head the state, whose tie to Belgium was personal.[7]

The administration relied on forced labour to collect rubber and ivory.[10] In a report dated 11 December 1903 and presented to Parliament in February 1904, the British consul Roger Casement described a young man "both of whose hands had been beaten off with the butt ends of rifles against a tree" and a lad of eleven or twelve "whose right hand was cut off at the wrist".[11,12] The Congo Reform Association was founded in March 1904 with E. D. Morel as secretary, and Morel's Red Rubber appeared in November 1906.[13] The state's commission of inquiry (1904 to 1905) confirmed that atrocities had occurred but qualified Casement's account.[14,15]

The demographer Jean-Paul Sanderson told a special commission of the Belgian Chamber on 16 May 2022 that the prevailing view of demographic loss posits about 20 million inhabitants in 1885 and about 10 million around 1930, that this is hard to sustain, and that the 1885 population stood between 11.5 and 15 million; the fall, he added, does not count deaths from violence.[16]

By a treaty of 28 November 1907, with an Additional Act of 5 March 1908, the state ceded its territories to Belgium. The Chamber voted on 20 August 1908, the approving law was promulgated on 18 October 1908,[17] and the Colonial Charter of that date governed the colony.[18] Belgian authority began on 15 November 1908.[19]

Massangano

Massangano was a fortified stronghold, or aringa, on the Zambezi in what is now Mozambique, at the confluence of the Luenha and the Zambezi a few miles below Tete. It was the centre of resistance by the Cruz family, one of the powerful landowning families holding Zambezi prazos under the Portuguese crown.[20] A dispute among the prazo holders, made possible by weak colonial administration, grew into a wider struggle in which Portugal fought to preserve its rule on the Zambezi, while the prazo holders gathered displaced peoples and families around them.[20]

Portugal needed nine expeditions before it succeeded in 1888, when the aringa was destroyed; substantial remains survive and were surveyed in a 1960s archaeological expedition.[20]

Massingire

Massingire was a chieftaincy of the lower Zambezi in what is now Mozambique. The Massingire acquired an identity separate from that of the other Maganja peoples under the Vas dos Anjos, a family of Indian origin.[21] During the 1870s they fought a series of wars against the Makololo chiefs of the Shire, and Makololo raids across the Portuguese frontier threatened to draw in the Church of Scotland mission in the Shire Highlands.[21] Portugal deposed the Vas dos Anjos chief and annexed Massingire in 1882.[21]

In 1884 the Massingire rose against Portuguese rule, supported by dissident groups on the prazos of the lower Zambezi. The Portuguese held the Makololo responsible and suspected the mission of giving aid.[21] The Massingire had sought British protection on several occasions, and Newitt suggests that they may have expected their British connections to shelter them, as they were thought to shelter the Makololo.[21] The frontiers settled in 1891 divided Massingire, and the larger part passed to Portugal.[21]

Order of Saint John (Knights of Malta) and Its Caribbean Colonies

The Order of Saint John, also styled the Military Order of Malta, held the island of Malta as its own territory from 1530 until 1798. In 1651 it acquired four Caribbean islands: Saint Kitts, Saint Croix, Saint Martin and Saint Barthelemy. Grand Master Jean Paul Lascaris agreed to pay 120,000 livres for them, and the islands were bought from the French.[22] Philippe de Longvilliers de Poincy, a knight of the Order and a French governor in the Antilles, was the central orchestrator of the purchase of Saint Kitts for the Order.[22]

The venture lasted about fourteen years. In 1665 the Order sold the colonies back to France.[22] The Order itself lost Malta in 1798, when Napoleon Bonaparte's expedition took the island.

Poyais, Principality of (MacGregor's Scheme)

Poyais was a purported state on the Mosquito Coast of Central America, promoted in the 1820s by the Scottish adventurer Gregor MacGregor, who sold bonds for it on the London capital market although no such state existed.[23] MacGregor styled himself Cacique of Poyais through a grant made by the Miskitu king, George Frederic, on 29 April 1820 at the Miskitu court at Cape Gracias a Dios. The grant covered the Black River, or Poyais, district of more than 33,000 square kilometres; it did not cede the king's own authority.[23] MacGregor also presented himself as the ruler of a principality.[23]

In October 1822 the contractor John Lowe was hired, and the firm of the baronet John Perring subscribed a loan of 200,000 pounds at 6 per cent, divided into 2,000 bearer bonds of 100 pounds nominal and first sold at 80 pounds, under the title "Service of the State of Poyais".[23] More than two hundred settlers sailed in four ships between 1822 and 1823, the first reaching the Black River in winter and spring 1823.[23] Most fell ill and morale collapsed. In April 1823 a schooner sent from British Honduras evacuated the survivors.[23] The Miskitu king cancelled the grant in September 1823.[23]

MacGregor was jailed by the Parisian police in 1825 after hiring a Paris company to send settlers, and was declared innocent in 1826. He later tried, without success, to revive Poyais with new bonds. In 1838 he sailed to Venezuela, abandoned his Poyais claims and received a pension for his service in the South American revolutions. He died in 1845.[23]

Sarawak under the Brooke Dynasty

Sarawak, on the north-west coast of Borneo, was ruled from 1841 to 1946 by three successive members of the Brooke family, styled Rajah. James Brooke became the first Rajah in 1841 and ruled until his death in 1868. His nephew Charles Anthony Johnson Brooke succeeded him and ruled until his death in 1917, when Sir Charles Vyner Brooke became the third Rajah.[24]

Sarawak was occupied by Japan from 1941 to 1945.[24] In 1946 Vyner Brooke oversaw the cession of Sarawak to the British Crown. His nephew Anthony Brooke had been Rajah Muda, or heir apparent, until that date.[24]

Transylvania, Colony of

The Transylvania Company was formed by Richard Henderson, a North Carolina land speculator, who had organised the Louisa Company in 1774 with six associates and enlarged and renamed it the following year.[25] On 14 March 1775 at Sycamore Shoals, near present-day Elizabethton, the Cherokee agreed to a treaty ceding about twenty million acres between the Cumberland and Ohio rivers, together with a narrow access route to the Cumberland Gap, in exchange for trade goods that some scholars value at about ten thousand pounds.[26] Henderson wished to create a fourteenth colony in what is now Kentucky and Middle Tennessee.[26] He commissioned Daniel Boone to begin a settlement, which was soon called Boonesborough.[25]

The colonial governors of Virginia and North Carolina each issued proclamations denouncing Henderson and the company and invalidating the agreement with the Cherokee, and the Continental Congress declined to recognise Transylvania as a fourteenth colony.[25] In December 1776 Virginia annexed the Transylvania settlements and nullified the purchase, giving Henderson a compensatory grant of 200,000 acres. In 1783 North Carolina nullified his claim to the Middle Tennessee portion and likewise granted him 200,000 acres.[26]

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Part VIII

Filibusters, Self-Proclaimed Monarchs and Maritime Outlaws

The filibusters, self-proclaimed monarchs and maritime outlaws of this part acted without a state behind them, or against the state that would otherwise have claimed them. They span the American filibuster expeditions, the individuals who crowned themselves or were crowned in lands far from their origins, and the corsair communities that governed themselves at sea and on shore. Their institutions were usually thin and their duration short, but the cases supply some of the clearest examples of statehood claimed by private initiative.

Section VIII.1

Filibuster Republics

Entries in this section chronicle the republics, conspiracies and expeditions mounted by private adventurers, usually from the United States, against Spanish, Mexican, British or Central American territory. Some, such as the Republic of Texas, became states; most were suppressed within months.

Amelia Island, Republic of the Floridas and the Mexican Republic proclaimed at

Amelia Island lies off the Atlantic coast of Florida at the mouth of the St Marys River. In 1817 the Scottish soldier of fortune Gregor MacGregor, at the head of a force of adventurers, took possession of Fernandina from its Spanish defenders and proclaimed the Republic of the Floridas.[1] MacGregor left within months. The privateer Louis-Michel Aury took command at Fernandina and, according to a letter from Georgia printed among the papers sent to Congress, demanded that the flag of the Floridas be replaced by the Mexican flag and that the island be treated as a Mexican conquest.[2] In a message to Congress of 13 January 1818 President James Monroe reported that the establishment at Amelia Island had been suppressed.[3]

Spain ceded East Florida to the United States under the Onís-Adams Treaty of 1819, ratified in 1821.[4]

Burr Conspiracy, The

Aaron Burr, who had killed Alexander Hamilton in a duel in 1804, travelled through the western United States in 1805 and 1806 and gathered men and boats for a venture whose object has been disputed. Thomas Jefferson later wrote that Burr meant to separate the western states from the Union, add Mexico to them and place himself at their head, but historians have questioned Burr's western activities.[5] General James Wilkinson, Burr's associate, warned Jefferson in November 1806 of a plan to seize New Orleans, incite insurrection and invade Mexico. On 27 November 1806 Jefferson warned against "sundry persons" conspiring, without naming them, and in January 1807 he told Congress that Burr was the "prime mover" of the scheme.[5] Burr surrendered in the Mississippi Territory on 18 January 1807, escaped after a grand jury cleared him, and was retaken in Alabama about a month later.[5] He was tried for treason at Richmond, Virginia, before Chief Justice John Marshall, who required an overt act witnessed by two people. The government's evidence did not meet that standard, and Burr was acquitted on 1 September 1807.[5] He lived in Europe from 1808 to 1812, then returned to New York and practised law until his death in 1836.[5]

Caribbea

On the night of 5 July 1914 Clifford D. Sands led an attack on the main barracks at Bluefields, on Nicaragua's Atlantic coast. In a telegram relayed to the United States on 6 July, President Diaz reported that the attackers had been driven off with four wounded on the government side, that Sands had taken refuge in the American consulate, and that papers seized from the attackers included a proclamation calling for "the independence of the Coast". The Nicaraguan government believed that the attack was meant to block approval of the canal convention with the United States.[6] On 7 July Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan instructed the consul, Clare, that if investigation confirmed the report he should not shelter Sands in the consulate.[7] On 19 August the American Minister in Managua reported that Sands, who was wounded, had been held in the paying ward of a hospital since 8 July, that Diaz had decided to bring him and others connected with the plot to Managua for trial, and that his final disposition was undecided. The Minister enclosed a "Declaration of Independence" that Sands was said to have circulated on the Atlantic coast.[8]

East Florida, Republic of

The Republic of East Florida was set up in 1812 by the Patriot Army, a body of Georgia settlers who invaded Spanish East Florida in March of that year with de facto support from the United States government.[9] After the Patriots took control of Fernandina on Amelia Island, their leaders drew up a constitution that was assented to on 17 July 1812. John Houstoun McIntosh signed it first, as President. The constitution divided executive, legislative and judicial powers, with a Director as executive and a Legislative Council of fifteen members, and it stated that the government was to operate "only until the United States shall acknowledge this Territory as a part of the United States".[10] The effort failed. Spain ceded East Florida to the United States by the Adams-Onis Treaty, ratified in 1821.[11]

Fredonia, Republic of

Haden Edwards received an empresarial grant from the Mexican authorities on 14 April 1825 that allowed him to settle up to 800 families around Nacogdoches. After disputes over an election of the alcalde, the federal authorities declared the grant forfeit in 1826.[12] On 22 November 1826 Martin Parmer, John S. Roberts and Burrell J. Thompson led 36 men from Ayish Bayou to Nacogdoches, and on 21 December the rebels signed a Declaration of Independence establishing the Republic of Fredonia, whose flag bore the words "Independence, Liberty, Justice".[12] Richard Fields and John Dunn Hunter signed a treaty with the rebels, but the support promised by Native groups did not materialise. Lieutenant Colonel Mateo Ahumada left San Antonio on 11 December with 20 dragoons and 110 infantrymen. Stephen F. Austin sided with the Mexican government, and his colonists joined the force that reached Nacogdoches on 31 January 1827, when the rebels fled across the Sabine River.[12]

Hawaii, Republic of

Queen Lili'uokalani's government was overthrown on 17 January 1893, and a Provisional Government took power, with Sanford B. Dole agreeing that day to chair its executive council.[13] According to the National Archives, the Blount Commission found the overthrow illegal, and Dole refused to give up power.[14] The constitution of the Republic of Hawaii was promulgated on 4 July 1894, after Act 85, approved on 3 July 1894, transferred authority from the Provisional Government to the Republic. On 5 July the American Minister, Albert S. Willis, extended United States recognition to the new Republic, informing Washington that his action would be promptly submitted to the President for approval.[15] On 7 August 1894 President Cleveland acknowledged Dole's notice that the Republic had been established and reciprocated his sentiments of friendly relations.[16] Dole was its first and only president. President William McKinley signed the Newlands Resolution annexing the islands on 7 July 1898, and Hawaiian independence ended on 12 August 1898.[17] Dole became the first Governor of the Territory of Hawaii.[14]

López, Narciso, and the Cuba Expeditions

Narciso López, a Venezuelan-born resident of Cuba, led the filibustering expeditions of 1850 and 1851 that sought to free Cuba from Spanish rule.[18] He had fought for Spain against Simón Bolívar's forces and later held a high military post in Cuba before he turned to organising expeditions from the United States.[19] According to the Historic New Orleans Collection, he joined a Cuban conspiracy against Spanish rule whose goal was "annexation of Cuba to the United States", and his backers hoped that Cuba would enter the Union as a slave state, which would strengthen the political power of the South. The Office of the Historian likewise states that López wished to see Cuba annexed in order to protect slavery there.[18,19]

In May 1850 his company, raised with about 500 recruits and financed by bonds of some $50,000, captured Cárdenas, less than a hundred miles east of Havana, before the Spanish army overpowered it. The expedition carried a banner sewn in New Orleans, which the Historic New Orleans Collection says symbolised American statehood for Cuba; the design was adopted as the national flag of Cuba in 1902.[19]

In August 1851 López landed again. About 280 men marched inland with him, and about 120 under William Crittenden, a former United States Army officer, stayed with the ships. Spanish forces defeated both groups, and the local Cuban support on which the expedition counted did not arrive. López, Crittenden and fifty Americans were executed in Havana.[19] The Office of the Historian records that the United States public condemned López's execution without trial.[18] News of the executions set off riots in New Orleans, where mobs attacked the offices of a Spanish-language newspaper and the Spanish consulate.[19]

López held no territory beyond the brief occupation of Cárdenas, and neither expedition established a government that any state recognised. The Miller Center of the University of Virginia treats the failed expeditions of the Taylor and Fillmore presidencies as part of a Southern drive to acquire Cuba, an island that Southerners coveted as a place to extend a slave-based agricultural economy.[20]

Lower California and Sonora, Republic of

In October 1853 the American adventurer William Walker sailed from San Francisco with about 45 men for Baja California.[21,22] His party took La Paz and established the Provisional Government of the Republic of Lower California, with Walker as president.[21,23] In January 1854 he declared the neighbouring Mexican state of Sonora annexed and renamed the territory the Republic of Sonora.[21]

In spring 1854 the expedition was short of arms, ammunition and supplies. Walker and his party crossed the boundary below San Diego and surrendered to federal troops, and on 24 May 1854 a federal grand jury in San Francisco indicted him as president of the Republic of Sonora.[24] He was tried for violating the neutrality laws of the United States and was acquitted.[21] The Tennessee Encyclopedia judges the expedition a total failure, though Walker remained a hero to many Californians.[21]

Miranda, Francisco de, and the Venezuela Expedition of 1806

Francisco de Miranda, a Venezuelan-born veteran of European service and a long-standing advocate of Spanish American independence, organised in the United States in 1806 an expedition against Venezuela. The ship Leander, armed with 18 cannon, was outfitted at New York to carry Miranda to Caracas. According to the investigation she carried rifles, gunpowder and other munitions, and 30 passengers who may have been recruited to fight on land.[25] A New York customs officer who had helped admitted his part and was dismissed, having been persuaded by Miranda's false claim that the expedition had secret government approval.[25] On 15 March 1806 Secretary of State James Madison wrote to the French minister, Louis-Marie Turreau, that the government had acted in good faith and had enforced its jurisdiction, and he pointed to the arrest of three men whose trial was set for the following month. The editors identify them as William Stephens Smith, Samuel G. Ogden and John Fink.[25]

Nicaragua, William Walker's Regime in

William Walker, an American filibuster, led a failed expedition to Baja California in 1853 and launched a second to Nicaragua in 1855.[18] He became president of Nicaragua in 1856 after eliminating local rivals and was ousted in 1857.[18] According to the editor's notes in the Tennessee Historical Magazine, he was elected "in form rather than in fact" on 29 June 1856; he was inaugurated on 12 July.[26,27]

The regime was an attempt to gain support in the American South. On 22 September 1856 Walker repealed the laws against slavery in Nicaragua, a measure the Office of the Historian describes as re-legalising slavery in order to win proslavery support.[18,26] The Miller Center states that Walker hoped to gain Nicaragua's entry into the Union as a slave state.[20] President Franklin Pierce recognised the Rivas-Walker government in May 1856, before Walker became president on 12 July, a step the Miller Center describes as the recognition of a dictatorship.[20] The Miller Center records that the railway magnate Cornelius Vanderbilt, who wanted to build rail lines and a canal there, pressed Pierce to use the United States Navy to force Walker to surrender.[20]

According to the narrative that Scroggs edited, hostilities were suspended on 25 April 1857, and on 1 May 1857 Commander Davis went to Rivas and Walker left for the United States ship.[26] Walker attempted to reconquer Nicaragua in 1860, surrendered to a British naval officer off Honduras, was handed to the Honduran authorities and was executed by firing squad at Trujillo on 12 September 1860.[27,28]

Walker held the presidency from 12 July 1856 until his surrender on 1 May 1857, and his aim was the entry of Nicaragua into the Union as a slave state.[20]

Rio Grande, Republic of the

On 17 January 1840 Federalist leaders met in convention at Laredo, then under Mexican authority, and declared independence from Mexico. Jesus de Cardenas was president of the Republic of the Rio Grande, Antonio Canales Rosillo was commander in chief of its army and Jose Maria Jesus Carbajal was secretary to the council.[29] General Mariano Arista defeated Canales at Morales, Coahuila, on 24 and 25 March 1840, and Colonel Antonio Zapata was captured and executed. Canales capitulated at Camargo on 6 November 1840 and was taken into the Centralist army as an officer, and Federalism was "dead for the time being".[29]

Tejas, Republic of

In December 1811 Jose Bernardo Gutierrez de Lara went to Washington to seek United States support for the antiroyalist cause in Mexican Texas. Lieutenant Augustus W. Magee crossed the Sabine with about 130 men on 8 August 1812 and entered Nacogdoches on 12 August. Magee died on 6 February 1813 and Samuel Kemper succeeded him.[30] Early in April 1813 Gutierrez became president protector of the provisional government.[31] William Shaler guided an intrigue to remove Gutierrez from nominal command, and he resigned on 4 August 1813 after the junta at Bexar asked him to.[30,31] On 18 August 1813 the royalists routed the republicans and filibusters at the Battle of Medina, and most survivors fled towards Louisiana.[30]

Texas, Long Republic of

An advance force of 120 men under Eli Harris crossed the Sabine River on 8 June 1819, and James Long arrived at Nacogdoches on 21 June. On 23 June a "government" with Long as chief declared Texas independent. By mid-July more than 300 men were under Long's command, among them Jose Bernardo Gutierrez de Lara.[32] Long sought help from Jean Laffite at Galveston. Colonel Ignacio Perez, with more than 500 men sent by the Spanish governor, reached Nacogdoches on 28 October and drove the American settlers out of East Texas in about a month.[32] Long returned in 1820 to Point Bolivar, sailed with 52 men on 19 September 1821, and took part in the fall of La Bahia on 4 October. He surrendered to Perez four days later. Sent to Mexico City, he was shot and killed by a guard who, according to the Handbook, had been paid by Jose Felix Trespalacios, about six months after his capture.[32]

West Florida, Republic of

In September 1810 rebels led by Philemon Thomas took the fort at Baton Rouge in a brief firefight and raised a convention flag, and the settlers established the State of West Florida.[33] Fulwar Skipwith, styled Governor, addressed its Senate and House of Representatives at St Francisville on 29 November 1810.[34] On 27 October 1810 President James Madison proclaimed that the United States would take possession of the territory between the Mississippi and Perdido rivers on the ground that it formed part of Louisiana, and directed Governor William C. C. Claiborne of the Orleans Territory to take possession.[35] The Lone Star flag of the republic was lowered on 10 December 1810.[33]

Section VIII.2

Self-Proclaimed Monarchs and Rebranded Regimes

Entries in this section gather rulers who assumed royal or imperial titles, whether as heads of revolutionary states, as chiefs who adopted European forms of kingship, or as founders of micronational monarchies. The entries distinguish a title adopted within an existing state from a claim to rule a territory of one's own.

Austenasia, Empire of

Austenasia is a micronation declared in 2008 by Jonathan Austen, styled Emperor Jonathan I, at a semi-detached house on Green Wrythe Lane in Carshalton, in the London Borough of Sutton.[36] The South West Londoner reported in November 2021 that it had 106 citizens living across most continents and a prime minister, Lord William Wilson, based in Texas.[36] According to the Austenasian Times, the micronation's own news outlet, Prince Regent Aggelos I began a regency on 30 April 2024, and on 29 September 2024 Jonathan I abdicated and Aggelos I became the fifth Emperor of Austenasia.[37] As at 8 October 2026 no later count of citizens has been found.

Beaver Island, Kingdom of

James Jesse Strang (1813 to 1856) was a lawyer from upstate New York who converted to Mormonism in 1844. After Joseph Smith's murder he claimed that an angel had anointed him as Smith's successor, but Brigham Young was chosen instead, and Young's church excommunicated Strang in 1844.[38,39,40] Strang's followers settled first at Voree, Wisconsin, and then on Beaver Island in northern Lake Michigan, moving between 1847 and 1850.[38] On 8 July 1850 Strang was crowned "King Strang", self-proclaimed King of Beaver Island, in a ceremony witnessed by 235 followers.[38] He set up a printing press, won a seat in the Michigan legislature in 1852 and introduced polygamy to the colony.[38] He was shot in June 1856, and his followers were driven from the island. He died in Wisconsin on 9 July 1856, and his murderers were never punished.[38]

Bokassa I, Emperor of the Central African Empire

Jean-Bédel Bokassa, a former officer of the French army, seized power in the Central African Republic in a coup at the turn of 1966, deposing President David Dacko.[41] In 1977 he proclaimed the Central African Empire and had himself crowned emperor in a ceremony modelled on the coronation of Napoleon; the crown alone was reported to have cost 5 million dollars.[41,42]

French paratroopers removed him in 1979, while he was abroad in Libya, and he lived in exile in the Ivory Coast and France.[41,42] He died in Bangui in 1996.[41,42] Brian Titley interprets the imperial ceremonial as an attempt to legitimise a regime that lacked other foundations.[41]

Cakobau, Seru Epenisa, Tui Viti of Fiji

Seru Epenisa Cakobau, chief of Bau, was the most prominent Fijian chief of the middle decades of the nineteenth century. In 1865 he took part in the formation of a confederacy of Fijian chiefs, and in 1871, with the help of Australian colonists, a constitutional monarchy was established with Cakobau installed as king; real power lay with his white supporters.[43] American claims against his government arose from a fire at Nukulau on 4 July 1849 that destroyed the house of the United States consul, John Brown Williams. The consul's own claim stood at $5,001.38, and other American losses in Fiji were assessed at $43,531; Cakobau's inability to meet the claims led him to invite British dominion over Fiji.[44] Chiefs who had once worked with him came to act on their own account in dealings with traders.[43]

On 10 October 1874, at Levuka, Cakobau, styled in the instrument "Tui Viti and Vuni Valu", and other high chiefs signed the Deed of Cession.[45] Its recitals describe a cession that the chiefs had "determined to tender unconditionally", and its first clause transferred "full sovereignty and dominion" over the islands to Queen Victoria, whose representative, Sir Hercules Robinson, accepted it; the form of government was left to the Crown.[45] Thirteen chiefs signed, among them Cakobau's rival Ma'afu, and Fiji became a British colony.[43,45]

Christophe, Henry, King Henri I of Haiti

Henry Christophe rose through the ranks of the Haitian revolutionary army to become one of independent Haiti's principal military commanders. After the assassination of Emperor Jacques I in 1806 he refused to accept the new republic under Alexandre Pétion in the south and established a rival state in the north.[46] He first held the title of President of the State of Haiti; in March 1811 he proclaimed the Kingdom of Haiti and in June he was crowned Henry I, creating a hereditary nobility of dukes, counts and barons from among his senior officers.[47]

His kingdom built the Citadelle Laferrière, a mountaintop fortress, and maintained a strict, at times coercive labour regime on the plantations to fund the state; many observers have judged it to have restored forced agricultural labour in a new form.[46] Christophe suffered a stroke in 1820 and, facing a mutiny among his troops, took his own life in October of that year. The north was then united with the republic under President Jean-Pierre Boyer.[46]

Dessalines, Jean-Jacques, Emperor Jacques I of Haiti

Jean-Jacques Dessalines, a military commander who led the final campaigns of the Haitian Revolution after Toussaint Louverture's capture and death in French custody, proclaimed Haiti's independence from France on 1 January 1804 and at first governed as Governor-General for Life.[47] He was proclaimed Emperor Jacques I in September 1804 and crowned in October, following Napoleon's own proclamation as emperor in May of that year. In the early months of 1804 his forces killed much of the remaining French population, an episode historians interpret both as retribution against a colonial order built on slavery and as a deliberate assertion of the new state's break with France.[46]

Dessalines retained much of the plantation system's coercive structure under state ownership in order to fund the army and defend against a feared French return. These policies alienated both the emerging landowning elite and the population freed from slavery, who had hoped independence would bring individual landholding.[47] He was assassinated at Pont-Rouge, outside Port-au-Prince, on 17 October 1806; Henry Christophe and Alexandre Pétion are believed to have been involved in the plot. His empire then divided into the northern kingdom and the southern republic, which dominated Haitian politics until 1820.[47,46]

Iturbide, Agustín de, Emperor Agustín I of Mexico

Agustín de Iturbide, a royalist Creole officer who had fought Mexico's insurgents on behalf of Spain, changed sides in 1821 and negotiated the Plan of Iguala with the insurgent leader Vicente Guerrero. The plan provided for Mexican independence under a constitutional monarchy, with the throne offered to the Spanish crown or another European prince.[48] Spain refused to recognise Mexican independence and no European prince accepted. On the night of 18 May 1822 demonstrations in Mexico City, encouraged by Iturbide's military supporters, urged him to take the crown, and congress proclaimed him Agustín I on the following day.[48,49]

His reign was short. He dissolved congress on 31 October 1822, and a rebellion begun by Antonio López de Santa Anna in December 1822 was followed by the Plan of Casa Mata in February 1823. Iturbide presented his abdication to congress on 19 March 1823, some ten months after his proclamation.[48] He went into exile in Europe, returned to Mexico in July 1824 and was shot within days of landing.[48]

Juan Santos Atahualpa, Rebellion and Independent Territory of

In 1742 a highland Andean calling himself Juan Santos Atahualpa led Asháninka and Yanesha fighters against isolated Franciscan missions in the central high jungle of Peru.[50] He presented himself as a descendant of the Incas and as the heir to their dominions.[51] For about a decade his forces drove missionaries of the College of Santa Rosa de Ocopa back towards the highlands, though the revolt never spread beyond the region known as the central montaña.[50]

Spanish authorities sent an embassy of Jesuits in 1745 and then an unsuccessful military expedition, and had fortifications built on the frontier of the province of Tarma.[51] According to the historian Cameron Jones, the rebellion "secured autonomy for the combatant nations during the rest of the colonial period".[50] The fate of Juan Santos is unknown; one account, reported only as rumour, says that he withdrew towards the Ucayali.[51]

North Sudan, Kingdom of (Bir Tawil)

In June 2014 Jeremiah Heaton, a resident of Abingdon, Virginia, travelled to Bir Tawil, an uninhabited desert area of about 800 square miles on the border between Egypt and Sudan that neither state claims.[52] On 16 June, the seventh birthday of his daughter Emily, he planted a flag designed by his children and declared the land the Kingdom of North Sudan, with himself as head of state.[52,53] Local news reports gave his motive as a wish to make Emily a princess.[52]

Heaton said that he hoped Egypt and Sudan would recognise the kingdom and that he intended to open talks with them. When AFP reported the claim in July 2014, neither government had responded to its enquiries, and a law professor quoted by the agency observed that the claim was open to doubt, since Heaton would have to show effective occupation of the land.[54]

Orélie-Antoine I, King of Araucanía and Patagonia

Orélie-Antoine de Tounens, a French lawyer, sailed for Chile in 1858 and in 1860 proclaimed himself king of Araucanía and Patagonia. He sent a decree announcing his coronation to President Manuel Montt and the newspapers of the capital, drafted a liberal constitution establishing a hereditary monarchy with himself as first monarch, and adopted a flag and coat of arms bearing the motto "Independencia y Libertad".[55] The proclamation had the backing of some Mapuche leaders, who appear to have seen in him an ally against Chile; Monika Wehrheim, however, treats his own accounts of these events as vague and self-serving, and the extent of genuine Mapuche endorsement remains disputed.[56]

In January 1862 Cornelio Saavedra captured him, and he was held for about nine months at Los Ángeles. His case passed from military to civil justice, and the civil court declared him insane ("demente") and sentenced him to the asylum in Santiago; the French consul intervened before he arrived there, and he was shipped to France.[55] He made later attempts to return to the region without success and died in France in 1878.[55,56] A line of claimants to the title has continued; according to the Bank of Canada Museum in 2017, a successor styled Prince Antoine IV lived in France.[57]

Paradise, Kingdom of

Christian Gottlieb Priber, a European utopian thinker, reached Great Tellico, an Overhill Cherokee town in what is now Tennessee, around 1736, and lived among the Cherokee for about seven years.[58] He became associated with the headman Moytoy and married into his family; the thesis cited here argues that his wife was Moytoy's niece rather than his daughter, on the basis of Cherokee matrilineal kinship.[58] His manuscript Paradise set out a society in which goods would be held in common and all would be equal, and he is recorded as proclaiming that in his "republic there would be no superiority; that all should be equal there".[58]

The British suspected him of being a Jesuit working to win Cherokee loyalty for the French.[58] In 1743 Creeks allied with the British captured him, and he was held at Fort Frederica until his death in captivity. His captors seized three manuscripts, a journal, a Cherokee-language dictionary and Paradise; no original survives, although fragments do.[58]

Seborga, Principality of

Seborga is a hill village of between 280 and 320 residents in the province of Imperia, Liguria, whose supporters claim that it was never absorbed under law into the Kingdom of Sardinia or the Italian state. They argue that the deed of 1729 by which the House of Savoy acquired the territory was never registered and did not give the Savoy kings supreme authority over the village.[59]

The modern principality dates from the 1960s. According to Il Post, Giorgio Carbone, a mimosa grower, was elected prince in 1963 and held the title until his death in 2009; in the mid-1990s he reopened a mint to strike luigini, coins issued as the principality's currency, and organised elections for a government and a constitution.[59] He also devised an anthem and a coat of arms and issued stamps.[60]

Marcello Menegatto reigned for a second seven-year term before abdicating in 2019. In November 2019 his former wife, Nina Menegatto, became the first woman elected to the office, defeating Laura Di Bisceglie, Carbone's daughter, by 122 votes to 69.[60,61] Italy does not recognise the principality; residents pay Italian taxes and vote in Italian elections, and the European Court of Human Rights rejected the village's bid for recognition as a state.[60] As at September 2026, according to Monaco Life, Princess Nina had called an election for 22 November 2026 at the close of her seven-year mandate.[61] The mayor, Pasquale Ragni, has stated: "il principato non esiste, è Repubblica italiana a tutti gli effetti", and the principality itself operates in law as an association of volunteers.[59]

Sedang, Kingdom of

In 1888 Marie-Charles David de Mayréna, a French adventurer, had himself proclaimed Marie I, King of the Sedang, in the central highlands of what is now Vietnam.[62,63] A review of two French biographies in 1927 recorded the report of the French resident, Lemire, that Mayréna "s'est fait sacrer", together with Lemire's complaint that the Catholic missions at Kontum had supported his royal pretensions; Mayréna held no official mission from France.[63]

He sought financial backing in Hong Kong, where Sir Hugh Clifford met him, and he met Clifford again on the island of Tioman.[63] He died in 1890 in what is now Malaysia; the cause of death is uncertain, according to the description of Gerald Hickey's study.[62]

Soulouque, Faustin, Emperor Faustin I of Haiti

Faustin Soulouque, a general of the Haitian revolutionary and post-independence armies, was elected president of Haiti in 1847 by a legislature that regarded him as a pliable figurehead who would leave the political elite in control.[64] He proved more assertive than his backers expected, removed rivals from government and the army, and in August 1849 had himself proclaimed Emperor Faustin I. His court revived the imperial and noble forms, including dukedoms and counties, that Dessalines and Christophe had established and that the republican governments had dismantled.[65]

Faustin I led repeated and unsuccessful campaigns against the Dominican Republic in the 1850s, seeking to reunite Hispaniola under Haitian rule as had been achieved between 1822 and 1844.[64] A coup led by General Fabre Geffrard deposed him in January 1859, and he went into exile in Jamaica. He was allowed to return to Haiti before his death in 1867.[64]

Yuan Shikai, Empire of China under

Yuan Shikai, who had become president of the Republic of China in 1912, accepted on 12 December 1915 a unanimous vote of a Representative Assembly convened for the purpose, and took the title of Hongxian (Constitutional Abundance) Emperor.[66] The Academy of Chinese Studies reports that he accepted what was termed "public opinion", that the state was to be renamed the Empire of China, and that 1916 was to be called the first year of the Hongxian reign.[67]

Southern provinces rose in revolt and many supporters abandoned him. On 22 March 1916 Yuan was forced to declare the monarchy abolished, and he died of illness on 6 June 1916, which ended the National Protection War.[66,67]

Section VIII.3

Maritime Outlaw and Corsair Polities

Entries in this section chronicle the corsair and pirate communities that governed themselves at sea and on shore, from the Barbary republic of Salé and the privateering town of Saint-Malo to the Bahamian pirate republic of the early eighteenth century.

Galveston (Lafitte's Campeche)

The privateer Jean Lafitte (Laffite) established a base on Galveston Island in 1817. According to the Handbook of Texas, he organised a government for Galveston on 8 April 1817, and a week later its officers swore allegiance to Mexico.[68] He remained master of the island after his return in September 1817, and his settlement was known as Campeachy or Campeche; in 1818 a document describes him as President of the Commune of Campeche on Galveston Island.[68,69,70] The Galveston settlement served as a base for smuggling, privateering and the slave trade, and the American government was determined to end it.[68,71]

A hurricane damaged the camp in 1818.[72] Lafitte left Galveston in early May 1820 and sailed to Isla Mujeres, off Yucatán; another Handbook entry gives 1821 as the date on which the United States forced him to evacuate.[68,70]

Limahong in Pangasinan (1574 to 1575)

The Chinese corsair Limahong reached the Philippines in 1574 with a fleet that the governor, Francisco de Sande, put at sixty-two large ships and a following of about three thousand men and as many women, and attacked Manila, burning much of the town before he was repulsed.[73,74] He then settled in the province of Pangasinan, where he built a fort inside a high wall of palm logs and, according to the provincial government of Pangasinan, established a small kingdom of his own, forcing the local people to supply and serve his party.[73,74]

On 23 March 1575 Juan de Salcedo left Manila with an expedition that reached the Pangasinan river on 30 March and besieged the fort for more than four months, during which Limahong's men built thirty ships within the walls.[73] Limahong set sail for China at noon on 4 August 1575; the provincial government adds that he escaped through a channel his men had dug to the sea and that many of his followers stayed in Lingayen with their families.[73,74]

Nassau, Flying Gang of

Nassau, on New Providence Island in the Bahamas, was for several years the base of a loose confederation of pirates who called themselves the Flying Gang, and it had no official government for close to two decades.[75] Those associated with the town included Benjamin Hornigold, described as the former mentor of Edward Teach, known as Blackbeard, and Charles Vane.[75]

A proclamation of George I of 5 September 1717 offered a full pardon to pirates who surrendered to a colonial governor within a year.[76] Woodes Rogers, sent to end piracy in Nassau, arrived as governor on 24 July 1718 carrying a royal pardon, and he recommissioned reformed pirates, Hornigold among them, to hunt their former comrades.[75] Vane refused the governor's authority, set fire to a captured French prize in the harbour and escaped.[75] On 12 December 1718 ten captured pirates were brought to the gallows before a crowd of about 300 and nine were hanged.[77] The mass hanging overawed the inhabitants, though Vito Whitmore notes that their loyalty remained in doubt.[75]

Saint-Malo, Republic of

After the seizure of the castle on 11 and 12 March 1590, during the Wars of Religion, the town council of Saint-Malo governed the port as an independent authority and assumed control over defence, foreign relations, finance, policing, justice and trade.[78] The town rejected the authority of the Duke of Mercoeur, governor of Brittany and a leader of the Catholic League, and refused to recognise Henry IV as king after 1589, seeking help from the Duke of Mayenne, head of the League in France, and played rival powers against each other.[78]

Henry IV's conversion to Catholicism on 25 July 1593 removed the council's main reason for holding out. On 1 April 1594 the town assembly appointed a delegation to negotiate reintegration with France, and the Edict of Reduction of 4 October 1594 ended the Republic of Saint-Malo.[78]

Salé, Republic of

The Republic of Salé was a corsair city-state on the Bou Regreg estuary on the Atlantic coast of Morocco. Leila Maziane and Yves Levant date its existence from 1627 to between 1641 and 1666,[79] and Maziane has described Salé in the seventeenth century as a place of refuge for Moriscos, the converted Muslims of Spain and their descendants, who were expelled between 1609 and 1614.[80] Barnaby Rogerson dates the recovery of Rabat and Salé by the Alawite sultan Moulay Rashid to 1666, after which the sultan's governors took sixty per cent of corsair proceeds.[81]

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Part IX

Offshore, Micronational and Constructed Claims

The offshore ventures and micronations of this part are the private projects most readily associated in the public mind with the founding of new states. They include artificial islands and platforms, land-based micronations with real institutional pretensions, accidental private holdings and the internet-era jurisdictions of the mid-1990s. The final section should be read with Part X, which treats the network states and digital-nation programmes that followed. Several ventures recorded here served as vehicles for financial fraud, and the entries say so with attribution and without imputing motive beyond what the record documents.

Section IX.1

Offshore and Constructed Ventures

Entries in this section chronicle artificial islands, reef and platform claims, and ventures that sought a territorial base outside the jurisdiction of existing states, together with secessionist movements on small islands. Several ended in prosecution or in forcible removal by the state with jurisdiction.

Abaco, Independence Movement of

In 1973 Michael Oliver, whose Minerva project had been undone by Tongan annexation the year before, turned to Abaco, an island of about 6,500 people in the northern Bahamas, where secessionist feeling opposed rule from Nassau once the Bahamas became independent.[1] According to Brian Doherty's review of Raymond Craib's Adventure Capitalism, Oliver's team tried to exploit that feeling, and an attempted invasion failed "as local enthusiasm for the struggle waned".[1]

The Bahamas became independent on 10 July 1973, the appointed day under the Bahamas Independence Act 1973.[2] Abaco has remained part of the Bahamas. According to Reason, Abaco residents invited the philosopher John Hospers to a development conference in 1974, and he was barred from the island on 10 May.[3] Doherty records that Oliver and his newly formed Phoenix Foundation then helped support a separatist movement on Santo.[1]

Abalonia

Abalonia was a scheme of the mid-1960s to found a nation on Cortes Bank, a submerged shoal off the coast of southern California. According to Chris Dixon, the earliest known mention is an article by Hal D. Stewart, "Pair Planning Island Nation off San Diego", on page 11 of the Pasadena Independent of 31 October 1966.[4] The promoters intended to colonise the bank with an old freighter, the SS Jalisco, which was photographed being towed beneath the Bay Bridge in San Francisco toward the site.[4] Dixon also describes a sixty-page manuscript by the golfer Joe Kirkwood Jr., written around 1967 for Sports Illustrated, which the magazine never published.[4]

Dixon warns that dates, locations and facts "varied wildly" between sources.[4] No source consulted reports that any land was created or that any government recognised the claim.

Atlantis, Isle of Gold

Atlantis, Isle of Gold, was a projected island state on Triumph Reef and Long Reef, about four and one-half miles off Miami, advanced from 1962 by William T. Anderson and Atlantis Development Corporation, Ltd. According to a classified notice that Anderson placed in the Orlando Evening Star on 23 November 1962, the area lay in international waters, belonged to no nation, and was to be held and developed into a state independent of other nations and governed on democratic principles and under international law.[5] The notice gave map coordinates for the claimed area.

The Fifth Circuit recorded that the company envisaged a country called "Atlantis, Isle of Gold", claimed title to the reefs through its predecessor's discovery of them, and proposed to build on jack platforms or "boathouses".[6] When the United States sued Acme General Contractors, Inc., which intended a rival Grand Capri Republic on the same reefs, the district court refused Atlantis leave to intervene. The Fifth Circuit reversed that refusal in 1967.[6,7]

Atlantis lost. The district court found the reefs to be part of the seabed of the continental shelf and rejected the claims of Acme and of the intervenor alike.[8] On appeal the court upheld that finding in January 1970, held that the reefs fell within the exclusive rights of the United States, and dismissed the cross-claim of title by discovery.[6] The project is unrelated to Werner Stiefel's Operation Atlantis or to the later Oceania proposal of Eric Klien. No state recognised it. In the passage on the national interest in preventing "the establishment of a new sovereign nation" off Florida, the court named Atlantis, Isle of Gold, together with the Grand Capri Republic as the nations in question.[6]

Counani, Republic of

The Republic of Counani (also written Cunani) was a claim to independence made in the Contested Territory, the stretch of Atlantic coast between the Oyapock and the Amazon over which France and Brazil disputed ownership under Article VIII of the Treaty of Utrecht (1713).[9] According to a memorandum issued in the name of Counani itself, independence was proclaimed on 15 August 1874; Jules Gros succeeded Paul Cartier as president in 1886 and amended the original constitution; and his election was notified to the Powers in 1887, when France and Brazil answered with a joint protest in September.[10] The same document records that Gros died in 1891, that Adolphe Brézet was elected president in November 1892 and resigned in February 1894, and that he was re-elected on 1 February 1901.[10]

In June 1895 the United States minister at Petropolis reported a clash between French troops and the local inhabitants of the disputed Amapá territory; he described a chief, Veiga Cabral, whose authority was tolerated until the boundary was settled and who was trying to establish a republic called Cunani.[11] No recognition of Counani by any state appears in the documents cited. By an agreement of 1897 France and Brazil submitted the boundary to the Swiss Government, and the Council of the Swiss Confederation, sitting as arbitral tribunal, delivered its award on 1 December 1900: of about 260,000 square kilometres in dispute, France received 5,000 and Brazil the remainder.[9]

EnenKio, Kingdom of

The Kingdom of EnenKio was a claim to Wake Island, which it called Enen Kio, advanced by Robert F. Moore. According to a press release of the Kingdom's Honolulu office reported in the Marshall Islands Journal in 1997, its government was established in 1993; the Kingdom declared war on the United States and demanded that the United States negotiate with the atoll's true landowners.[12] The same report states that Moore signed an agreement with the Marshallese iroij Murjel Hermios that would have given him control of the Ratak chain, including Wake, and that the High Court of the Marshall Islands ruled the agreement unconstitutional and void because it amounted to an alienation of land.[12]

Freedonia, Principality of

The Principality of Freedonia is a libertarian micronation begun in 1992 in Houston, Texas, when John Alexander Kyle, then a high-school student, and his friends declared their parents' homes part of the "Republic of Freedonia".[13] Kyle, who styles himself Prince John I, made it a constitutional monarchy around 1997.[13] In November 2000 the journalist Andrew Weiner reported that it had about 275 citizens, no territory, no standing army and no active parliament, governance resting with Kyle and his cabinet.[13]

Having ruled out a floating ship and an artificial island, Freedonia looked for land. Kyle told Weiner that a sultan of a province of Somaliland, which no state recognised, had indicated willingness to cede land in exchange for development work, including a highway and a seaport.[13] Weiner reported that construction would cost about 1 million dollars and that Freedonia could not yet pay for a fact-finding visit; the article describes no concluded cession.[13] Daniel Partan, a professor of law at Boston University, told Weiner that the plan was plausible in theory because no international rule barred a state from ceding territory to a micronation, and that recognition was the real obstacle.[13]

Grand Capri Republic

The Grand Capri Republic was a projected island nation on Triumph Reef and Long Reef, two coral reefs in the Atlantic about four and one-half miles off the south-east coast of Florida, near Miami. From 1964 Acme General Contractors, Inc. built caissons on the reefs and dredged material from the seabed into them. According to the Fifth Circuit, "the reefs were to become an island nation to be known as Grand Capri Republic."[14] The scheme reached the Miami press in December 1964, which described a scramble among promoters for a new "nation" beyond the three-mile limit.[15] The promoters argued that the reefs were unclaimed islands in international waters and open to occupation.[16]

The United States sued to halt the work and obtained a preliminary injunction. A rival promoter, Atlantis Development Corporation, Ltd., which planned its own state on the same reefs, was allowed to intervene.[14] After a non-jury trial, Judge Charles B. Fulton held in 1969 that the reefs formed part of the seabed of the continental shelf and were natural resources of the United States, not islands open to occupation.[17] Congress had meanwhile created Biscayne National Monument in 1968, which took in the reefs.[14]

On 22 January 1970 (opinion modified 10 April 1970) the Fifth Circuit affirmed the injunction against building without a permit from the Secretary of the Army, and reversed the refusal of relief on the government's trespass count. The legal adviser of the State Department joined the government's brief. The court observed that the United States had "an important interest to protect in preventing the establishment of a new sovereign nation within four and one-half miles of the Florida Coast."[14] No state recognised the republic. The case is treated in the scholarly literature as one of the attempts to found reef nations on the continental shelf.[18]

Melchizedek, Dominion of

The Dominion of Melchizedek was a self-declared ecclesiastical state proclaimed in 1990 by its founder, who told CBS News in April 2000 that its purpose was religious.[19] It had no settled territory: according to CBS, its interim seat of power was a computer in California. The founder said "We unofficially claim that all of the earth is under our jurisdiction." He also claimed Jerusalem as a homeland and an island in the South Pacific "literally below water", whose location he could not give.[19] Later accounts add claims to Malpelo (Colombia), Taongi Atoll (Marshall Islands) and Solkope in Rotuma (Fiji).[20,21]

CBS reported that passports, citizenships, bank charters and insurance-company registrations were its main source of revenue, a banking licence costing 50,000 dollars.[19]

States and regulators treated the Dominion as a source of risk. According to a press column, Colombia raised the Malpelo claim at the United Nations in New York in 1995.[20] The Marshall Islands, in Circular Note 01-98 of 23 April 1998, rejected the claims of the Dominion and of the self-styled Kingdom of EnenKio and stated that the areas lay within its boundaries.[22] On 13 November 1998 the United States Office of the Comptroller of the Currency issued Alert 1998–38, warning of an entity holding a bank licence "issued by the Dominion of Melchizedek, a non-recognized sovereignty".[23] In December 2000 Fijian press reported a draft Rotuman constitution that would have granted the Dominion "all the rights that the Vatican enjoys within Italy".[21] Anthony Van Fossen made the Dominion the principal case in his study of financial crime and pseudo-states in the Pacific since 1990.[24]

CBS recorded that the Dominion had not won recognition from the United Nations.[19] As at October 2026 no state is known to have recognised it.

Minerva, Republic of

Michael Oliver, a land developer and coin dealer of Carson City, Nevada, born in Lithuania in 1928, survived the Nazi camps, reached the United States in 1947 and in 1968 published A New Constitution for a New Country, which proposed government limited to protecting against force and fraud.[1,25] In the early 1970s he set out to found a new country on territory that no state claimed. His vehicle for that purpose was the Ocean Life Research Foundation, a non-profit that studied sea-oriented communities and sea cities.[25] The name Phoenix Foundation was adopted only in June 1975.[26]

Oliver chose the Minerva Reefs, in the South Pacific south-west of Tonga. He paid for a dredging vessel to build an artificial island on the reefs, and in January 1972 he and his associates proclaimed the Republic of Minerva, with M. C. Davis as president and Richard King as vice-president, although Reason reported that Oliver did not serve in the provisional government.[1,25]

Tonga acted within months. By a proclamation made at Nuku'alofa on 15 June 1972 and published in a Government Gazette Extraordinary, King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV in Council declared that the islands of Teleki Tokelau and Teleki Tonga, with the features within twelve miles of them, were part of the Kingdom.[27] A Tongan expedition arrived on 18 June, raised the flag on North Minerva on 19 June and on South Minerva on 21 June, and the king announced the annexation on 26 June 1972.[28] No state accepted Minerva.[1] According to Lili Song, Fiji and the South Pacific Forum at that time recognised Tonga as the only possible owner of the reefs.[29] In May 1973 Oliver told Reason: "As far as I'm concerned, this project with Minerva is dead."[30]

Morac-Songhrati-Meads, Republic of

The Republic of Morac-Songhrati-Meads, and its predecessor the Kingdom of Humanity, were claims to the Spratly archipelago in the South China Sea made by members of the Meads family. The account rests on the family's own narrative, set out in a "Brief History of the Meads Islands" filed with an affidavit at the American Embassy in Manila in late 1971. According to that narrative, Captain James George Meads of the vessel Modeste discovered the islands in the late 1870s and settled a colony there. In 1914 members of the colony formed the "Kingdom of Humanity" under Franklin Meads. A dispute then led a splinter group to form the Republic of Morac-Songhrati-Meads, and the two bodies merged in 1963.[31]

Samuel Menefee, writing in 1994, found "troublesome holes" in the story. The affidavit does not say how the founders reached the islands, some of its dates are questionable, and founders in their twenties in 1914 would have been elderly by 1971.[31] Menefee also reports that, in other accounts, the Kingdom of Humanity was itself "discovered" by Morton F. Meads in or around 1946.[31] Manuel L. Quezon III, citing a 1956 State Department report, dates Morton Meads's claim to the "Manity Islands" west of Palawan to June 1955.[32]

Menefee, citing a Philippine magazine of 1974, reports that a Philippine mission sent to contact the government failed "because the government could not be found".[31] Meads is said to have written in 1972 to the Philippine and Chinese Nationalist presidents and to the United Nations Secretary-General in support of his claim.[31] No recognition by any state appears in Menefee's account.

New Atlantis, Republic of

On 4 July 1964 Leicester Hemingway, the younger brother of the novelist Ernest Hemingway, raised a flag on a bamboo raft about six miles off Jamaica and declared it the Republic of New Atlantis. The raft, at first six feet by twelve, had grown to about eight feet by thirty and floated above a sand plateau some fifty feet below the surface; Hemingway had dumped car engine blocks, railway wheels and scrap into the sea to anchor it.[33] Invoking the Guano Islands Act of 1856, he claimed the northern half of the raft for the United States, although the historians Harry Hobbs and Paul Finkelman dispute that the Act applied.[33]

Nobody lived on the raft. On 2 February 1965 its citizens, among them British nationals recruited by Hemingway, adopted a constitution and elected him president.[33] The republic had a flag of an upside-down yellow triangle on blue and a currency, the scruple, worth 100 centes or 50 United States cents; postage stamps were a major source of revenue. Hemingway acknowledged that the Universal Postal Union was unlikely to admit New Atlantis, so that its stamps were unlikely to serve as postage.[33] A tropical storm destroyed the latest raft in 1966, and news from New Atlantis stopped; the Harry Ransom Center at the University of Texas at Austin holds New Atlantis memorabilia, including a copy of the constitution.[33] Hemingway shot himself on 13 September 1982.[33]

New Utopia, Principality of

The Principality of New Utopia was a project to found a city-state on an artificial island in the Caribbean, announced over the Internet in the 1990s by its promoter, who styled himself Prince Lazarus. It claimed the Misteriosa Bank, an undersea rise that its promoters placed about 115 miles west of the Cayman Islands, and described as covering about 284 square miles.[34] The plan was to raise a tax haven above the sea on concrete columns carrying platforms. A founding declaration is dated 13 April 1999.[35]

According to the Associated Press, the project offered five-year government bonds paying 9.5 per cent and invited investors to become "charter citizens".[36] Site Selection reported in 2001 that about 500 people had paid 1,500 dollars for that status and that construction, scheduled to start in September 1999, had not begun.[34]

The United States Securities and Exchange Commission took action concerning the project. It filed a civil complaint in the United States District Court for the Northern District of Oklahoma on 8 April 1999,[37] and a federal judge in Tulsa granted an emergency order freezing funds raised.[36] According to the Commission, securities had been offered over the Internet between May 1998 and March 1999 to fund the country.[37] On 20 January 2000 the court entered a final judgment, by consent, enjoining violations of provisions of the Securities Act of 1933 and the Securities Exchange Act of 1934.[37]

No state recognised the Principality. As at October 2026 no construction is reported. According to the Commission, the offering raised 24,000 dollars, against a bond programme that press reports put at 350 million dollars.[36,37]

Phoenix Foundation, The

The Phoenix Foundation was the name adopted in June 1975 by the organisation through which Michael Oliver pursued attempts to found new libertarian jurisdictions in the early 1970s and until 1980.[26] Oliver, a land developer and coin dealer of Carson City, Nevada, born in Lithuania in 1928, survived the Nazi camps and reached the United States in 1947; in 1968 he published A New Constitution for a New Country.[1,25] His earlier vehicle for the Minerva project was the Ocean Life Research Foundation. According to Reason in October 1975, the founding trustees included Robert Poole Jr., Oliver, Nathaniel Branden, John Hospers and the investment adviser Harry D. Schultz.[38]

The Foundation's later ventures relied on existing local movements. In 1973 Oliver turned to Abaco in the Bahamas, where Brian Doherty attributes the failure of the effort to waning local enthusiasm.[1] In the New Hebrides the Foundation backed the Nagriamel movement of Jimmy Stevens in its push for the secession of Santo; a Nagriamel rally was held on 27 December 1975.[26,39] The Vanuatu Daily Post reports that it also helped draft a constitution for the Vemerana Federation.[40] Nagriamel was defeated in the elections of November 1979, and the Santo rebellion of 1980 was put down with the help of Papua New Guinea.[26,1] Parsons wrote in 1981 that the Foundation's newsletters named the Azores and the Isle of Man as continuing targets; the Vanuatu Daily Post states that it funnelled money to the Azores Liberation Front, a right-wing separatist movement.[26,40]

Redonda, Kingdom of

Redonda is a small, steep, uninhabited island in the Leeward Islands of the Caribbean, now part of Antigua and Barbuda.[41,42] Matthew Dowdy Shiell, an Irish trader who believed himself descended from ancient kings, is said to have decided in 1865 to annex it as a kingdom; around 1880 his son, Matthew Phipps Shiell, was crowned king by the Bishop of Antigua, in a ceremony whose formality is open to conjecture.[41,42] The son became the writer M. P. Shiel, author of The Purple Cloud (1901), and on his death in 1947 passed the title to the poet John Gawsworth.[41,43] Gawsworth, who never visited the island, created most of Redonda's titles of nobility, which State Papers of 1947, 1949 and 1951 record, and died in 1970; his handling of the succession left it confused.[41,43]

According to Leaf Arbuthnot in The Spectator, more than a dozen people have claimed the title since Gawsworth's death.[42] The Spanish novelist Javier Marías reigned from afar as King Xavier I for the last two decades of his life and died in 2022; his court included Pedro Almodóvar, Umberto Eco and Ian McEwan, to whom he gave literary dukedoms.[42] Spanish press reports after his death named the Colombian novelist Juan Gabriel Vásquez as his successor.[43] No claimant has exercised authority over the island, which belongs to Antigua and Barbuda.[42]

Rose Island, Republic of (Isola delle Rose, 1968)

The Isle of the Roses was an artificial platform built by Giorgio Rosa, an engineer from Bologna, in the Adriatic about 11.6 kilometres off Rimini, just outside Italian territorial waters. Construction began in 1958; the platform covered 400 square metres and was fixed to the seabed in the 1960s, with a bar, restaurant and post office, and its founders presented tourism, fuel sold without Italian excise duty and mussel farming as the basis of a viable state.[44] In 1968 the platform was proclaimed independent as the Esperanta Respubliko de la Insulo de la Rozoj, with Esperanto as its official language; Calabrese dates the proclamation to 1 May 1968 and records in a footnote that 24 June is also given.[44]

Italy answered by blockade on 24 and 25 June 1968, and on 25 June a Guardia di Finanza motorboat occupied the platform; the Italian authorities justified the operation by national security and the safety of navigation, which Rosa disputed.[44] Navy divers placed explosives on 11 and 13 February 1969; the structure survived the blasts and sank in a storm on 26 February 1969.[44] Martina Calabrese argues that the use of force against the platform may have violated the prohibition in the United Nations Charter, and the island's Latin motto, as she records it, was "Hostium rabies diruit opus non ideam".[44]

Sealand, Principality of

Roughs Tower, one of the Maunsell sea forts built for anti-aircraft defence, was towed into position in the North Sea on 11 February 1942 and abandoned in 1948.[45] Roy Bates, a Second World War veteran who had run Radio Essex from Knock John in 1965, occupied the tower in late 1966 and on 2 September 1967 declared the independent Principality of Sealand, with himself as Prince.[45]

In October 1968 a court rejected the government's theory of jurisdiction, holding that Parliament had never extended admiralty jurisdiction far enough to cover the tower; James Grimmelmann notes that the decision rested on Sealand standing outside British territorial waters.[45] British policy has been to treat Sealand neither as part of the United Kingdom nor as a state, and a German administrative court held in 1978 that Sealand was not a state.[45]

In 2000 the company HavenCo, whose founders included Ryan Lackey and the chief executive Sean Hastings, leased space on Sealand for a data centre promoted as a data haven.[45,46] Simson Garfinkel reported in Wired in July 2000 that the Bates family received 250,000 dollars in cash and stock for the lease, that HavenCo had raised about 1.1 million dollars, that it would allow online gambling and untraceable bank accounts but ban spam and child pornography, and that a British Consulate press officer said that "the UK government does not regard Sealand as a state".[46] Grimmelmann records that when Sealand caught fire in 2006 a British rescue helicopter and firefighting tug came to its aid.[45]

Trinidad, Principality of

James Harden-Hickey, a Franco-American writer and monarchist, claimed the uninhabited South Atlantic island of Trinidad (Trindade), which he found had never been claimed, and styled himself James I, Prince of Trinidad.[47,48] A chancellery letter of 30 July 1895 stated that he had notified the Powers of the claim in September 1893 and January 1894.[48] According to the New York Times, a British force took possession of the island in January 1895, and Harden-Hickey was then in California.[49] The British envoy later explained to the Brazilian Congress that the purpose was to land a cable on the route to the River Plate.[50]

Brazil protested in July 1895, citing Portuguese discovery in 1501, and its Senate and Chamber of Deputies passed unanimous resolutions backing the government's claim.[50,51] On 6 August 1896 the Brazilian legation in Washington reported that Britain had recognised Brazilian ownership and surrendered the island.[52]

Harden-Hickey died in a hotel in El Paso, Texas, in February 1898. The New York Times reported an apparent overdose, and the El Paso Historical Society records a morphine overdose, destitution and an unsold Mexican ranch.[47,53]

Waveland (Rockall, Greenpeace, 1997)

Three Greenpeace members, Al Baker, Meike Huelsman and Peter Morris, occupied Rockall from 10 June to 22 July 1997, a stay of 42 days, to protest against oil exploration. On 16 June Greenpeace announced that it rejected British authority over Rockall and declared the rock the capital of a "global state of Waveland".[54] The United Kingdom had incorporated Rockall into the District of Harris by the Island of Rockall Act 1972, and Iceland, Ireland and Denmark (for the Faroe Islands) had also made claims.[54] About 15,000 people registered online for Waveland citizenship, and the project ended in February 1999 when Knowhaus, the company hosting its online presence, went into liquidation.[54]

Section IX.2

Serious Micronational and Personal Claims of Statehood

Entries in this section gather the micronations whose founders made a sustained and documented claim to statehood, with a territory, a constitution or a diplomatic practice, as against the playful or artistic projects that set no such claim. Each entry states the nature of the claim and the response of the state with jurisdiction.

Aerican Empire

The Aerican Empire is a micronation associated with Montreal, founded in 1987 by Eric Lis, who rules it as emperor and works as a psychiatrist. A contributor biography in Wanderlust magazine in 2015 states that Lis founded the empire in 1987 as a child.[55] Atlanta Magazine reported in 2017 that Lis, as Imperial Majesty Doctor Eric Lis, ruled the empire when not working as a psychiatrist and presented at that year's MicroCon, a gathering of micronation leaders in Atlanta.[56] The Boston Sunday Globe reported in September 2023 that the emperor claims a house in Montreal for the project.[57]

Aeterna Lucina, State of

Aeterna Lucina was a micronation proclaimed in 1978 by a German migrant to Australia.[58] A Sydney newspaper reported in 1990 that Baron Robert Neuman, aged 63, who styled himself head of the "Sovereign Humanitarian Mission State of Aeterna" (the printed title is cut off in the page record), described it as an independent state within New South Wales covering 1,400 hectares near Cooma, with a currency, the unitas, equal to 10 dollars.[59]

Akhzivland

Akhzivland is a self-declared micronation on the Mediterranean coast at Akhziv, near Israel's border with Lebanon, founded by Eli Avivi, an Iranian-born settler. Philip Hayward records that Avivi first visited the site in 1952 and settled there, on the ground of al-Zeeb, a village taken by Israeli forces in 1948 and later razed.[60] According to the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, Avivi regarded the land as uninhabited after the destruction of the village in the war of 1948.[61] He says that in 1970, when the Israeli government tried to bulldoze his home, he declared independence.[61] Hayward dates the proclamation of "the independent territory of Achzivland" to 1971.[60]

Avivi states that in 1972 he was granted a 99-year lease.[61] Hayward records that the couple kept their property on a 99-year lease within the national park.[60] Avivi styled himself president, and the Jewish Telegraphic Agency adds president for life.[60,61] He died in 2018.[62]

Atlantium, Empire of

The Empire of Atlantium is an Australian micronation established in 1981 by George Cruickshank, who styles himself His Imperial Majesty George II.[63] Fox News reported in 2010 that it claimed a territory of 188 acres at Capital Hill, about 220 miles west of Sydney, and had about 1,300 citizens in 100 countries.[63]

Cruickshank described Atlantium as "an umbrella organization for globally-focused freethinkers" and as a progressive lobbying group, and said, "I'm selling ideas", adding that he was not a politician.[63] Its supporters backed abortion rights and the right to die, and Cruickshank argued that nations defined by geography or ethnicity would become obsolete.[63] The report states that he had never sought to secede. According to Ralph Bartlett, Atlantium declared war on the Province of Bumbunga in January 1985 after a dispute over stamps.[64]

Bumbunga, Province of

The Province of Bumbunga is a self-proclaimed independent state in South Australia, at a railway siding near Lochiel about 130 kilometres north-north-west of Adelaide. On 29 March 1976 Alex Brackstone, the English-born postmaster, declared his four-hectare property an "independent British Colonial Province", styled himself Governor and wrote to the Governor of South Australia, Sir Mark Oliphant.[64] According to Ralph Bartlett, Brackstone was loyal to the Crown and alarmed by what he saw as a drift towards republicanism, which he linked to the dismissal of Prime Minister Gough Whitlam in 1975.[64]

The flag is a defaced British Blue Ensign with a yellow map of Australia and a blue dot marking Bumbunga, and the coat of arms places the emu and kangaroo supporters in reverse of their places on the Australian arms.[64] The first stamps, showing Prince Charles, appeared in July 1980. In November 1980 Brackstone opened a map of Great Britain made of 50,000 strawberry plants, which the drought of 1982 to 1983 killed.[64] In 1981, after RAAF jets overflew his property, he raised a white flag and telephoned an air base to say that he had surrendered.[64] A dispute over stamps in 1984 with the Empire of Atlantium led to a declaration of war in January 1985; each side claims the result.[64] Bartlett records that neither the national nor the State government recognises the province.[64]

Celestial Space, Nation of (James Mangan)

James T. Mangan of Chicago claimed outer space in January 1949 by filing a charter for the Nation of Celestial Space, or Celestia, with the Cook County Recorder of Deeds, naming himself its First Representative.[65] Letters to the secretaries of state of 74 countries drew no replies.[65] In September 1949 he sent diplomatic notes to the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union forbidding nuclear tests in his claimed territory.[65] He sold parcels of space for one dollar each, arguing that such "bigness of thinking" could make international quarrels seem petty, and in 1958 he flew the Celestian flag outside United Nations headquarters in New York.[65]

Conch Republic, The

In 1982 the United States Border Patrol set up roadblocks on the main road to and from Key West to search vehicles for illegal drugs and immigrants.[66] Earlier attempts by the city to have them lifted, through requests to the Border Patrol, petitions to the federal government and a lawsuit, had failed.[66] On 23 April 1982 the mayor, Dennis Wardlow, and the city council staged a fictional secession from the United States and created the Conch Republic, with Wardlow as prime minister.[66]

The Republic declared war on the United States, surrendered at once and asked for foreign aid as a conquered nation, a variation on the plot of Leonard Wibberley's novel The Mouse That Roared (1955).[66] The stunt drew wide publicity and public support, and the federal government removed the roadblocks.[66]

Coral Sea Islands, Gay and Lesbian Kingdom of the

The Gay and Lesbian Kingdom of the Coral Sea Islands declared secession from Australia in June 2004 on Cato Island, a reef within the Australian external territory of the Coral Sea Islands.[67] It was a response to the 2004 amendment to Australian marriage law limiting marriage to unions between a man and a woman.[67] Its founder, Dale Parker Anderson, reasoned that only states can bring cases before international courts, and hoped that a state of his own would help gay people abroad.[67]

Judy Lattas reads the project as "queer sovereignty": a staged claim to nationhood that copies its rituals and so exposes the artificiality of the concept.[67] By January 2014 Anderson had left the project, and Lattas treats the kingdom as defunct, although its flag, mailbox and plaque remain on Cato Island.[67]

Cospaia, Republic of

The Republic of Cospaia was a hamlet in the upper Tiber valley that, according to the Umbria regional tourism service, remained independent from the mid-fifteenth century until 1826 through a boundary error. Cosimo de' Medici had lent money to Pope Eugene IV, and Florence received Sansepolcro as collateral, with the boundary set at the Rio torrent. Two streams bore that name: Florence took the northern one, the Gorgaccia, and the papal side the southern one, the Riascone, leaving about 300 hectares that belonged to neither.[68] The page dates the loan to 1441 and the acceptance of Cospaia's independence by Florence and the Papal States to 1448.[68]

The republic was governed by a Council of Elders and Heads of Families and had no army or prison. Its one law, inscribed at the entrance to the church of the Annunziata, was "Perpetua et firma libertas".[68] Tobacco, introduced in 1574, was banned in the Papal States, which made its cultivation profitable in Cospaia.[68] In 1785 Tuscany and the Papal States had asked the Kingdom of Sardinia to arbitrate a new border and end Cospaia's status, but the matter was postponed, and by 1825 boundary commissions were at work while the parish priest, Girolamo Bastianoni, persuaded the heads of families to negotiate a surrender.[69] In 1826 a joint commission of the Papal States and Tuscany marked the boundary with 80 stone markers, which delimit the present line between Tuscany and Umbria,[69] and on 26 June 1826 fourteen representatives of Cospaia signed an act of submission to the Pope.[68,69] The territory then passed under papal authority, although the Umbria regional tourism service describes it as divided between the Papal States and the Grand Duchy of Tuscany.[68,69] Umbria Tourism records that the signatories received a silver coin for each inhabitant and permission to continue growing tobacco; Teverepost identifies the coin as a papetto, worth a fifth of a scudo, and names Pope Leo XII as the pontiff to whom the act was addressed.[68,69]

Dixit, Kingdom of

The Kingdom of Dixit was a monarchy proclaimed in November 2017 by Suyash Dixit, a computer coder from Indore, India, over Bir Tawil, a desert tract between Egypt and Sudan that CTV News put at about 2,060 square kilometres and Gulf News at about 1,300. Neither state claims it. Egypt relies on the political boundary of 1899 and Sudan on the administrative boundary of 1902, and to claim Bir Tawil would mean accepting the other line and forgoing the Halaib triangle.[70]

According to Fox News, Dixit drove for six hours with a hired driver through an area under Egyptian military control, which he said he had permission to enter. He planted a flag and seeds, explaining that "if you want to claim a land then you need to grow crops on it".[71] In a proclamation he adopted the name King Suyash First and declared: "I, Suyash Dixit, first of my name and the protector of the realm, declare myself as the king of Kingdom of Dixit." A website and a Facebook post invited foreign investment and applications for citizenship.[71,72]

No government responded.[73] CTV News reported Anthony Clark Arend, of Georgetown University, as saying that the claim was not legal, because states alone can claim territory under international law.[73] Chris Borgen, writing of an earlier claimant on the same tract, Jeremiah Heaton of Virginia, whose "Kingdom of North Sudan" dates from June 2014, argued that individuals seldom achieve the effective and exclusive control that acquisition requires, that, in his view, habitable land calls for settlement, and that a claimed state of this kind would fail the customary criteria of statehood.[74] A survey published in July 2023 reports that Dixit's declaration, like others on the tract, changed nothing in practice.[75] Dixit announced the claim in these words: "I am the king! (Please?) This is no joke, I own a country now! Time to write an email to UN."[71]

Elleore, Kingdom of

The Kingdom of Elleore is a micronation on Elleore, an uninhabited island of about 1.5 hectares in Roskilde Fjord, Denmark. A group of teachers from the Frederik Barfods Skole in Frederiksberg acquired the island in 1944 and proclaimed the Kingdom of Elleore.[76] According to Danmarks Nationalleksikon, the kingdom has a structured state and society, with its own flag, language, currency and stamps, and a distinct culture.[76]

VisitDenmark, the national tourist board, states that the teachers bought the island in August 1944 and that the kingdom has monarchs, a parliamentary government, ministers and laws. The island is in private ownership, and its citizens stay there only during the annual Elle Week, when the monarchs, ministers and institutions take up their roles.[77]

Enclava, Kingdom of

The Kingdom of Enclava was an internet micronation proclaimed in late April 2015 on a strip of about 100 square metres of land near Brezovica pri Metliki, close to Metlika, on the border between Slovenia and Croatia. Its founders were Polish. Piotr Wawrzynkiewicz, a co-founder, told AFP that the group learned of the land from locals on a visit to Slovenia and treated it as unclaimed because Slovenia and Croatia disputed the frontier there.[78] The press named the self-styled king as Kamil Wrona.[79,80] The proclamation followed within weeks that of Liberland on the Danube.[79]

According to Wawrzynkiewicz, more than 5,000 people had applied for citizenship and about 800 voted in a first virtual election. The kingdom adopted Dogecoin as its currency, and its constitution was in draft. He acknowledged that no government had recognised it.[78] Another report put the number of citizens at 134 and listed five official languages: English, Polish, Croatian, Slovenian and Chinese.[79] The Slovenian Foreign Ministry, as reported on 24 May 2015, rejected the claim of terra nullius and called the land Slovenian territory, adding that the border would be settled by arbitration.[80]

The founders then abandoned the site. In a statement on the kingdom's website, reported on 24 May 2015, they announced a new claim on unclaimed land along the Danube near Liberland, in the area disputed between Croatia and Serbia. No report located gives coordinates for it.[80] A tribunal under the Permanent Court of Arbitration fixed the Slovenia-Croatia land boundary by its final award of 29 June 2017, applying uti possidetis and, where aligned, the cadastral limits; Croatia has said it does not consider itself bound by the award.[81,82] As at July 2026, the domain enclava.org carried unrelated content.[83]

Filettino, Principality of

In August 2011 Luca Sellari, mayor of Filettino, a town of 598 residents in the hills east of Rome, proposed that it become an independent principality under a monarch, in protest at the emergency budget adopted on 12 August, which included a measure to merge small municipalities.[84] The town produced a coat of arms, the motto "Nec flector, nec frangor" and a souvenir currency, the fiorito, which was not legal tender; the planned rate was two fioritos to the euro.[84] Sellari said that he would consult one of Italy's best-known lawyers on secession and would pursue independence even if the merger measure were withdrawn.[84]

Forvik, Free State of (Stuart Hill)

Forvik is a rock off Shetland that Stuart Hill claims as an independent state. According to ShetNews, Hill set up the "independent state of Forvik" in 2008.[85] He argues that Shetland has never been part of Scotland, because Denmark pawned the islands to James III of Scotland in 1469 and the loan was never repaid.[86]

In July 2012 Lord Pentland, in an action brought by Hill in the Court of Session, held that it "must now be regarded as settled in law that Shetland forms part of the United Kingdom", according to The Scotsman.[87]

Frestonia, Free Republic of

In 1977 the Greater London Council planned to demolish derelict buildings on Freston Road in North Kensington, and about 120 squatters resisted and declared the Free and Independent Republic of Frestonia.[88] According to International Times, about 200 residents attended a meeting, and a referendum on Sunday 30 October 1977 produced unanimous support for secession from the United Kingdom.[89]

The republic applied for membership of the United Nations, in an application signed by the actor David Rappaport as Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, issued postage stamps and visa stamps, and published a newspaper, the Tribal Messenger.[89] The publicity forced the Council to negotiate. The residents formed Bramleys Housing Co-operative, which agreed with Notting Hill Housing Trust a redevelopment that kept the site residential; some Frestonians, unhappy with the compromise, moved away.[88,89] The co-operative still manages 40 homes on the site, among them households descended from the original Frestonians.[88] The United Nations never replied to the application.[89]

Hutt River, Principality of

The Principality of Hutt River was a wheat farm of about 75 square kilometres, more than 500 kilometres north of Perth, that its owner Leonard Casley declared independent in 1970 in a dispute with the Western Australian government over wheat quotas. Casley's farm had about 4,000 hectares of wheat ready to harvest, while the quota allowed him to sell the produce of only about 40 hectares. After a protest to the Governor failed, he turned to international law to justify secession, and he took the style Prince Leonard I of Hutt after Prime Minister William McMahon threatened prosecution.[90] He argued that federal correspondence addressing him as "Administrator of the Hutt River Province" amounted to recognition; the Governor-General, Sir Paul Hasluck, later said that federal intervention would be unconstitutional.[90]

The Australian Taxation Office treated the property as taxable. A court judgment of 1980 exempted souvenirs, stamps and currency sold by the principality from tax. The principality's requests for an import-export treaty and exemption from fuel excise were rejected.[91] Casley abdicated on 11 February 2017 in favour of his son Graeme and died on 13 February 2019.[90] The principality closed its borders on 31 January 2020; Graeme Casley described this as a pause to restructure the family business, and the principality's later status is not verified.[92]

Isle of Dogs, Unilateral Declaration of Independence of the

On 1 March 1970 residents of the Isle of Dogs, the peninsula formed by a bend in the River Thames in east London, blockaded West Ferry Road and the road bridge at the dock entrance and issued a unilateral declaration of independence, led by the local activist Ted Johns, who had been elected to Tower Hamlets Borough Council as a Labour councillor in 1965.[93,94] The grievance was long-standing: in January 1959 the Port of London Authority had decided to close the footbridge over Millwall Docks, and a petition of 2,000 names and the formation of the Millwall Residents' Association had forced it to replace the bridge with a raisable walkway.[93]

The protesters blocked the roads for two hours. According to Past Tense, the Swedish cargo ship Ursa could not enter the docks to unload.[93] A few days later a Citizens' Council of thirty members met at the Barkentine Estate tenants' hall.[93] Johns remained active in local politics and community work until his death in 2004.[93]

Islonia, Dry Island (Loch Gairloch)

In May 2010 the McWhinney family, who have owned Dry Island in Loch Gairloch, Wester Ross, for several generations, announced the micronational status of the island as Islonia, a name compounded from the names of the daughters of Ian McWhinney and Jess Dodd, Iona and Isla.[95] Hallerton and Leslie attribute the claim to a sense of disconnection from organised party politics and to a wish for a talking point that would draw tourists to the family's fishery and cottage-rental businesses, and they describe it as a statement of dissent and a theatrical resistance to remote control.[95] Scottish newspapers covered the claim in an affectionate tone, as a light accompaniment to the 2014 independence referendum, and the authors report no response from any government.[95]

Jämtland, Republic of

The Jämtland Liberation Movement was founded in 1963 to oppose a government plan to merge the province of Jämtland with a neighbouring one, a plan Stockholm later shelved.[96] It advocates independence from Sweden. By 1999, according to the Christian Science Monitor, the self-proclaimed Republic of Jämtland had an official seal, a visa, an anthem and a website, and a Jämtland Republican Army that staged mock border stops, road tolls and visa checkpoints.[96] Its president, the singer and storyteller Ewert Ljusberg, delivered an address each summer at the Storsjöyran Freedom Festival, a rock festival with political overtones.[96]

Kugelmugel, Republic of

Edwin Lipburger, an Austrian artist, built a spherical wooden house in Lower Austria in the 1970s, which led to a long conflict with the authorities of Wiener Neustadt.[97] In 1976 he declared the Republic of Kugelmugel, named himself president and issued citizenship and identity documents.[97] Der Standard likewise gives 1976 as the founding year.[98] The house was moved to the Prater in Vienna in 1982 and stands in the middle of the amusement park, and the republic holds events there from time to time.[97,98] Since 2023 Linda Treiber has held the title of president.[97]

Ladonia, Royal Republic of

Ladonia was proclaimed in 1996 by the Swedish artist Lars Vilks as an independent state on about one square kilometre of rocky shore in the Kullaberg Nature Reserve in Skåne, where he had built the driftwood sculpture Nimis.[99] The proclamation followed an order from the local authorities to destroy sculptures Vilks had built in the 1980s.[100] Vilks refused; he built a second work, Arx, and then sold both works, stating that he no longer owned them, to avoid being forced to destroy them. They remain on the site.[99] Vilks styled himself State Secretary until his death in a road accident in October 2021.[99,101] A queen was crowned in 2011, the micronation lists ministries that include those of Folktales, Postcards and Procrastination, and citizenship is granted through an online form; The Local reported in 2019 more than 20,000 citizens.[99] From 2002, according to Hobbs and Williams, migrants and refugees applied in the belief that Ladonia was a real country that would give them a route into Europe.[100] The Local reports about 3,000 applications from Pakistan, after which Vilks amended the form to state that no one could live or work in Ladonia.[99]

Liberland, Free Republic of

The Free Republic of Liberland was proclaimed on 13 April 2015 by the Czech libertarian politician Vít Jedlička on about seven square kilometres of woodland on the western bank of the Danube between Croatia and Serbia, land that neither state had claimed since the breakup of Yugoslavia.[102,103] Croatia at first blocked access to the area, whilst Serbia described the venture as frivolous but saw no threat so long as it remained on the western bank.[102] Liberland states that it satisfies the Montevideo criteria of statehood and follows the declaratory theory, under which recognition only acknowledges an existing state.[103] It maintains a government on paper and online, and claims more than 500,000 citizenship requests and 1,000 citizens, figures that Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty could not verify.[102] In July 2022 a filing under the United States Foreign Agents Registration Act confirmed that a New York lobbyist, Steven Melnik, worked for Liberland; he said that he was unpaid.[102] Liberland reports a memorandum of cooperation with Somaliland, which it describes as full recognition.[103] As at July 2022 the territory was uninhabited and no state had recognised it.[102]

Malu Entu, Republic of

Salvatore "Doddore" Meloni, a Sardinian independence activist, declared the Republic of Malu Entu during the night of 24 and 25 August 2008, with five supporters, on the islet of Mal di Ventre, 81 hectares in area and about 6.5 kilometres off Sardinia's west coast.[104] Meloni and other activists had cared for the islet and camped there in summer since 1974.[104] Italian authorities removed the camp in January 2009, whilst the activists were on the mainland, and the activists returned within days. Meloni died in 2017.[104]

Farinelli observes that the republic "pretends to be a political entity" yet was seen by many as a parody of statehood.[104] Its flag was that of Meloni's party, PARIS, and its online presence was weak, the last post on its Facebook account dating from 2012.[104] Meloni and his associates wore no uniforms or other insignia of statehood.[104]

Marlborough, Principality of

In 1993 George and Stephanie Muirhead, farmers in central Queensland, declared the secession of their property from Australia as the Principality of Marlborough, styling themselves Duke and Duchess of Marlborough, after a dispute with the Commonwealth Bank over loans on the property.[105] George Muirhead demanded a royal commission into banking and the judiciary.[105]

Molossia, Republic of

Kevin Baugh founded a micronation in 1977 near Portland, Oregon, as the Grand Republic of Vuldstein, with James Spielman as King James I and Baugh as Prime Minister.[106] In 1998 Baugh bought land in Dayton, Nevada, which Travel Nevada puts at 1.3 acres, and the kingdom was renamed Molossia.[106] The republic claims two further territories: the Province of Farfalla in northern California and Neptune Deep, a marine sanctuary in the Indian Ocean.[106] Its currency, the valora, is made of poker chips and is tied to the value of cookie dough. Citizens pay by choice what Molossia calls foreign aid, that is taxes, to the neighbouring nation, and Travel Nevada notes that Molossia is not a true state in the legal sense.[106] Tours run once a month from April to October by reservation, and visitors' passports are stamped.[106]

Neustadt, Bunte Republik (Dresden, 1990)

The Bunte Republik Neustadt was proclaimed in June 1990 in the Äußere Neustadt district of Dresden, in the run-up to the currency union of that summer, in reaction to residents' fears that the district would fall under Western control after reunification.[107,108] According to Der Freitag, it presented itself as a state within a state with its own flag, currency and passport; it was first organised through a neighbourhood round table known as the Schwafelrunde, and a provisional government of the republic appears in the record from 1991.[109] The proclamation was marked each year by a street festival, held on the third weekend in June until 2019 according to the local museum, and the festival of 2019 was reported as the twenty-ninth.[107,110]

North Dumpling Island, Kingdom of

North Dumpling Island, about 1.2 hectares off the Connecticut coast, belongs to the American inventor Dean Kamen, who bought it in the 1980s as a retreat and calls it, as a joke, an independent nation, with himself as Lord Dumpling.[111] According to IEEE Spectrum, Kamen styles it the Dumplonian Empire; a copy of its constitution, close to identical to that of the United States, hangs in the foyer of the main house, and its currency, the Dumpling, is issued in units of pi.[112] The island's electrical supply came by submarine cable until the United States Coast Guard cut the connection; Kamen then disconnected from the grid and now relies on solar arrays of 12.2 kilowatts peak, a 10 kilowatt wind turbine and a backup Stirling engine.[112] The claim is a joke made by its owner, not a bid for recognition.[111]

Nutopia

On 1 April 1973 John Lennon and Yoko Ono issued a declaration announcing the birth of a conceptual country, Nutopia, and presented it at a press conference at the Association of the Bar of the City of New York.[113] The declaration, issued from the Nutopian Embassy at One White Street, New York, states that citizenship comes from declaring awareness of Nutopia, that the country has no land, borders or passports, only people, that it recognises no laws except cosmic ones, and that all its citizens are ambassadors; as ambassadors the signatories asked for diplomatic immunity and for recognition from the United Nations.[114] Its flag was a white handkerchief, shown at the press conference as a flag to surrender to peace.[114]

Other World Kingdom

The Other World Kingdom was founded in 1996 as a resort for adherents of BDSM and female domination in a sixteenth-century château and its grounds, about three hectares in extent, at Černá in the Czech Republic.[115] It styled itself a matriarchy under Queen Patricia I and maintained its own travel documents, currency, flag, police force, anthem and courts; no major state recognised it.[115] Citizens were women who owned at least one male slave, in the BDSM sense; subjects were men who paid tax to the queen and obeyed her laws without being slaves.[115] Its stated aim was to place as many male creatures as possible under the unlimited rule of Superior Women on as much territory as possible.[115] It was a commercial venture, and its statehood was symbolic.

Outer Baldonia, Principality of

The Principality of Outer Baldonia was a micronation proclaimed in July 1949 on Outer Bald Tusket Island, a rock of about three acres among the Tusket Islands off Wedgeport, on the south shore of Nova Scotia.[116] Its founder, Russell Arundel, a Washington lobbyist and businessman, had bought the island in 1948 from Élie Cottreau and Ida Doucette for 750 dollars.[116]

Arundel drafted a declaration of independence, dated "OB1" on the Baldonian calendar, which listed among its rights freedom from "taxes, politics, wars". He styled himself "Prince of Princes", named his tax attorney, Prew Savoy, "Prince Regent, Minister of State, and Ambassador to the United States without Portfolio or Credentials", and offered the title of prince to more than twenty acquaintances and to about seventy Wedgeport tuna guides. A currency, the tunar, and a coat of arms with two tuna and a sheep's head crest completed the apparatus.[117] It claimed no territory beyond the island that Arundel owned.

In October 1952 the Moscow newspaper Literaturnaya Gazeta published a letter by L. Chernaya attacking the "State of Baldonia".[118] Arundel answered by writing to the Soviet embassy in Washington, threatening to break diplomatic relations unless the "libelous" comments ceased. The exchange gave Esquire the material for a 1953 article, "Mirth of a Nation".[119] Nancy Coe, writing in Sports Illustrated in 1967, found the whole enterprise to be in a "spirit of pure spoof".[120]

On 28 December 1973 Arundel transferred the island for one dollar to the Nova Scotia Bird Society, through the Nature Conservancy of the United States and of Canada, as a breeding bird sanctuary. The deed preserved sheep-pasturing rights for the Cottreau and Doucette families.[121] No Canadian government response to the declaration is documented. Coe reported that the Nova Scotia legislature had recognised Outer Baldonia on condition that Baldonians pay the equivalent of their real-estate taxes, a statement that MacKinnon records as unverified.[120]

Pictish Free State

According to The Scotsman, Brian Robertson, a supporter of Scottish independence, founded the Pictish Free State in 1977 on an acre of land on the Isle of Skye to promote awareness of Pictish culture, and he later changed his name by legal process to Robbie the Pict.[122] He became a leading figure in the campaign against the tolls on the Skye Bridge, arguing that the legal paperwork was incomplete and that the levy was therefore illegal.[122] The tolls were abolished in 2004 after the Scottish Executive bought the bridge from its private owners.[122]

Rainbow Creek, Independent State of

Tom Barnes, a retired police officer who owned the property Yammacoona at Cowwarr in Gippsland, declared the State of Rainbow Creek on 23 July 1979, after farmers in the district were refused compensation for flood losses in 1978.[123] The Rainbow Creek channel is a breakaway of the Thomson River, formed in the flood of 1952, and the West Gippsland Catchment Management Authority records that the flooding that created it led to a secessionist movement among landholders who wanted a separate state within Victoria.[124,125]

Rough and Ready, Great Republic of

Rough and Ready, a mining town five miles west of Grass Valley in California, called itself the Great Republic of Rough and Ready from 7 April 1850 until early July of that year.[126] According to The Union, most historians hold that the measure which angered residents was a proposed tax on gold mining; the town elected Colonel E. F. Brundage, a veteran of the Mexican War, as its first president.[126] Miners who sought liquor for their Fourth of July celebration were refused at Boston Ravine because they were counted as foreigners, and the town then voted to rejoin the Union in time for the holiday.[126] The episode is commemorated each year at the town's Secession Days.[126]

Slowjamastan, People's Republic of

Randy Williams, a San Diego slow-jams disc jockey who calls himself the Sultan of Slowjamastan, bought 11.07 acres of desert in California in October 2021 for 19,000 dollars and declared independence from the United States on 1 December 2021.[127] CNN reported in June 2023 that the republic claims more than 500 registered citizens, with about 4,500 more approved on conditions or waiting, and that it prints its own currency, the duble.[127] CNN states that no outside government recognises the republic, although Williams says that it meets the criteria for statehood in the Montevideo Convention.[127]

Snake Hill, Principality of

The Principality of Snake Hill is an Australian micronation near Mudgee in New South Wales, proclaimed after a long-running dispute between its founders and their bank.[100] Hobbs and Williams record that the Australian government answered the principality's declaration with a letter which, in the words of Princess Paula as they quote her, said "Thank you very much for the letter", "and that was it".[100]

Talossa, Kingdom of

Robert Ben Madison founded Talossa on 26 December 1979, at the age of 14, when he claimed his bedroom on Prospect Avenue in Milwaukee as an independent country and named himself King Robert I.[128] Milwaukee Magazine records that Talossans developed a Romance-based language whose vocabulary has grown to tens of thousands of words, and that by 1995 the kingdom had about two dozen citizens.[128] CBS 58 reports that members have come from Mexico, New Zealand, Scotland and Germany, and that the legislature is bicameral, with an upper house representing each province and a lower house based on population and elected by party list.[129]

The kingdom has suffered schism. CBS 58 reports that Madison abdicated by the early 2000s.[129] Milwaukee Magazine records that a separatist group formed a Republic of Talossa in 2004.[128] On 4 July 2011 Madison declared Talossa dissolved and reunited with the United States.[128] The kingdom continues: according to Milwaukee Magazine, Txec I, a public school teacher in Riverside, California, has reigned since November 2024 over about 200 citizens, while CBS 58 gave a population of about 150 in December 2023.[128,129]

Tavolara, Kingdom of

The Kingdom of Tavolara is a royal title and island realm claimed by the Bertoleoni family of Tavolara, a rocky island off the north-eastern coast of Sardinia, Italy. The claim rests on an oral tradition, which holds that King Charles Albert of Sardinia (reigned 1831 to 1849), after meeting the Corsican-born shepherd Giuseppe Bertoleoni (1778 to 1849) and visiting the island, recognised his authority in a document that Victor Emanuel II later confirmed.[130]

Marcel Farinelli finds that "there is no record of the recognition", that the versions of the story differ too much to fix a date, and that the documentation has disappeared. He reads the tradition as a strategy to win title to the island against rival shepherds, since land rules of 1823 to 1839 gave ownership to whoever proved continual, exclusive use. Alberto Della Marmora, a contemporary, confirmed the friendship with Charles Albert and reported that Giuseppe was "dubbed king of Tavolara".[130]

Foreign writers repeated the story. A French author described Giuseppe as a "shepherd-king", a French magazine reported in 1896 that a revolution had turned Tavolara into a republic, and in the same year L'Illustrazione Italiana published a reportage that took the kingdom apart, after which the family received letters asking how a title might be bought.[131] The Italian state treated the family as landowners. The Navy expropriated part of the island in 1883, paying Paolo I 12,000 lire for a lighthouse, and a later expropriation for NATO radio facilities restricted access to part of it.[131]

As reported in 2021, Antonio "Tonino" Molinas has been titular king since 1993, after the death of his brother Carlo II without a successor. Family members run a restaurant, "Da Tonino, il re di Tavolara", pay Italian taxes and respect Italian law.[132] Farinelli concludes that "Tavolara is an unintentional micronation", rooted in oral tradition and belonging to the "prehistory of micronationalism".[133]

Užupis, Republic of

Užupis, an artists' quarter of Vilnius, declared itself an independent republic on 1 April 1997, a date its residents have since kept as national day; one scholarly account describes it as established by an active art community at the dawn of the restoration of Lithuanian independence.[134,135] The district covers less than one square kilometre, and it has a president, a foreign minister, passport stamps and a currency.[136] According to its foreign minister, Tomas Čepaitis, the constitution was written in July 1998 by himself and the president, Romas Lileikis, and consists of 38 numbered articles with three mottos; Article 12 states that "A dog has the right to be a dog."[135,137] Čepaitis states that he began appointing ambassadors in 1999 and that about 400 ambassadors and 100 consuls had been named by 2015.[135] No state is known to have recognised the republic; it is an artistic and civic project within Lithuania.

Verdis, Free Republic of

The Free Republic of Verdis is a micronational project proclaimed by Daniel Jackson, who identifies as British and Australian and styles himself president, in the disputed zone along the Danube between Croatia and Serbia. According to a report by the news agency SWNS, Jackson declared the republic on 30 May 2019 on a tract of about half a square kilometre that appears on maps of the zone as Pocket 3 and can be reached only by boat from Osijek.[138] N1 Belgrade reports that Jackson followed the example of Liberland, and Il Post places the tract a few kilometres south of the larger Liberland claim at Gornja Siga.[139,140]

The land lies in an area of about 115 square kilometres where the boundary between Croatia and Serbia was never settled. Serbia holds that the line follows the centre of the navigable channel of the Danube, and Croatia holds to the limits of its municipalities as mapped in the nineteenth century; the river has since moved.[140] According to N1 Belgrade, the Croatian Foreign Ministry stated that the area is not terra nullius, that the border remains under negotiation and that anyone approaching it must observe Croatian and European Union law, whilst the Serbian Foreign Ministry called the proclamation an unserious act not worth comment.[139] Kurir reported in May 2026 that the Croatian Interior Ministry's position was that Verdis does not exist.[141]

Verdis states that it has about 400 citizens, that English, Croatian and Serbian are its official languages, that it uses the euro, and that citizenship follows 11 months of electronic residency; it reports representative offices at Dover and Novi Sad.[138,142] These figures are the group's own. As at June 2026 Verdis described itself as under a Croatian blockade, conducted most of its business online and reported visits by its president and interior minister to the United Nations headquarters and the Haitian consulate in New York; no recognition by any state is reported.[142]

Vevčani, Republic of

Vevčani, a settlement in south-western Macedonia (now North Macedonia), became known for protests in 1987 against a plan to share its wells with a neighbouring village; the Associated Press reported in 2013 that special police units suppressed the protests but that the authorities backed down.[143] According to the same report, about 96 per cent of voters supported independence in a referendum, and a Republic of Vevčani was declared, with a constitution drafted by Mirte Aluloski, a parliament, a currency (the licnik, sold as a souvenir) and red passports bearing a coat of arms.[143] The mayor said that the passports now attract tourists.[143] The annual carnival on St Vasilij Day, 13 January, said to date back about 1,400 years, features satirical masks aimed at national leaders, religion and neighbouring states.[143]

Vikesland, Kingdom of

The Kingdom of Vikesland is a micronation near Riding Mountain National Park in Manitoba, founded in 2005 by the television newsman Christopher Beyette, who styles himself King Christopher I.[144] According to the Associated Press report of April 2015, Beyette created it from a fascination with micronationalism and hoped to make a documentary on the movement, and Vikesland was among the nations represented at MicroCon 2015, held at the Anaheim Central Library and organised by Kevin Baugh of Molossia.[144]

Westarctica, Grand Duchy of

In 2001 Travis McHenry, a naval intelligence specialist, claimed Marie Byrd Land, about 620,000 square miles (1.6 million square kilometres) of Antarctica, first as the Achaean Territory of Antarctica, arguing that the Antarctic Treaty of 1959 bars states from making new claims but says nothing about private individuals.[145,146] Article IV(2) of the treaty provides that no new claim, or enlargement of an existing claim, to territory in Antarctica shall be asserted while the treaty is in force.[147] Frank Jacobs, writing in February 2024, reports that McHenry raised the project to a grand duchy in 2004 and renamed it Westarctica, and that it had about 2,300 citizens, of whom a few hundred were active.[145] Jacobs describes it as a nonprofit that promotes climate awareness and gives small conservation scholarship grants, and as a member of the Antarctic Micronational Union, an association of nine micronations with Antarctic claims.[145] No state has recognised the claim.[145]

World Citizens, World Government of (Garry Davis)

Garry Davis was born in Bar Harbor, Maine, on 27 July 1921, and died on 24 July 2013.[148] On 25 May 1948 he renounced his United States citizenship at the American embassy in Paris and claimed world citizenship.[149] On 4 September 1953 he announced the existence of the World Government of World Citizens and of its administrative arm, the World Service Authority, at Ellsworth Town Hall in Maine.[148] According to the National Catholic Reporter, by the last count close to one million people were registered with the Authority and more than 500,000 carried its passports.[149]

Zaqistan, Republic of

Zaq Landsberg, a New Yorker, bought a four-acre plot in north-western Box Elder County, Utah, online about a decade before KSL-TV reported on it in October 2015, and presents it as the Republic of Zaqistan.[150] Landsberg describes the project as art that probes the limits of land ownership and acknowledges that no state recognises it.[150] KSL reported that the plot has a flag, a border gate and passports that visitors can have stamped.[150] Landsberg pays property taxes to the county, which he calls tributes.[150]

Section IX.3

Accidental Private Holdings

Entries in this section record islands and enclaves that came into private hands and were governed by their owners with a degree of independence from the surrounding state.

Lundy, Island of (Martin Coles Harman's Quasi-Dominion)

Martin Coles Harman bought Lundy in 1925 and, according to the Landmark Trust, claimed that it was a "self-governing dominion".[151] Hayward and Khamis record that, after the island's post office closed in 1928, he created island postage stamps, which became a lasting source of the island's distinct identity, and that in 1929 he issued his own puffin coinage; he flew island flags but never declared independence.[152] He was fined 5 pounds, with 15 guineas costs, under the Coinage Act 1870, and the coins were withdrawn.[151] Harman died in 1954, and after his son Albion died in 1968 the family put the island up for sale.[151] In 2011 Levi Newman founded a "New Kingdom of Lundy" on the MicroWiki site.[152]

Pontinha, Principality of (Funchal, Madeira)

The Forte de São José on the islet of Pontinha in Funchal harbour was sold at auction in 1903 to the Blandy family, British residents of Madeira, in a charter of sale that used the phrase "de pura e irrevogável venda", pure and irrevocable sale.[153] After the Blandy family put the fort up for sale in 1999, Renato Barros bought it. The municipal authorities, which had given provisional approval to a bar-restaurant on the site in 2004, later withdrew consent, and in January 2007 Barros declared the independence of the site from Portugal, basing the claim on the 1903 phrase.[153] The principality adopted a flag resembling that of the Autonomous Region of Madeira, a coat of arms with the Latin motto "verba volant, scripta manent", and a planned currency, the ponto, which gave way to Bitcoin in 2015.[153] Gonçalo Guerra's documentary Um Sonho Soberano appeared at the Madeira Film Festival in April 2016.[153]

Vicente Bicudo de Castro and Philip Hayward date the micronation to the years 2007 to 2017, call it short-lived and describe it as a "defunct micronation". They report that the fort was later bought by a group of returned Madeiran emigrants who plan to open it as a museum, although it had not opened when they wrote.[153]

Refreshment, Islands of (Jonathan Lambert, to 1812)

The American sailor Jonathan Lambert of Salem, Massachusetts, settled on Tristan da Cunha with three companions, Andrew Millett, Thomas Currie (also recorded as Tomasso Curri) and an unnamed apprentice boy, and proclaimed himself king of the Islands of Refreshment, which comprised Tristan da Cunha and two neighbouring islands, claiming "absolute possession" of them for himself and his heirs.[154] Lambert and two of his subjects drowned on a fishing expedition in May 1812, and Currie survived.[154]

Britain annexed the islands on 14 August 1816 and placed a garrison there, which was withdrawn in 1817.[155] Corporal William Glass, with his wife Maria and their two children, led a small group that persuaded the garrison's commander to let it remain, and permanent settlement began in that period.[156] On 7 November 1817 the group signed a voluntary agreement establishing what it called "the firm", whose members shared stock, stores and profits in equal parts and acknowledged no authority of one over another.[156]

Section IX.4

Internet-Era Cyber-Jurisdictions and Digital Micronations

Entries in this section chronicle the online and conceptual polities that emerged in the commercial internet's first decades, some of them hoaxes or fraud, and others artistic projects that adopted the form of a state.

Elgaland-Vargaland, Kingdom of

The Kingdom of Elgaland-Vargaland has been run since 27 May 1992 as an art project by the Swedish artists Carl Michael von Hausswolff and Leif Elggren, who style themselves King Michael I and King Leif.[157] Its territory comprises the world's geographical, mental and digital borderlands: such as the no man's land between state borders, with an annexe of radio frequencies and digital portals.[157] According to Moderna Museet, it has 34 embassies and consulates, anyone may apply for citizenship, and all deceased people are counted as citizens.[157] Hobbs and Williams record that it has a flag and national anthem and issues passports and stamps on request, and that its claim to all border frontier areas is intended to challenge the concept of the nation state.[100]

Lomar, Republic of

In 2000 Ruth Wedgwood, then a professor of law at Yale University Law School, described the Republic of Lomar in the Kentucky Law Journal as a cyber-country established by a California computer systems administrator, organised as a non-profit foundation in the territorial state of Delaware and claiming 4,100 citizens, a figure she drew from the project's own websites, which she consulted on 12 May 2000.[158] She lists it among the cyber-countries and identifies no territory for it.[158] According to the article, Lomar issued passports and stamps and argued that it could provide a nationality of last resort for citizens of the world opposed to autocratic regimes.[158]

NSK State in Time

The NSK State in Time is described by the art historian Inke Arns as a state without territory, founded in 1991 as an artistic response to the independence of Slovenia; its representatives include members of the IRWIN group.[159] Arns records that requests for NSK passports rose in number from Nigeria after 2006, first as e-mails and telephone calls to individual representatives and diplomats of the NSK State, and that the Republic of Slovenia asked the artists to post a notice on the NSK website stating that NSK citizenship does not equal Slovenian citizenship and that an NSK passport does not allow its holder to enter the Schengen zone.[159] Nigerians, in her words, "represent the largest single group of citizens of the NSK State", holding one quarter of all NSK passports issued since 1991.[159] From 26 to 31 July 2010 IRWIN took part in a programme, "Towards a Double Consciousness: NSK Passport Project",

at the Centre for Contemporary Art, Lagos, which included a panel discussion on 31 July entitled "NSK State: The Nigerian connection".[160] At the panel the visitors stressed that NSK is a state of mind, not a real country.[159]

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Part X

Network States, Seasteading and Digital Nations

This part gathers the twenty-first-century projects that seek statehood, territory or a negotiated legal status through the organised recruitment of a dispersed community, together with the neighbouring ventures in seasteading and digital nationhood. Cyber-countries and virtual nations are older than the vocabulary used here: the commercial internet gave rise from the mid-1990s to paper and online polities that Part IX records and that readers should consult alongside this part. Bitnation, founded in 2014, pressed the use of decentralised technology further than most of its predecessors and looked towards a post-national order in which individuals would choose governance services from competing providers; the compendium records its work with the respect that its pioneering role earns, while noting that it disclaimed statehood and sought neither territory nor recognition. The network state, as described in Balaji Srinivasan's 2022 book, adds a territorial and diplomatic stage to the older cyber-jurisdiction model. Most of its projects remain active, so the entries record the position documented at the time of writing and are open to revision.

SECTION X.1

Network States and Their Precursors

Entries in this section chronicle the twenty-first-century projects that seek a negotiated legal status, territory or recognition through the organised recruitment of a dispersed community, together with the concept of the network state and the digital precursors that led to it. Most remain active, and the entries record the position documented at the time of writing.

Afropolitan (Digital Nation for the African Diaspora)

Afropolitan was founded in 2016 by the Nigerian-born entrepreneurs Chika Uwazie and Eche Emole as a movement serving the African diaspora. According to The Condia, it drew on Ghana's 2019 Year of Return as an early test of its model.[1] Emole has said that he was inspired by an article of 2021 in which Balaji Srinivasan set out the idea of a network state, and the venture then took that form.[2] Steven Boykey Sidley, writing in the Daily Maverick in August 2023, recorded that the venture drew its prospective citizens from 1.5 billion people on the continent and 150 million abroad, offered NFT passports, and had raised more than US$2 million in venture capital from over 25 companies and individuals.[3]

The venture's stated route to territory is staged. The Condia reported in October 2022 that the fourth phase would use the network, capital and legitimacy built in earlier phases to negotiate land with partner governments, that Afropolitan envisaged a physical district in which members could be present, and that over time it aimed to build a wider network of charter cities comparable to Singapore and Hong Kong.[1] It also reported that a network state would seek diplomatic recognition from existing states. Emole was quoted as saying that the passport was membership-based for the time being but would guarantee citizenship in future, and passport sales were planned for December 2022.[1]

Sidley set out the founders' four-point plan: an online network with NFT passports, a mobile application, quasi-governmental services, and the purchase of land with negotiation of recognition as a country. He doubted that the network-state concept was practical.[3] On the sources available, which date from 2022 and 2023, the project states an aim of recognition, but no territory, treaty or recognition has been documented, and no later account of its activity, membership or funding has been located as at October 2026.

Anthemism

Anthemism is the name given by its promoters to a programme for founding a new country on the philosophy of Objectivism, taking its name from Ayn Rand's novella Anthem, whose hero leaves a collectivist society to begin another. The programme publishes its material through a Substack newsletter.[4,5]

The movement defines itself against the earlier startup-state projects. In a post on its Substack, it contrasts itself with a Reddit thread of 2017 on the founding of a new country, which

it says treated the matter as one of territory, recognition, taxes, defence and treaties with little shared ideology. Anthemism, by contrast, describes itself as a philosophical project grounded in Objectivism that aims to build a whole society around a coherent system of values. The post rejects anarchism and states that a functioning society requires a state with a monopoly on force, together with military forces, police, courts, border control and diplomacy.[4]

The account rests on the movement's own publications, and no independent reporting has been found. Those publications identify no territory, record no negotiation with any existing state, and state no legal status for the movement.

Asgardia, Space Nation of

Asgardia is a project for a nation based in space, proposed by the Russian scientist and businessman Igor Ashurbeyli, who announced it in October 2016, and administered from Vienna. Its constitution was accepted by 75 per cent of those who voted.[6] Its first satellite, Asgardia-1, was launched on 12 November 2017 from NASA's Wallops Flight Facility in Virginia aboard an Antares rocket on the OA-8 mission to the International Space Station, and Ashurbeyli described it as representing a new territory.[7] The Austrian news site futurezone reported on 9 September 2022 that the satellite was about to burn up in the atmosphere.[8]

In August 2024 the organisation's Supreme Space Council, meeting on the Greek island of Corfu, adopted a Declaration of Independence in which Asgardia proclaimed full statehood and invited states to conclude bilateral agreements on mutual recognition. Asgardia described its territory as the satellite launched in 2017 and reported a population of more than 1.17 million.[9] A press release published through Khaleej Times after an executive congress in Dubai in October 2025 asserted that the nation had more than one million citizens from close to 200 countries and that Ashurbeyli would make a formal appeal to the United Nations for recognition. The page is promotional, and its figures come from Asgardia and have not been checked by others.[10]

No state is reported to have recognised Asgardia, and it has not been admitted to the United Nations. Its claim to territory rested on a single satellite, and its population figures are those of its own registers.

Bitnation (Decentralised Borderless Voluntary Nation)

Bitnation was launched in 2014 by Susanne Tarkowski Tempelhof as a platform for governance services delivered over blockchain networks to participants who joined by choice and without regard to residence.[11] It described itself as a Governance 2.0 operating system for self-governance on the blockchain.[12] It did not claim to be a state in the conventional sense. Vice reported in 2016 that Bitnation was not recognised by any nation-state and therefore had no legal jurisdiction, while its founder stated: "We don't need to improve existing nation-states, we need to make them redundant." Vice put the number of its citizens at close to 4,000, most of them in Europe, and recorded criticism that the model rested on crypto-libertarian premises.[13] An earlier interview noted that critics had faulted the project for not being incorporated in a jurisdiction backed by a government.[11] Bitnation sought neither territory nor recognition.

In February 2016 it launched a constitution for the Decentralised Borderless Voluntary Nation on the Ethereum network at a public event in Rio de Janeiro.[14] The service that drew most attention was blockchain notarisation. On 30 November 2015 Bitnation and the director of Estonia's e-Residency programme, Kaspar Korjus, announced a public notary service for e-residents, covering marriages, birth certificates and business contracts; Bitnation stated that a couple married in this way would be married in the "blockchain jurisdiction" and not under the law of any nation-state.[12] In September 2015 it began the Refugee Emergency Response project, which issued emergency identities recorded on the blockchain and Bitcoin debit cards to undocumented arrivals in Europe. Its founder said that about 40 identities were issued in the first week, and the project worked with non-governmental organisations and private firms in preference to governments or United Nations bodies.[15]

Vice reported that after visiting the project the author remained unsure of its purpose.[13] The project's last recorded public activity dates from February 2020, and by 2022 its web address had been relaunched as a cryptocurrency news site.[16] Bitnation was a documented attempt to separate governance services from territory, and it drew wide press attention in the mid-2010s.

Free Society (Ver and Janssens Libertarian Country Project)

In September 2017 the cryptocurrency entrepreneurs Roger Ver and Olivier Janssens announced Free Society, a venture to establish an independent country governed on libertarian principles. Cointelegraph reported on 22 September 2017 that they would seek a location that was safe and free of conflict, accessible by water and close to economic centres in the United States, Europe and Asia, and that they hoped to offer a stable government with substantial national debt a means of reducing it by leasing land to the venture.[17] In an interview published on 25 September 2017, after Ver had announced the project at a conference in Aspen, Ver stated that the founders had raised about US$100 million and hoped to raise much more. He said that they had "approached a number of different governments already" and been surprised at how eager they were, and he called the intended community a "non country", subject to guidelines accepted on joining, in the manner of a homeowners' association.[18] Reason reported that negotiations were "ongoing, and not limited to just one country", without naming any state, and quoted Ver as identifying the main risk as the possibility that "the country will renege".[19]

The New York Times had said that the project "apparently ran aground", a view that Foreign Policy In Focus disputed in 2026. It cited Isle of Man registry documents of 16 and 18 June 2025 which, according to the authors, list Free Society Limited as secretary of Destiny International Limited and record Janssens as the sole shareholder of Free Society, with its stated purpose amended to research "decentralised governance models for free private cities".[20] The same article reports that Tom W. Bell, described as Free Society's legal adviser, said in August 2025 that his client had an upcoming announcement of a "big project", and the authors present the Nevis project known as Destiny as a continuation of Free Society.[20] That claim is the authors' inference from registry documents.

The venture belongs to the line of attempts promoted by private persons to obtain territory or statehood-like status by negotiation with an existing state. No territory or recognition has been reported for it.

Nation3 (Cloud Nation DAO)

Nation3 is a decentralised autonomous organisation that describes itself as a Web3-powered, tax-free "cloud nation". Its founders are Luis Cuende, whom Forbes Argentina identifies as the founder of Aragon, and Anastasiya Belyaeva.[21,22] The description of an Epicenter podcast episode of 10 November 2022 states that, as a DAO, the project has "no legal entity, no gatekeepers, and no influence by trad states", and lists the "vision for acquiring land" among the topics discussed, without stating an answer.[21]

Membership takes the form of a passport. According to the project's own documentation, the Genesis Citizen passport is a non-transferable Ethereum NFT with a maximum supply of 420, which can be minted by a holder of more than 2 veNATION and is burned if the holder's veNATION balance falls because a lock is not renewed.[23] Forbes Argentina reported that citizenship was obtained by committing Ether to the project's treasury and staking the NATION token.[22]

No territory, agreement with any state or recognition is known.

Network School

Network School is a residential community and programme for technology founders and others, launched in August 2024 by Balaji Srinivasan at Forest City, a luxury property development on reclaimed islands in Johor, Malaysia.[24,25] Press reports describe it as a prototype of the network state set out in his 2022 book, The Network State: How to Start a New Country, under which a community formed online accumulates capital, acquires land and may seek political recognition.[26,27] It held no territory and exercised no jurisdiction. It operated through a Malaysian company, NSO Malaysia Sdn Bhd, under local licences, and in 2026 Malaysia's digital minister met its founder to discuss visas and support for the initiative.[27]

On 21 July 2026 the Iskandar Puteri City Council, at a special full council meeting, revoked the licences of NSO Malaysia Sdn Bhd and ordered it to cease operating from 22 July 2026. The council cited licensing and premises-use breaches found in inspections between 12 and 20 July, including activity that did not match the approved office use.[28] On 27 July a Johor executive councillor said that the operator had lodged no appeal.[29] The founder said that reports of a closure were inaccurate and that the school had received two licensing notices, which he regarded as capable of remedy.[25]

On 22 July 2026 the founder and Kazakhstan's Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Artificial Intelligence and Digital Development announced a memorandum of understanding for a Network School campus in Kazakhstan. According to the reports, it runs for five years, covers artificial intelligence education, research and start-up support, and contemplates a Network State Conference in Kazakhstan.[30,31] The memorandum is a statement of intent between a state and a private programme. At the latest reports retrieved, from late July 2026, the Johor operation had stopped and no appeal had been lodged.

Network State, The (Concept)

The Network State is a book by the technology investor Balaji Srinivasan, a former chief technology officer of Coinbase, published in 2022. A contemporary review describes it as self-published, listed on Amazon at 474 pages and distributed in the main as a web-based book application.[32] Srinivasan's one-sentence definition of the title concept is "a highly aligned online community with a capacity for collective action that crowdfunds territory around the world" and that "eventually gains diplomatic recognition from pre-existing states". His extended definition lists a moral innovation, a sense of national consciousness, a recognised founder, a capacity for collective action, an integrated cryptocurrency, a consensual government limited by a social smart contract, a virtual capital and an on-chain census.[33] The review summarises the sequence as an online community first and physical enclaves afterwards, and quotes the book's own formula: "Society in the cloud first; a network state last; in Bit Zion we trust."[32] In Wells's paraphrase of the author the principle is "land last, but not land never".[34] The territorial end state is an archipelago of crowdfunded physical holdings, enclaves dispersed across many jurisdictions and linked by network infrastructure, whose population and resources would in time justify diplomatic recognition by existing states and representation at the United Nations.[34,35] The concept proposes the formation of new polities by consent and by recruitment, with recognition treated as a later outcome and not a precondition.[33]

The idea has a documented lineage that begins in the early 2010s. In 2013 Srinivasan delivered a talk entitled Silicon Valley's Ultimate Exit at Y Combinator's Startup School, drawing on Albert Hirschman's distinction between voice and exit to argue for an opt-in society outside the United States built on technology, while stating that the talk concerned emigration and exit and not secession, although Wells later called it a secession speech.[36,34] Contemporary commentary tied the argument to the seasteading investments of Peter Thiel and distinguished it from exit ventures such as Blueseed, which the commentator regarded as dependent on state infrastructure.[36] The historian Raymond Craib places the wider project of libertarian exit within a history running from the era of decolonisation to the digital age, a history that includes the maritime micronation attempts of the early 1970s.[37] The book received endorsements from Marc Andreessen, Brian Armstrong and Vitalik Buterin, the last of whom gave it a favourable review with unease over the author's traditionalist emphasis.[34,35]

Critiques come from several directions. Kling doubted that the book explains how individuals leave existing tax and regulatory obligations, and questioned whether cryptographic systems can protect property as government enforcement does.[38] Wells observed that the proposal does not address the principle of territorial integrity, and that members who stay subject to a host state's taxation, policing and citizenship do not belong to a separate state in any legal sense.[34] Garrod argues that the book misunderstands class and capitalism, misreads how states arise and operate, and relies on a frontier mythology, and reads the project as right-wing utopianism formed in a period of neoliberal crisis.[39] Jutel, in a peer-reviewed article of 2025, treats the Network State movement as an expression of the exit logic of venture capital, centred on Srinivasan as a founder-philosopher.[40] Sidley raised the practical objections of recognition, armed force and taxation, and warned that communities built on a shared moral

worldview can become cult-like.[41] García Martínez questioned whether crypto-governance innovation can supply the depth of commitment that has held nations together.[35] No recognition of an entity as a network state by an existing state is recorded in the commentary cited.

Plumia (Internet Country for Digital Nomads)

Plumia is a project to build an "internet country" for digital nomads. It originated in a hackathon at SafetyWing, an insurance company for remote workers, which owns and staffs it, and its executive director is the writer Lauren Razavi.[42,43] Razavi has argued that citizenship, passports and tax are the parts of the nation state "stuck in the past" and has spoken of wanting to "upload the nation state to the cloud".[42]

The anthropologist Dave Cook, writing in The Conversation in 2022, described Plumia as a "prototype virtual state" with no territory and no present plan to claim any. He recorded Plumia's statement that it was in talks with countries, confidential save for Montenegro, which it had named in public.[42] Plumia's own project page describes the work as exploratory, with discussions held with several governments, Montenegro among them, and states that no partnership has been finalised.[43] No agreement with a state and no recognition is recorded in the sources read, and the project's status as at October 2026 is not verified.

Praxis (Network State Project)

Praxis is a venture co-founded by Dryden Brown that Bloomberg reported in April 2025 as calling itself a "sovereign network" and as seeking at least 10,000 acres for its first city.[44] In November 2024 TechCrunch reported that Brown had visited Nuuk, Greenland, in the summer of 2024 with a proposal to work with the government on a new city. Brown argued that taxes from such a city, mining and tourism could replace the annual subsidy of about US$500 million that Denmark gives Greenland, making Greenlandic independence more feasible. TechCrunch added that Praxis had secured commitments of US$525 million that could be drawn down only as city-building milestones were met. The Danish parliamentarian Rasmus Jarlov replied that Greenlandic independence would need the approval of the Danish parliament and a constitutional change, and that Denmark would not approve independence so that Greenland could be bought.[45]

Bloomberg reported that Praxis planned a world tour from 1 May 2025 to nine cities: Nuuk, Buenos Aires, Rome, Athens, Auckland, Marrakesh, Tokyo, Kyiv and Santo Domingo, with the choice of location to be announced in late 2025.[44] On 22 September 2026 the Uruguayan developer Eduardo Bastitta confirmed that Praxis had reached an agreement to locate a settlement within +Colonia, a development of 515 hectares at Colonia del Sacramento, with an estimated investment of more than US$1 billion and about 2,700 future residents having shown willingness to move. El Economista noted that the agreement with Bastitta's company, Alas Este, was non-binding in large part and that it was unclear whether the city would be built.[46] The project is a private development in an existing state, and the statehood aims attributed to it rest on Brown's statements as reported by the press.

Próspera and the Honduran ZEDEs

Próspera is a private jurisdiction on the island of Roatán, Honduras, created under the regime of Zones for Employment and Economic Development (ZEDE) that Honduras adopted in 2013. A constitutional amendment (Decree 236-2012) authorised the regime, and an Organic Law (Decree 120-2013, of 6 September 2013) implemented it. The zones were to have their own regulatory frameworks, a special court circuit and an arbitration centre.[47,48] According to Próspera's published rules, the oversight committee incorporated its first parcel on 29 December 2017.[47]

Próspera presented itself as a self-governing jurisdiction inside Honduras, and the sources show no claim to independence or to recognition as a state. Its rules describe a council that exercises authority delegated by residents, but place the zone under a committee constituted by the Honduran Congress and President, and make the admission of residents subject to Honduran authority.[47] It is a zone inside Honduras.

On 21 April 2022 the Honduran Congress repealed the ZEDE law by a unanimous vote.[49] The zone's operating company states that it keeps its rights under legal stability guarantees and investment treaties.[47] In December 2022 Honduras Próspera Inc., St. John's Bay Development Company LLC and Próspera Arbitration Center LLC requested arbitration against the Republic of Honduras under the Dominican Republic and Central America Free Trade Agreement with the United States (ICSID Case No. ARB/23/2).[50] Honduras gave notice of denunciation of the ICSID Convention on 24 February 2024, effective 25 August 2024.[51] On 20 September 2024 the plenary of the Supreme Court declared Decrees 236-2012 and 120-2013 unconstitutional, with effect from their origin.[52]

As at October 2026 the arbitration is pending. The public record lists a decision on preliminary objections of 26 February 2025, the claimants' memorial of 15 October 2025 and Honduras's counter-memorial of 12 July 2026.[50] Honduras deposited a new instrument of ratification of the ICSID Convention on 17 July 2026, and the Convention entered into force for it again on 16 August 2026.[53]

Section X.2

Seasteading Ventures

Entries in this section chronicle ventures that proposed to found self-governing communities on platforms or vessels at sea, from the 1960s Atlantis project to the Seasteading Institute and the Eleutheria project.

Eleutheria (New Nation Project)

The New Nation Project, which uses the name Eleutheria, is a programme to found a new state, associated with Steve Clancy. Its stated aim, as set out in a directory entry on the Network School platform, is to establish a free nation with limited government, free markets and Judeo-Christian values, either at Bir Tawil or by seasteading. The same entry states that the project is working towards acquiring land to establish a physical foothold.[54]

In a Seasteading Institute podcast dated 15 May 2025, whose notes describe Eleutheria as one of the Institute's business members, the project is presented as seeking legal autonomy beyond a special economic zone by combining seasteading with a free private city. The notes state that the group presented a proposal to the Parliament of Tuvalu for a 99-year lease covering real estate, medical facilities and seasteads, and that if Tuvalu moves forward the group will build the Pacifica project. The notes describe the New Nation Project as aiming to build a society with Christian values while welcoming residents of any faith.[55]

No statement by the Government of Tuvalu, no parliamentary record and no press report of any negotiation was found, and the sources read describe a proposal presented, not a negotiation concluded or an agreement reached. The venture is distinct from Tuvalu's Future Now project and digital nation initiative, which the Tuvaluan government promotes in order to secure recognition of its own continued statehood and maritime boundaries.[56] The project holds no territory and no recognition. Steve Clancy, the principal of the project, is an adviser to the Startup States Society, and the author of this volume serves on the project's committee.

Oceania (The Atlantis Project, Eric Klien)

The Atlantis Project proposed the construction of a floating sea city to be called Oceania, as a new nation governed on libertarian principles. It began in February 1993 and, according to its own Usenet FAQ, collapsed in April 1994 when it ran out of money.[57] According to Vice in 2011, Eric Klien established the project, and he attributed its failure to insufficient interest.[58]

The FAQ describes a plan to build Oceania on an artificial island in the Caribbean, about fifty miles from Panama, from modular hexagonal units of about 1.6 acres each designed by the architect Sten Sjostrand, with room for between 10,000 and 30,000 residents and an estimated cost of about one billion dollars to begin construction. It states that a written

constitution and legal code were completed, and that after the collapse supporters attempted a revival directed at paying off debts. At the date of the FAQ the model had been built but was only half paid for, and construction had not begun.[57]

The Atlantis Project predates the Seasteading Institute, founded in 2008, by some fifteen years. No source consulted records a declaration of independence, a territorial claim or a request for recognition by any state; the project remained a published proposal.

Operation Atlantis (Werner Stiefel)

Operation Atlantis was a libertarian project to found an independent nation at sea, led by the American pharmaceutical entrepreneur Werner K. Stiefel (1921 to 2006), and inspired by the novels of Ayn Rand.[59] Stiefel began the project in 1968 as a three-stage plan: a community of recruits at a motel in Saugerties, New York, a ferrocement vessel to sail beyond national waters, and a permanent island nation, designated Atlantis I, II and III.[59] Atlantis II was launched in 1971, although the date is disputed in the literature, and was left on its side in the mud when the tide went out. According to Craib, it capsized and caught fire on launch on the Hudson, was repaired and sailed for the Bahamas, where it sank in heavy weather.[37] Simpson records that a storm destroyed the hull near Acklins Island, Bahamas.[59] Stiefel set up a base on Tortuga Island, off the north coast of Haiti, under a long-term lease, which the Haitian government cancelled after learning of the project's plans.[59] At Silver Shoals, a bank outside national jurisdiction and about four feet deep at low tide, which Haiti and the Bahamas both claimed, Stiefel had sea walls built for the island project, Atlantis III, which Simpson dates to 1970 and 1971. His group began dredging to create an artificial island until gunboats ordered it to leave.[59] An attempt to create land on the Misteriosa Banks, between Cuba and Honduras, ended when a hurricane destroyed the site during preparation.[59] Stiefel later bought Hatchet Caye, a six-acre island off the coast of Belize. According to Simpson, one account holds that the project was abandoned when he put the island up for sale, while another, from a participant, has the group living there until 2005.[59]

The project never declared a state with territory or obtained recognition. It remains a documented case of an organised, funded attempt to found a new polity on an artificial or unclaimed offshore site. Simpson treats it as a precursor of the modern seasteading movement, and notes that the Seasteading Institute, founded in 2008, aims to enable floating communities.[59] The sources differ on dates and on the order of events after Atlantis II; the latest date given for the end of the project is 2005.

Seasteading Institute, The

The Seasteading Institute was founded in 2008 by Patri Friedman, a former Google engineer and grandson of the economist Milton Friedman, and Wayne Gramlich. The Mountain View Voice reported in 2009 that Peter Thiel had given Friedman US$500,000 to pursue the idea.[60] Friedman described sea-based platforms as a technological route to new governments, in which switching citizenship would mean moving to a different platform. By 2009 the Institute had three staff and three interns in Palo Alto, and it proposed Club Stead, a floating resort for 200 guests costing US$110 million, and a prototype it hoped to build in San Francisco Bay.[60]

Simpson describes the Institute as a California non-profit working to build floating communities, financed in large part by Thiel. According to her, from 2014 it concentrated on floating cities in the territorial waters of a host nation because of the cost of open-ocean engineering. Its negotiations in Honduras failed in 2015, and in September 2016 it announced plans to meet the president of French Polynesia about floating islands.[59] The Institute has pursued host-state agreements and has not declared an independent state.

On 13 January 2017 the Institute and the Government of French Polynesia signed a memorandum concerning a floating island in the territory's waters, which the Institute called "an historic agreement".[61] On 28 February 2018 the government said that the memorandum had expired at the end of 2017 and was "not a legal document".[62]

Section X.3

Digital Residency and Digital-Nation Programmes

This section records a government programme that treats digital continuity as a means of preserving the state itself.

Tuvalu Digital Nation (Future Now)

Tuvalu, a Pacific island state exposed to rising sea levels, announced at the COP27 conference in 2022 a programme to become the world's first digital nation, presented by Simon Kofe, then Minister for Foreign Affairs.[63,64] According to the Government of Tuvalu, the plan is to recreate the country in digital form, to archive its history and culture, and to move government functions into a digital space.[64] The BBC reported that the programme forms part of the government's wider Future Now (Te Ataeao Nei) project.[63]

The government reports that a three-dimensional LIDAR scan of all 124 islands and islets is complete, that two submarine cables have been installed to support the move to the cloud, that a blockchain-based digital identity system is under exploration for the diaspora, and that citizens are invited to contribute items to a living archive. It states that the scan is meant to lay the foundation for the digital nation and to help redefine Tuvalu's territory under international law.[64] The BBC reported in November 2024 that the scan was finished within a year of COP27 and that the non-profit organisation Place mapped Funafuti in March and April 2024.[63]

The government states that Tuvalu amended its constitution to provide that the State shall remain in perpetuity notwithstanding the impacts of climate change.[64] According to the Toda Peace Institute, the Constitution of Tuvalu Act of 2023 declares maritime zones, statehood and other entitlements permanent, even if climate change alters Tuvalu's land area.[65] The government further states that it has signed twelve joint communiqués affirming its permanent statehood, that the eighteen members of the Pacific Islands Forum have declared that its statehood continues despite sea-level rise, and that twenty-five countries have recognised its digital statehood; these figures are the government's own and have not been checked against the other governments concerned.[64]

On 9 November 2023 Australia and Tuvalu signed the Falepili Union treaty, which entered into force on 28 August 2024. The Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade describes it as the first binding agreement in which Australia recognises Tuvalu's continuing statehood despite sea-level rise, and that the Falepili Mobility Pathway, a permanent resident visa, opened its inaugural ballot on 16 June 2025 for up to 280 places.[66] In its advisory opinion on climate change of 23 July 2025 the International Court of Justice stated, at paragraph 363, that once a state is established, the disappearance of one of its constituent elements would not necessarily entail the loss of its statehood.[67] The sentence does not mention sea-level rise, and readings differ on whether the Court had submergence in mind.[68]

The BBC also reported that Tuvalu's former prime minister Enele Sopoaga, then the opposition leader, said in 2023 that the proposal had "no basis" in international law, and that critics question whether the project is mainly a diplomatic public relations effort.[63] The programme is the work of an existing state that seeks to keep its status, not of a group seeking new recognition.

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Part XI

Further Cases and Comparative Clusters

This last part gathers cases that fit no section of the earlier parts but belong in a compendium of attempted and contested self-governance: abortive unions and federations of recognised states, a small number of pre-1492 cases admitted as flagged exceptions, symbolic and unrealised secession proposals, recognised governments that surrendered their self-government or withheld themselves from union, and governments in exile together with non-territorial entities that hold international standing. It is a residual part and is kept deliberately short.

Section XI.1

Abortive Unions and Federations

This part gathers cases that, for one reason or another, do not sit comfortably within the taxonomy of Parts I through X, beginning in this section with unions and federations of already-recognised states that failed, generally within a decade or two, to hold together, falling apart along the same fault lines of uneven development, regional rivalry and contested central authority visible throughout this compendium's other entries, even though the constituent states themselves were never unrecognised or contested in the way the rest of this work considers. These cases are included for the comparative light they shed on the broader patterns of state failure and dissolution this compendium investigates; several may in time be found to belong more properly within an existing part and will be relocated accordingly as this compendium's structure continues to be refined.

African States, Union of (Ghana-Guinea-Mali)

Ghana and Guinea, both already independent states, formed a union in 1958, and Mali joined the arrangement, which became the tripartite Union of African States.[1] At Conakry on 24 December 1960 the three leaders announced plans for common diplomatic representation and for committees to harmonise economic and monetary policy. Presidents Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Ahmed Sékou Touré of Guinea and Modibo Keita of Mali signed the charter at Accra between 27 and 29 April 1961, and it took effect on 1 July 1961, when it was published in the three capitals on the same day.[2] The union was disbanded in 1963.[1] After Nkrumah was deposed in the military coup of 1966, he was named co-president of Guinea.[1]

Arab Islamic Republic (Libya-Tunisia, 1974)

In January 1974 Muammar Gaddafi of Libya and Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia, presidents of two independent states with international recognition, concluded at Djerba an agreement for the union of their countries, the projected Arab Islamic Republic. The editors of Foreign Relations of the United States call it the Djerba Treaty of Unity and record that its terms gave the presidency to Tunisia and the ministry of defence to Libya.[3] The project did not survive. Bourguiba repudiated the union at once and by February 1974 had withdrawn from the agreement, while Gaddafi continued to insist on the implementation of the Djerba Declaration.[3,4] Relations between the two states worsened over Tunisian accusations of Libyan subversion and a dispute over the continental shelf.[4]

Arab Union

The Arab Union was a federation of the Hashemite kingdoms of Iraq and Jordan, proclaimed on 14 February 1958 when King Faisal II of Iraq and his cousin King Hussein of Jordan united their realms.[5,6] Faisal was to be head of state and Hussein deputy head of state.[6] Both kingdoms were independent and recognised states, and the union was conceived as a Hashemite counterweight to the United Arab Republic, the merger of Egypt and Syria of 1 February 1958.[5,6] About three months later the Iraqi parliament ratified a constitution for the union which transferred defence to it.[5] The union ended with the Iraqi coup of 14 July 1958, which overthrew the monarchy in Baghdad and killed Faisal and other members of the royal family; Iraq was taken out of the Arab Union and the Baghdad Pact.[6]

Central America, Federation of (1921 to 1922)

On 19 January 1921 representatives of Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador signed the Pact of Union (the Pact of San José), which created the Federation of Central America.[7] Costa Rica refused to ratify it, and a federal constitution was adopted on 9 September 1921; the Federation then asked the United States to recognise it.[7] A military coup in Guatemala in December 1921 disturbed the legal development of the Pact, the constitution and the Federation. When delegates of the Federation called at the Department of State, an official told them that recognition of the federal government would be impossible until the situation in Central America had settled.[8]

The Federation ended within weeks of the Guatemalan coup. Sessions of the Federal Council were suspended by decree of the Council on 29 January 1922 and were never resumed, and on 7 February 1922 Honduras, the last remaining member, resumed its independent status.[9]

Central America, Greater Republic of

By the Treaty of Amapala, concluded in Honduras on 20 June 1895, Honduras, Nicaragua and El Salvador agreed to form "a single political organization for the exercise of their external sovereignty" under the title Greater Republic of Central America.[10] The representative body, the Diet, had three members, elected by each republic's legislative body, and in 1896 it wrote to the President of the United States, Grover Cleveland, who replied on 29 December 1896.[10] A constitution dated 27 August 1898 was drawn up at Managua, and a Nicaraguan decree of 1 December 1898 refers to the union as the Republic of the United States of Central America.[11] On 25 November 1898 the provisional president of El Salvador, T. Regalado, decreed that his country was not bound by it and was released from the union, arguing that the Amapala compact lacked popular sanction.[11] On 29 November 1898 the federal council was dissolved at Amapala for lack of support, and on 1 December a Nicaraguan decree declared the republic dissolved and restored the constitution of 1893 with the reforms of 1896.[11]

East African Federation (1963 to 1964 Proposal)

On 5 June 1963 Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika and Milton Obote of Uganda met in Nairobi and announced their intention to unite in an East African federation by the end of 1963.[12] The announcement followed the inaugural meeting of the Organisation of African Unity at Addis Ababa on 25 May 1963.[12] Nyerere was the most committed federalist, whereas Kenyatta was less enthusiastic than his cabinet, and Obote was cautious: his party relied on the Buganda monarchist party, Kabaka Yekka, and he pressed for a loose federation with strong state rights.[12] The three governments also differed over the powers of the federal presidency, Uganda's separate representation at the United Nations, borrowing rights and citizenship.[12] Army mutinies and the union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar in early 1964 revived interest for a time, but a dispute over the common market in April 1964 led to the shelving of federation, and by August 1964 it was no longer on the agenda of the three governments.[12] By October 1963, according to the source, Nyerere regretted the declaration, citing the resentments it created.[12]

Federation of Arab Republics

The Federation of Arab Republics, linking Egypt, Libya and Syria, was announced by Muammar Gaddafi, Anwar Sadat and Hafez al-Assad in April 1971.[4] A draft constitution signed by the three heads of state in August 1971 was approved in referendums in all three countries, and the federation came into existence "on paper" on 1 January 1972, with Sadat as the first president of the council of heads of state.[4] It never progressed beyond symbolic gestures of unity, such as the adoption of a common flag.[4] Gaddafi also pressed for a full merger of Libya and Egypt. In August 1972 Sadat pledged support for full political merger, but Gaddafi wanted immediate unification with a constitution to follow, whereas Sadat wanted step-by-step integration, and the October 1973 war ended effective merger talks.[4] Egyptian and Libyan forces fought a border war in July 1977.[4]

Gran Colombia

Gran Colombia was created by the Fundamental Law of 17 December 1819, enacted at Angostura (now Ciudad Bolívar) by the Congress of Venezuela, which declared the republics of Venezuela and New Granada united from that day in a single Republic of Colombia; Simón Bolívar promulgated the law as president.[13] The Congress had opened at Angostura in February 1819.[14] The Congress of Cúcuta adopted in 1821 a constitution creating a centralised republic.[14] Panama, which declared its independence from Spain on 28 November 1821, became part of Colombia, and the territory of present-day Ecuador was liberated and joined in 1822.[15,14] The United States recognised Colombia on 19 June 1822.[16] Political rivalries and regional jealousies weakened the central state: Venezuelan leaders resented being ruled by Santander, a New Granadan, in Bolívar's absence, and the federalist supporters of Santander clashed with the centralist supporters of Bolívar.[14] José Antonio Páez led a Venezuelan revolt in 1826. The convention at Ocaña broke up in April 1828, and in August 1828 Bolívar assumed dictatorial powers, a step that was unpopular in New Granada.[14] In 1830 Bolívar resigned the presidency, and the Venezuelan and Ecuadorian parts of the republic seceded.[14] In New Granada, the successor state, a law of 21 November 1831 served as the fundamental law of the State, and a convention that concluded in February 1832 adopted its constitution.[17]

Mali Federation

The Mali Federation joined Senegal and the Sudanese Republic (French Sudan) in a union planned in the period after the French referendum of 1958. A constituent assembly at Dakar drafted its constitution in three days, and the constitution was adopted on 17 January 1959; Upper Volta and Dahomey, which had taken part in the project, withdrew during ratification under French pressure, leaving the two territories.[18,19] Agreements transferring competences from France to the Federation were signed in Paris on 4 April 1960, and independence was proclaimed at Dakar on 20 June 1960.[20] The Federation broke up on 20 August 1960 with the secession of Senegal; the Sudanese Republic became the Republic of Mali, which became independent on 22 September 1960.[19,20]

Senegambia, Confederation of

The Senegambia Confederation joined Senegal and The Gambia, two independent states, from 1 February 1982 until 1989. It followed the attempted coup of July 1981 in The Gambia, which failed after a much larger Senegalese military intervention.[21] The Agreement concerning the establishment of a Senegambia Confederation was signed at Dakar on 17 December 1981 by Abdou Diouf for Senegal and Dawda Jawara for The Gambia, and entered into force on 1 February 1982 after the exchange of instruments of ratification at Banjul on 11 January 1982.[22] The text provided that each state maintained "its independence and sovereignty". The President of Senegal was to be President of the Confederation and the President of The Gambia Vice-President. The stated bases of the Confederation included the integration of the armed and security forces and the development of an economic and monetary union, and one-third of the members of the Confederal Parliament were to be chosen by The Gambia's House of Representatives and two-thirds by Senegal's National Assembly.[22] Three protocols on the institutions, financial regulations and co-ordination of foreign policy followed at Banjul on 2 July 1982.[23]

Hughes and Perfect observe that the treaty gave Senegalese forces on Gambian soil a long-term legal footing.[21] The integration envisaged was not carried through. In 1989 President Diouf announced its suspension on 22 August, and The Gambia's House of Representatives dissolved it on 7 October, according to Hughes and Perfect.[21] A United States Department of State report records that the confederation ended in September 1989 after Senegal withdrew its security forces from The Gambia, and that the two states had differed on its purpose: The Gambia stressed its independence, and Senegal wanted a closer economic union.[24]

United Arab Republic

The United Arab Republic, a union of Egypt and Syria under Gamal Abdel Nasser, was announced on 1 February 1958 and ratified by plebiscites in both countries.[25] Nasser required that the two countries be "completely integrated, not just federated", and not the federation that Syria had proposed.[25] The provisional constitution of 1958 set up a unitary cabinet and an assembly of 600 members, 400 of them Egyptian and 200 Syrian, and made the two countries regions, each with an appointed executive council. All Syrian political parties were dissolved. Egyptians took many important administrative posts in Syria, Syrian army officers were transferred to Egypt, and Syrian dissatisfaction with Egyptian domination grew.[25] A military coup in Damascus on 28 September 1961 led Syria to secede.[25] The union continued as a single Member of the United Nations, which Egypt and Syria had joined as separate Members on 24 October 1945; Syria resumed its own seat on 13 October 1961.[26] Egypt kept the name United Arab Republic until 2 September 1971, when it became the Arab Republic of Egypt.[26]

Section XI.2

Pre-1492 Comparative Cases (Flagged Exceptions)

This compendium's taxonomy is bounded, by its own title, to the period from 1492 to the present, and the cases gathered elsewhere in this work all fall within that span. The two entries in this section do not: the Commune of Rome and the Zanj Rebellion's territorial state both arose centuries before the compendium's stated starting point. They are included here as deliberately flagged exceptions, not oversights, because each anticipates in instructive ways the patterns of self-governance, external pressure and eventual suppression or dissolution examined at length in the rest of this work, and the comparison across so wide a span of centuries is itself of some analytical value. Readers should bear in mind throughout this section that these two cases sit outside the compendium's normal chronological scope.

Bactria

Bactria seceded from the Seleucid empire as Seleucid power weakened under Antiochus II (261 to 247 BCE). The kingdom was founded by Diodotus; scholars place his revolt between 256 and 239 BCE, most favouring about 250 BCE, and Bactria-Sogdiana was an independent kingdom by about 239 to 238 BCE.[27] Diodotus was succeeded by his son, Diodotus II.[27] In 208 BCE Antiochus III marched into Bactria and blockaded Euthydemus in Bactra. The siege lasted about two years and ended when Antiochus recognised Bactria's independence and concluded an alliance.[28] About 190 BCE a campaign launched by Demetrius I created a Greco-Indian kingdom centred on Taxila.[28] The Greco-Bactrian kingdom then succumbed to a nomad invasion that ended Greek rule, and the Chinese traveller Zhang Qian described Bactria in 130 BCE as a set of petty principalities under Yuezhi domination.[28]

Basra Revolt of Ali ibn Muhammad (869 to 883)

The Zanj Rebellion was a revolt of enslaved East African labourers in southern Iraq against the Abbasid Caliphate, led by Ali ibn Muhammad. It began in 869 near Basra, when Ali, who claimed descent from Ali ibn Abi Talib, rallied the Zanj and adopted the slogans and imagery of the Kharijites, who held that the best man should rule even if he were an Abyssinian slave.[29,30]

The rebels built fortified settlements with Medina al-Mukhtara, south of Basra, as their capital, and Ali had coins minted in his name; silver dirhams from the Susa hoard were struck at the capital in 874 (261 AH).[30] The Abbasid campaign was led by al-Muwaffaq, brother of the caliph al-Mu'tamid. The siege of al-Mukhtara, which Alexandre Popovic dates from Rajab 267 to Safar 270 AH (from 881 to 883), ended with the death of Ali ibn Muhammad in 883.[31] The revolt kept the Caliphate occupied for almost fifteen years.[30]

Britannic Empire (Carausius and Allectus)

The usurpation of Carausius in Britain in 286 created what modern writers call the Britannic, or British, empire, which lasted under him until 293.[32] After Boulogne fell to Constantius Chlorus, who had been made Caesar in 293, Carausius's finance minister (rationalis summae rei), Allectus, murdered him and held power for about three more years.[33] In 296 Constantius and his praetorian prefect Asclepiodotus sailed for Britain. Asclepiodotus landed on the English coast and advanced towards London, where Allectus met him in battle and died; the separated forces of Constantius then landed, marched on London and destroyed the fleeing army of Allectus.[33] Britain returned to the central administration of the empire.

Commune of Rome

In 1143 the Senate was installed on the Capitol, an expression of Roman civic autonomy towards the pope.[34] Arnold of Brescia received the pardon of Eugenius III at Viterbo and made a penitential pilgrimage to Rome in 1145. By 1148 a papal letter described his influence among the clergy and the people, and when Rome invited Conrad in 1149 to take the imperial crown, seeking to make the city the seat of the empire, Arnold backed the imperial solution.[34] In 1155 an attack on Cardinal Guido was blamed on Arnold's followers, and Adrian IV placed the city under interdict. It was lifted on 23 March 1155, after the senators swore to expel Arnold and his followers and to submit to the pope.[34] Arnold was captured near Spedaletto, seized by local viscounts and handed over to the envoys of Frederick Barbarossa. According to Otto of Freising, the prefect had him hanged; his body was burned and the remains were thrown into the Tiber.[34]

The commune did not end with Arnold's death. The senators who swore in 1155 to submit to the pope kept the Senate in being, and the commune is dated to 1398 in accounts that follow the later history. A reprint of the entry on Boniface IX in the Kolbe Foundation's library states that Boniface extinguished the municipal independence of Rome and secured the final adhesion of the Romans in 1398 by fortifying Castel Sant'Angelo, the bridges and other strategic points.[35]

Crete, Emirate of

A band of Muslims of Andalusian origin, who had spent some years in Alexandria, landed on Crete under Abu Hafs (died 861) in the 820s, a date for which 824 and 827 have both been proposed, and established an emirate on the island.[36] The emirate acted without outside control but recognised the authority of the Abbasid caliph, and its coins bore the name of the caliph in Baghdad.[36] Its capital was Handaq, the later Heraklion. The coinage included bronze fulus from the reign of Abu Hafs and dinars from that of Shu'ayb I (about 855 to 880).[36] Byzantium attempted to recover the island in 829, 866, 912 and 949, and succeeded in 961, when the general Nikephoros Phokas retook it.[36]

Gallic Empire

The Gallic Empire was the breakaway western state founded by Postumus in 260, which lasted until 274. Its last emperor, Tetricus I, was proclaimed near Bordeaux in the spring of 271, after the murder of Victorinus at Cologne, and was recognised in Gaul and Britain but not in Spain.[37] Aurelian's decisive battle against him was fought in February or March 274 near Châlons-sur-Marne. Tetricus and his son Tetricus II surrendered during the fighting, while their troops fought on and suffered heavy losses on both sides.[37] The literary sources say that Tetricus, faced with a revolt by Faustinus and with mutinous soldiers, offered to betray his army if Aurelian would rescue him, but the author of the entry in De Imperatoribus Romanis argues that this is likely to be Aurelianic propaganda and that Tetricus did not betray his troops.[37] Aurelian spared both Tetrici and displayed them in his triumph, and Tetricus was later made corrector Lucaniae.[37]

Palmyrene Empire

After the assassination of Odaenathus in 267, his title as chief of Palmyra, and his claim to the style "King of Kings" and to the office of corrector totius orientis, passed to his young son Vaballathus, and his widow Zenobia directed policy in the boy's name.[38] About 269 to 270 Palmyrene forces moved south through Bostra and invaded Egypt, where they defeated the defenders and captured the Roman prefect Tenagino Probus. Other expeditions reached Ancyra and Chalcedon in Asia Minor.[38] The early titles of Vaballathus on milestones and Antiochene coins included rex, consul, imperator and dux Romanorum; later coins styled him Augustus and Zenobia Augusta.[38] Coins of Antioch and Alexandria which carried the heads of both Aurelian and Vaballathus have been read as an acknowledgement of Aurelian's superior authority, but in 272 new coins presented Vaballathus as emperor in his own right.[38] In 272 Aurelian defeated the Palmyrenes near Immae, took Antioch and defeated them again before Emesa. Zenobia was captured on her way to the Persians at the Euphrates, and a later Palmyrene revolt led Aurelian to retake the city; Zenobia was kept for his triumph at Rome in 274.[38]

Thessalonica, Zealots of

In 1342, during the Byzantine civil war, the governor of Thessaloniki, Theodore Synadenos, moved to hand the city to John Kantakouzenos. The Zealots, a group of citizens who supported John V Palaiologos, rose against him, fought their opponents in the streets and seized power, expelling many rivals and looting their properties.[39] The city then became a semi-independent regime. It had two governors, one appointed by the Zealots and one by the imperial government in Constantinople, a council reported to be divided between two rival groups, and assemblies summoned from time to time. The harbour was under Zealot control and the rest of the city under the imperial governor.[39] In 1345 the residents decided to send envoys to Kantakouzenos to discuss terms.[39] John Apokaukos, one of the two governors, went over to Kantakouzenos and held the city for a few months; the Zealots under Andreas Palaiologos then took him prisoner, and he was executed together with many of his supporters.[39] The civil war ended in 1347, with Kantakouzenos recognised as emperor and John V as co-emperor and heir, and in 1349, after a failed attempt to regain full control of the city, the Zealot leader Andreas Palaiologos defected to Serbia.[39] In 1350 Kantakouzenos and John V entered Thessaloniki and won an assembly over to their authority; the leading Zealots were imprisoned in Constantinople and the others were expelled from the city.[39]

Yan, Dynasty of (An Lushan Rebellion)

An Lushan, a Tang military governor on the north-eastern frontier, rose in revolt against the imperial court in 755.[40] The An Lushan Rebellion, dated 755 to 763, ended a fifty-year period of stability on the frontiers.[40] An Lushan (703 to 757) proclaimed himself emperor of a new dynasty, Yan, and died in 757.[41]

SECTION XI.3

Symbolic and Unrealised Secession Proposals

This section gathers cases in which a secession or new-state proposal was advanced through genuinely public, organised advocacy, including the convening of a symbolic constitutional convention and the selection of prospective state symbols, yet never progressed to an actual unilateral declaration, a functioning government, or any assertion of territorial control, distinguishing these cases from the unilateral secessions proper considered at length in Parts I to IV. They are retained here, rather than discarded, for the comparative light a stalled or merely symbolic attempt sheds on the more fully realised cases found elsewhere in this compendium.

Bektashi State in Tirana, Proposed (from 2024)

In September 2024 the Albanian prime minister Edi Rama was reported to have proposed turning the headquarters of the Bektashi Order in Tirana into a state modelled on Vatican City.[42] The Tirana Times recorded on 24 September 2024 that the World Headquarters of the Bektashi Order called the idea an "extraordinary initiative", that the Muslim Community in Albania warned of a "dangerous precedent for the country's future", and that the constitution describes Albania as a "unitary and indivisible state", so that its amendment would require a two-thirds parliamentary majority.[42]

Agence France-Presse reported on 27 February 2025 that the state would occupy 0.11 square kilometres on land where a Bektashi temple stands, that the Order's head, Baba Mondi, said "This state will have neither police, nor army, nor taxes; it will be spiritual", and that no launch date had been set.[43] Kosovo Online reported on 28 August 2026, citing the French outlet Intelligence Online, that formalisation was expected in the coming months, but that no legislation, agreement or official document had been published and that Albanian analysts doubted that a state would result.[44]

Bengal, United Independent (Suhrawardy and Bose Proposal of 1947)

In April 1947, as the partition of India approached, Suhrawardy, the premier of Bengal, announced at a press conference in Delhi on 27 April that Bengal would be an independent state, which would decide for itself later whether to link with Pakistan.[45] Sarat Chandra Bose promoted a plan for a united Bengal that would stand outside both India and Pakistan and have an independent identity; Suhrawardy and Abul Hashim supported it, though it did not find much support within the Bengal Congress or the Bengal Muslim League.[46]

On 20 May 1947 Bose and Kiran Sankar Roy reached what has been called the free state of Bengal agreement with Suhrawardy and Abul Hashim. Bengal was to be a Free State with a Constituent Assembly of its own, a legislature elected on joint electorates and adult franchise with seats reserved in proportion to population, and any union with another territory was to require a two-thirds majority of its legislature.[45] The debate ended, in Haimanti Roy's words,

when the Congress and the Muslim League leaders accepted and endorsed Mountbatten's plan of 3 June 1947, which outlined the possibility of partition.[46] On 20 June 1947 the Bengal Legislative Assembly voted on partition itself. In joint session the House divided 126 votes against and 90 in favour of joining the existing Constituent Assembly of India; the members for the Muslim-majority areas, meeting in their own group, then passed by 106 votes to 35 a motion against partitioning Bengal and for joining a new Constituent Assembly as a whole, while the members for the non-Muslim-majority areas voted by 58 to 21 for partition.[47]

Inconfidência Mineira (Minas Gerais, 1789)

The Inconfidência Mineira was a conspiracy of the elite of Minas Gerais, in Portuguese Brazil, who wanted an independent republic there that would end the colonial trade monopoly, encourage domestic manufacturing and create a university, but would leave slavery and the socio-economic order intact.[48] Falling gold output, the gold taxes and long-standing debts strengthened the elite's wish for independence.[48] Silvério dos Reis, a member of the conspiracy, informed the Viscount of Barbacena, the governor; the conspirators were arrested, and Tiradentes was hanged and quartered in 1792.[48]

The historian João Pinto Furtado, in O manto de Penélope (2002), as summarised in a study of 2020, rejects the idea that the conspirators aimed at the political independence of Brazil and holds that what they may have sought was the emancipation of the captaincy of Minas Gerais.[49]

Scott, Free and Independent State of

In June 1861, the month in which Tennessee voted to join the Confederacy, the county court of Scott County, in the Unionist east of the state, voted to secede from Tennessee and styled the county the Free and Independent State of Scott.[50,51] According to the Tennessee State Library and Archives, no written record of the vote has been found and no government recognised the measure; historians believe that the county's early record books were taken by Confederate troops after the Battle of Huntsville on 13 August 1862.[50]

The declaration was not rescinded until 1986. On 4 July of that year, during the Fourth of July festival at Huntsville, the Scott County Board of Commissioners passed Resolution No. 16, by 11 votes to 2, recommending that the Free and Independent State of Scott be dissolved and that the county seek readmission to Tennessee; one commissioner was present and did not vote. The General Assembly accepted the petition by Senate Joint Resolution 336, which provides that the former Free and Independent State of Scott "shall henceforth be known as Scott County, Tennessee", and Governor Lamar Alexander signed the measure.[50]

Section XI.4

Recognised Self-Governments Surrendered or Withheld from Union

The entries gathered here invert the usual pattern of this compendium. Rather than an unrecognised territory asserting self-governance it did not possess, each case here concerns an already internationally recognised and genuinely self-governing polity that either surrendered its own self-government outright, as the Dominion of Newfoundland did in 1934, or withheld itself from a larger union for a period before ultimately joining it, as Ras al-Khaimah did before entering the United Arab Emirates in 1972. Neither fits the unilateral secessions of Parts I to IV, since nothing was unilaterally seceded; both are included for the light they shed, from the opposite direction, on the fragility and contingency of self-governing arrangements that this compendium's other entries examine chiefly through the lens of states struggling to establish rather than states choosing, under pressure, to relinquish or defer it.

Baltic States, Diplomatic Missions in Exile of the (1940 to 1991)

After the Soviet occupation of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania in June 1940 and their incorporation into the Soviet Union in August of that year, the United States refused to recognise the annexations. The refusal rested on the statement of 23 July 1940 by the acting Secretary of State, Sumner Welles, which condemned the occupation of the Baltic states and set out the policy of non-recognition.[52] The Department of State records that the United States never recognised the forcible incorporation of Lithuania, allowed representatives of the last independent Lithuanian government to keep diplomatic status and considered diplomatic relations to have continued without interruption and records the same position for Latvia and Estonia.[53,54,55]

The Lithuanian legation in Washington functioned throughout the occupation. Povilas Žadeikis headed it as envoy from 1935 until his death in 1957, and Stasys Lozoraitis Jr. took over in 1987.[56] Asta Petraitytė-Briedienė states that the United States recognised the mission without condition throughout those years.[57] The Latvian legation, at 17th and Webster Streets, passed from Jūlijs Feldmanis to Arnolds Spekke (1953 to 1971) and then to Anatols Dinbergs, chargé d'affaires for about twenty years. In the mid-1980s Dinbergs obtained State Department approval to appoint new diplomats, and Jānis Lūsis, who joined in 1986, became the sole new accredited Latvian diplomat of the occupation years.[58] Estonia was represented by its consulate general in New York, led by Johannes Kaiv until his death in 1965 and then by Ernst Jaakson. A University of Tartu study states that U.S. non-recognition rested on recognising the consul general as Estonia's representative.[59] The Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs adds that the exile government of 1953, which no government recognised, stood apart from the diplomats.[60]

Lauri Mälksoo argues that the annexation was illegal and that statehood persisted despite loss of effective control.[61] On 23 August 1989, the fiftieth anniversary of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, about two million people formed the Baltic Way, a human chain of more than 670 kilometres linking Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius.[62] The Supreme Council of Estonia adopted its resolution of 20 August 1991 on the basis of "continuity of the Republic of Estonia as a subject of international law",[63] and the Supreme Council of Latvia adopted a constitutional law on 21 August 1991 resting statehood on the Constitution of 1922.[64] The United States announced recognition of the restored independence of all three on 2 September 1991.[53,54,55] The Soviet State Council recognised the three states on 6 September 1991.[65] The Latvian legation became an embassy, and Jaakson became Estonian ambassador to the United States.[58,60] The Estonian ministry holds that its foreign service was the only public institution to continue from 1940 to 1991.[60]

Geneva, Republic of

Geneva was a city-republic that stood outside the Swiss Confederation until 1815. In 1526 it concluded a treaty of combourgeoisie with Berne and Fribourg, ratified by Geneva on 25 February. According to the Grand Council's published history, the alliance allowed the Genevans to free themselves from the tutelage of the duke of Savoy and of their prince-bishop.[66] The alliance with Fribourg was broken when the Reformation was adopted in May 1536, and in 1584 Geneva concluded a treaty of combourgeoisie with Berne and Zurich.[66]

On 15 April 1798 French troops entered Geneva and annexed it to France; the city became the prefecture of the department of Léman, and the republic's councils were abolished.[66,67] The republic was restored on 31 December 1813, after the French troops had left the city and Austrian troops had arrived.[66,67] The Congresses of Vienna and Paris set the new borders, adding twelve Savoyard communes and six communes of the Pays de Gex so that the territory was contiguous with Switzerland, and on 19 May 1815 Geneva entered the Confederation as its twenty-second canton.[67]

Grisons, Three Leagues of the

The Free State of the Three Leagues (Freistaat Gemeiner Drei Bünde), formed by the Grey League, the League of God's House and the League of the Ten Jurisdictions, took its common constitution from the federal treaty of 1524.[68] The government of the canton describes it as a "zugewandter Ort", a place associated with the Swiss Confederation in treaty relations without being a full member.[69] Its subject territories of the Valtellina, Chiavenna and Bormio rose in revolt in 1797 and were annexed by the Cisalpine Republic on 10 October 1797; the loss was confirmed at the Congress of Vienna in 1815.[70,69]

The union with the Helvetic Republic was carried through on 21 April 1799 under heavy French pressure, and the territory became the canton of Raetia.[69] The question had divided the Three Leagues into two camps until Napoleon ordered the union with Switzerland in 1801.[68] "Erst in der Mediation von 1803 wird Graubünden formell ein schweizerischer Kanton": the Act of Mediation of 1803 made it a regular canton of the Confederation.[68]

Newfoundland, Dominion of

The Dominion of Newfoundland gave up responsible government in 1934 after a financial crisis. After the election of 1932 the government faced a crippling public debt and high unemployment, and asked Britain for help; the public debt stood at about 100 million dollars when the government signalled a partial default in November 1932.[71,72] The Royal Commission under Lord Amulree, published in October 1933, blamed mismanagement, inefficiency, corruption and financial irresponsibility, argued that the country needed "a rest from politics", and recommended that responsible government be suspended and replaced by an appointed Commission of Government under British control, with the debt rescheduled at a lower rate of interest and guaranteed by Britain.[71]

The Newfoundland legislature passed an address asking for suspension in November 1933, and the Commission of Government took office on 16 February 1934, with six commissioners, three British and three Newfoundlanders, under a governor, Sir David M. Anderson.[71,72] It remained in power until Confederation with Canada on 31 March 1949.[72] A first referendum on 3 June 1948 produced no majority: responsible government received 44.6 per cent, confederation 41.1 per cent and continued Commission government 14.3 per cent. In a second referendum on 22 July 1948 Newfoundlanders chose confederation over restored responsible government by 52.3 per cent to 47.7 per cent.[73]

Ras al-Khaimah, Holdout of

When the Trucial States moved towards federation in 1971, Sheikh Saqr bin Mohammed Al Qasimi of Ras al-Khaimah opposed the proposal of July 1971, which replaced unanimity in the Supreme Council with decision by a majority of five emirates, including Abu Dhabi and Dubai; when six emirates signed the provisional constitution he asked for more time.[74] The federation of the six was proclaimed on 2 December 1971.

On 30 November 1971 Iran seized Abu Musa and the Greater and Lesser Tunbs. Ras al-Khaimah claimed the Tunbs; a small police force resisted, three of its members were killed and the residents were displaced. Sharjah reached a temporary arrangement with Iran, but Ras al-Khaimah refused a similar arrangement mediated by Britain, and Saqr told Sir William Luce, the British political resident in the Gulf, "Nations are not sold by money" and that he would not sign a document giving Arab islands to others.[74] He wrote to Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan Al Nahyan that protection of the islands was his only condition for joining.[74] On 10 February 1972 Saqr announced that Ras al-Khaimah would join the federation, saying that it would be "only a brick in the edifice of the Arab Nation".[75]

Section XI.5

Governments in Exile and Non-Territorial Entities with International Standing

Entries in this section gather governments and administrations that claimed to represent a state or a people from outside its territory, together with a small number of entities that hold international standing without governing territory in the ordinary sense. The exile governments range from the Algerian provisional government of the war of independence and the Baltic and wartime European governments of the twentieth century to bodies formed since 2000, several of which remain active. The section records each on its documented position and attributes every claim to its source; it makes no assumption about the future of any body that continues to exist. The Order of Malta appears here because its standing in international law rests on recognition and not on territory.

Afghanistan, Representation of the Former Republic at the United Nations (from 2021)

After the Taliban took power in August 2021, Ghulam Isaczai, the ambassador appointed under the government of Ashraf Ghani, asked the Secretary-General to keep Afghanistan's seat, while the Taliban challenged his credentials and nominated their spokesman Suhail Shaheen in his place.[76,77] In early December 2021 the Credentials Committee deferred its decision on Afghanistan and Myanmar; its chair, Anna Karin Eneström, said that "The Committee has decided to defer its decision of the credentials in these two situations", and the committee decides by consensus as a rule.[78]

The committee postponed its consideration again in December 2022, and a third time in December 2023, without a vote.[79,80] Naseer Ahmad Faiq, appointed by the former government, continued as Afghanistan's permanent representative at the time of the 2023 deferral.[80] Afghanistan International reported on 23 November 2024 that the request of the Taliban for the seat had been rejected for the fourth year in succession.[81]

Russia was the first state to give the Taliban authorities formal recognition. Its Foreign Ministry announced on 3 July 2025 that it had received the credentials of the Taliban-appointed ambassador, Gul Hassan, and Russia's ambassador in Kabul said that President Putin had taken the decision on the advice of the foreign minister, Sergey Lavrov.[82] Putin accepted Gul Hassan's credentials at a Kremlin ceremony on 15 January 2026.[83] An analysis in Just Security, written in August 2026, states that the Credentials Committee has deferred a decision on the seat in every year since 2021, that a United Nations spokesperson said on 4 August 2026 that no member state had moved to transfer it, and that Russia remains the only state to have extended formal recognition to the Taliban.[84] TOLOnews reported in 2026 that the seat had not been assigned to the current authorities through the Credentials Committee and that Afghanistan had lost its vote in the General Assembly through unpaid assessments.[85]

Algerian Republic, Provisional Government of the (GPRA, 1958 to 1962)

The Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic was proclaimed on 19 September 1958, with Ferhat Abbas reading the declaration of its creation; it had three formations between 1958 and 1962, under the presidency of Abbas and then of Benyoucef Benkhedda.[86] According to a list of 1959 in the GPRA fonds of the Archives Nationales d'Algérie, eighteen states recognised the government, among them Morocco and Libya on 19 September 1958, Saudi Arabia on 20 September 1958, the People's Republic of China on 22 September 1958 and Lebanon on 15 January 1959. A note heading the list states that the request for recognition went to all governments except those of Israel, New Zealand, Portugal, the South African Union and Nationalist China.[87]

Belarus, Exile Institutions of (Rada of the Belarusian Democratic Republic and the Tsikhanouskaya Bodies, from 2020)

The Belarusian Democratic Republic declared its independence on 25 March 1918; its Rada went into exile during the Polish invasion of 1919 and, according to Belarus Digest, is now based in Toronto.[88] Ivonka Survilla leads it, and in April 2023 the office of Sviatlana Tsikhanouskaya credited her with preserving "the historical continuity of Belarusian statehood".[89]

After the presidential election of 2020, Tsikhanouskaya established a Coordination Council in August 2020, according to the Polish Institute of International Affairs.[90] On 9 August 2022, at the New Belarus conference in Vilnius, she announced a transitional cabinet, a term that avoids the word government.[91] The Institute recorded in September 2023 that the United Transitional Cabinet had received no international recognition, although its representatives were welcomed and supported by the European Union, the United States and others.[90] That is the latest source read, and developments since September 2023 have not been verified.

Central Tibetan Administration

The Central Tibetan Administration is the government in exile of the Tibetan people. The 14th Dalai Lama established it at Mussoorie in northern India on 29 April 1959, and it moved to Dharamsala in May 1960. It describes itself as the continuation of the government of independent Tibet.[92] Its institutions comprise an executive, headed since 2001 by an elected leader, a Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile that traces its origin to a body constituted in 1960, and a Supreme Justice Commission instituted in 1992.[92] The parliament adopted the Charter of the Tibetans in Exile on 14 June 1991.[93] In 2011 the Dalai Lama devolved his political authority to the elected leadership, and the title of the executive head became Sikyong.[94]

The administration states that it seeks genuine autonomy for Tibetans within the People's Republic of China and not independence. Its Memorandum on Genuine Autonomy for the Tibetan People, presented to Chinese officials in October 2008, sets out that position.[95] In May 2026 Penpa Tsering was sworn in at Dharamsala for a second term as head of the executive, after an election held in February 2026 among Tibetans in India and abroad.[96]

No state has recognised the administration as a government. The Chinese embassy in India has said that it is "not recognized by any sovereign country", and press reports confirm that no state has recognised it; India hosts it but regards Tibet as part of China.[96,97] In section 355 of the Foreign Relations Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1992 and 1993, the United States Congress expressed the view that Tibet "is an occupied country under the established principles of international law" and that "Tibet's true representatives are the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan Government in exile as recognized by the Tibetan people".[98] The text is a sense of Congress provision: a legislative statement of opinion, not an act of recognition.

East Turkistan Government in Exile (Washington, from 2004)

An East Turkestan government in exile was announced at a press conference in Washington in September 2004.[99] Agence France-Presse reported that Xinjiang emigrés had created it, that Anwar Yusuf Turani described himself as its prime minister in a statement posted online, and that the statement said that it also represented other minorities of the region, including Kazakh and Kyrgyz groups; the report records no recognition by any state or international body.[99]

Enab Baladi reported in November 2025 that the government in exile was headed by Mamtimin Ala, with Salih Hudayar as foreign minister, and that in a statement issued from Washington on 18 November 2025 it described Syria's alignment with China on security and counterterrorism as "a direct betrayal of the sacrifices of the Uyghurs".[100]

Governments in Exile in Wartime London (1940 to 1945)

London hosted the governments in exile of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Norway, Belgium, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Greece and Yugoslavia, together with General de Gaulle's Free French movement.[101,102] Stefan Talmon records that the United Kingdom gave de facto recognition to the Czechoslovak government on 21 July 1940 and de jure recognition on 18 July 1941, and that the Greek and Yugoslav governments kept recognition in 1941.[103] Talmon treats such a government as the representative organ of a continuing State and not as a subject of international law in its own right.[103] The Polish case outlasted the war: Britain withdrew recognition of the London government on 6 July 1945.[103] The London government itself continued until 22 December 1990, when its last president, Ryszard Kaczorowski, transferred the insignia of Polish statehood to Lech Wałęsa in Warsaw, in an act that Wojtek Rappak treats as carried out under the Polish constitution of 1935.[104]

The period of the entry runs from the arrival of the first of these governments in London in June 1940 to the return of most of them in 1944 and 1945. The Norwegian king and government left Tromsø for London on 7 June 1940, and the Polish president, government and National Council, formed in Paris after President Raczkiewicz took his oath on 30 September 1939, resumed their work in London in June 1940 after the fall of France.[105,106] General de Gaulle set up the Free French Movement in London in 1940.[101] The Norwegian government arrived in Oslo from London on 30 May 1945, and King Haakon returned on 7 June 1945.[105]

Kabylia, Provisional Government of, and the Federal Republic of Kabylia

In 2010 Ferhat Mehenni, the Kabyle singer and founder of the Movement for the Autonomy of Kabylia (MAK), formed in France a Provisional Kabyle Government (Gouvernement provisoire kabyle) with himself as president.[107] Le Figaro quoted him on 21 April 2010 as saying that its task was to set up the official institutions of Kabylia.[107]

On 14 December 2025 Mehenni, as president of the Movement for the Self-Determination of Kabylia, proclaimed the Federal Republic of Kabylia in Paris, at a private venue, after a prefectoral order had banned the ceremony planned for the Palais des Congrès at Versailles.[108] According to the reports, the proclamation described the state as a federal, democratic and secular republic, and no state or international body recognised it.[109] No source read documents any administration exercised inside Kabylia.

Malta, Sovereign Military Order of (Rome, from 1834)

The Order ruled Malta until Napoleon seized the island in 1798, and the Congress of Vienna in 1815 confirmed the loss; its seat moved to Ferrara in 1826 and to Rome in 1834.[110,111] Eduard Ivanov argues that its continued international legal personality without territory rests on recognition by others and that governing territory was never its main mission.[110] The Order describes itself as a subject of international public law with its government in Rome, issues its own passports and stamps, and has had permanent observer status at the United Nations since 1994.[111,112] Its own announcements of September 2025 and July 2026 state that it maintains diplomatic relations with 115 countries, a higher figure than the 107 given in earlier statements.[113,114] The Holy See's Secretariat of State stated in 2012 that, beyond the Holy See's own orders, it recognises this Order and the Equestrian Order of the Holy Sepulchre alone.[115]

Syria, Opposition Coalition and Interim Government of (2012 to 2025)

At a Friends of Syria meeting at Marrakech on 12 December 2012, attended by representatives of more than 100 countries, the National Coalition, formed in Doha in November 2012, was recognised as a legitimate representative of the Syrian people, according to Ahram Online, and the United States recognised it.[116,117] The Coalition, based in Istanbul, created a Syrian Interim Government in March 2013 that administered parts of opposition-held northern Syria from Azaz under heavy Turkish influence, according to the journal Syria in Transition.[118] After the fall of the Assad government on 8 December 2024, the Interim Government placed itself at the disposal of the transitional authorities on 30 January 2025, and on 12 February 2025 the Coalition and the Syrian Negotiation Commission agreed to dissolve and to move their staff into the state administration.[118,119]

Venezuela, Interim Government of Juan Guaidó (2019 to 2022)

Nicolas Maduro began a second term on 10 January 2019.[120] On 23 January 2019 Juan Guaido, president of the National Assembly, took the oath as interim president, invoking Article 233 of the constitution, an act the Congressional Research Service describes as a declaration and an analyst at the Center for Strategic and International Studies reads as the operation of that article.[120,121] The United States recognised him that day; the Congressional Research Service counted Canada and more than 35 other countries among those that did likewise, and Agence France-Presse later put the total above 50.[120,122] In January 2019 the Assembly named a representative to the Organization of American States, and it sought to protect Venezuelan assets abroad.[121] On 30 December 2022 the Assembly voted 72 to 29, with 8 abstentions, to dissolve the interim government.[122]

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Part XII

Outcomes: Recognition, Standing and the Passage to Statehood

The entries in the preceding Parts record attempts to found a state, or to found something that claimed the attributes of one. This Part reads those entries together and asks what became of each claim. A few of the attempts ended in recognition by other states, and fewer ended in membership of the United Nations. Most ended in defeat, absorption, agreement, lapse or neglect, and a minority persist as claims. The purpose of the Part is to set out, on the evidence available, which routes led to statehood, which did not, and what separates the two.

Chapter 1 states how recognition works in law and how the measures used here relate to the legal theories. Chapter 2 identifies the cases that passed from claim to recognition and to membership, first since 1945 and then before it. Chapter 3 sets eight cases that reached recognition beside eight that did not, matched by pathway so that the comparison is like for like, and closes with a comparison of the treatment of Montenegro and of Kosovo by their common parent, Serbia. Chapter 4 examines the reasons recognition is withheld, so far as the coded entries bear on them. Chapter 5 draws lessons for those who plan new ventures, and Chapter 6 states the limits of the evidence.

Terms and measures

Two measures run through the Part. The first is the recognition gradient. A gradient of zero means that no state has formally recognised the entity. A gradient of one means that at least one state has extended formal recognition in law (recognition de jure), and the count includes the recognition of a patron state that created or sponsored the entity; a flag records the cases in which the patron is the only recogniser. A gradient of two means membership of the United Nations. The second measure is the standing index, which places each entry at the highest point it reached: zero for no territory, recognition or territorial ambition; one for ambition only; two for partial control of territory; three for substantial or full control; four for formal recognition by at least one state; and five for membership of the United Nations.

After 1945 the test of full success is membership of the United Nations, or formal recognition in law by at least one state. Before 1945 no universal organisation existed, and the entries are placed instead on a three-rung ladder described in Chapter 2: general recognition by the powers of the day, recognition de facto only or by few states, and none. Formal recognition is

not the same as statehood in law, a point developed in Chapter 1, and a score of four records a fact about the responses of other states and carries no judgement on the legal merits of the claim.

Evidence and its limits

The figures that follow are drawn from a coded set of 574 entries, which comprises the entries of Classes A and B that carry a territorial ambition, with the pre-1492 comparative cases set aside. The coding was done in a single pass from the text of each entry in October 2026 and is preliminary. The recognition field has been checked against outside sources for 79 entries, and every entry that reached the recognised tier has been among them. For the 280 entries whose text is silent on recognition, the field reads ‘not stated’; the counts of recognised entries below are therefore floors. Percentages are given to the nearest whole number and rest on small groups in several places, and the text says so where it matters.

CHAPTER 1

How Recognition Works

1.1 Two accounts of statehood and recognition Treaty and doctrine give two accounts of the relation between statehood and recognition. The Montevideo Convention of 1933 lists the qualifications of a state as a permanent population, a defined territory, a government and the capacity to enter into relations with other states, and it adds that the political existence of the state is independent of recognition by other states.[1] That formulation is declaratory: recognition acknowledges a state that already exists. The constitutive account holds that an entity becomes a subject of international law, with the rights of a state, only when other states accept it as one. The Arbitration Commission of the Conference on Yugoslavia stated the declaratory position in its first opinion, of 29 November 1991, when it treated the existence or disappearance of a state as a question of fact and the effects of recognition by other states as purely declaratory.[2] The first chapter of James Crawford's monograph on the creation of states is devoted to statehood and recognition.[3]

The two accounts meet in practice. A community that satisfies the Montevideo qualifications and is recognised by no state finds that treaties, membership of organisations and standing before courts all turn on the acceptance of other states. Jure Vidmar notes that recognition is seen as a declaratory act, and argues that where a state is created by unilateral secession or in breach of international law, collective non-recognition may have constitutive effects.[4] The measures used in this Part test both accounts. The standing index records on one scale whether an entry held territory, which is the declaratory condition in part, and whether any state recognised it, which is the constitutive condition. An entry can hold territory and population for decades and score no higher than three, and an entry with no territory can score four if a state recognises it, as some governments in exile have done.

1.2 The duty of non-recognition

Twentieth-century practice added a rule that limits recognition: states are to withhold it from situations created by unlawful force or by grave breach of the Charter. The United States gave the rule its name in the note of 7 January 1932 stating that it could not admit the legality of any situation de facto in Manchuria,[5] and the Assembly of the League of Nations adopted the same position unanimously on 11 March 1932, on a British proposal.[6] The General Assembly's Friendly Relations Declaration of 24 October 1970 states that no territorial acquisition resulting from the threat or use of force shall be recognised as legal.[7]

The Security Council has applied the rule in individual cases. By resolution 216 of 12 November 1965 it called on states not to recognise the regime in Southern Rhodesia, and by resolution 217 of 20 November 1965 it held the declaration of independence to have no legal validity.[8] [9] It deplored the declaration of independence in northern Cyprus and held it legally invalid in resolution 541 of 18 November 1983, and it repeated the call for non-recognition in

resolution 550 of 11 May 1984.[10][11] It held the annexation of Kuwait by Iraq null and void on 9 August 1990.[12] The International Court of Justice reached a comparable conclusion in its advisory opinion of 19 July 2024, finding that all states are under an obligation not to recognise as legal the situation arising from Israel's unlawful presence in the Occupied Palestinian Territory.[13]

The practical effect is that recognition is not a matter of discretion alone. Where the Council or the Assembly has called for non-recognition, the prospects of a claimant depend on how far states follow the call. No state is recorded as having recognised the regime in Southern Rhodesia, and only Türkiye has recognised northern Cyprus (Chapter 3).

1.3 Self-determination, boundaries and consent

A second body of law bears on the question who may seek a state. The Friendly Relations Declaration couples the principle of self-determination with a saving clause under which nothing authorises action that would impair the territorial integrity of states conducting themselves in compliance with that principle.[14] The International Court of Justice has treated the principle as the basis of decolonisation. In its Western Sahara opinion of 16 October 1975 it found that the territory was not terra nullius at the time of Spanish colonisation, and that the legal ties it identified with Morocco and with the Mauritanian entity were not of a nature to affect the application of resolution 1514 (XV) and the self-determination of the population through the free and genuine expression of its will.[15] In its Chagos opinion of 25 February 2019 it held, by thirteen votes to one, that the decolonisation of Mauritius had not been lawfully completed when Mauritius acceded to independence in 1968, and that the United Kingdom is under an obligation to bring its administration of the archipelago to an end as rapidly as possible.[16]

Outside the colonial setting, courts have been cautious. In its advisory opinion of 22 July 2010 on Kosovo the International Court held, by ten votes to four, that the declaration of independence of 17 February 2008 did not violate international law, and it stated that general international law contains no applicable prohibition of declarations of independence.[17] The Court treated the debate on remedial secession, understood as a right to separate from a state, as lying beyond the question put to it. The opinion decides that a declaration is not unlawful in itself. It does not decide that a declaration produces a state, which depends on the response of other states. The Supreme Court of Canada, in the Quebec Secession Reference of 20 August 1998, held that secession cannot be effected unilaterally under the Constitution, and that a clear majority on a clear question in favour of secession would give rise to a reciprocal obligation on all parties to Confederation to negotiate constitutional change.[18]

These authorities point in one direction. International law does not forbid an attempt at independence, and it does not guarantee that an attempt will succeed. Colonial status and the consent of the parent state are the two conditions that have, in practice, opened the way to membership of the United Nations. Chapters 2 and 3 test that proposition against the cases.

1.4 Continuity without territory

A recent development bears on programmes that propose the continuity of a state without its territory. By the Falepili Union Treaty, signed on 9 November 2023 and in force from 28 August 2024, Australia recognises Tuvalu's statehood and its continuation notwithstanding sea-level rise caused by climate change, which the Australian Government describes as the first recognition of that kind in a binding treaty.[19] The instrument works through the recognition of one state by another. It shows the route by which a state secures its continuity, and it does not show a route by which a digital or deterritorialised community could create a state. The digital-nation programmes among the entries should be read with that distinction in mind.

Chapter 2

Graduation: From Claim to Recognition

2.1 Admissions to the United Nations since 1945 Since 1945 the test of full success has been membership of the United Nations. Table 1 lists 43 admissions in which the passage to statehood was contested, because the territory separated from a parent state, because the former ruler resisted, or because armed struggle preceded the transfer of power. The table omits the many transfers of power that no one contested. Two rows, Ireland and Iceland, are shown for completeness under their own heading, because each had become independent before the United Nations existed and each was admitted after it (Ireland as the Irish Free State from 6 December 1922, admitted to the League of Nations on 10 September 1923; Iceland as a sovereign kingdom in personal union with Denmark from 1 December 1918 and a republic from 17 June 1944, never a member of the League); their independence belongs with the pre-1945 ladder in section 2.3, and the Irish Republic of 1919 to 1922 appears there. The pathway headings follow the legal route by which each state arrived, and the number in each heading counts the rows beneath it.

Table 1. Contested admissions to the United Nations since 1945, by pathway

State	Parent or former ruler	Admitted	Resolution
Decolonisation after armed struggle or dispute (13)			
Israel	United Kingdom (Mandate for Palestine)	11 May 1949	GA res 273 (III)
Indonesia	Netherlands	28 September 1950	GA res 491 (V)
Cyprus	United Kingdom	20 September 1960	GA res 1489 (XV)
Algeria	France	8 October 1962	GA res 1754 (XVII)
Kenya	United Kingdom	16 December 1963	GA res 1976 (XVIII)
Guinea-Bissau	Portugal	17 September 1974	GA res 3205 (XXIX)
Mozambique	Portugal	16 September 1975	GA res 3365 (XXX)
Cape Verde	Portugal	16 September 1975	GA res 3363 (XXX)
Angola	Portugal	1 December 1976	GA res 31/44
Viet Nam	France	20 September 1977	GA res 32/2
Zimbabwe	United Kingdom (Southern Rhodesia)	25 August 1980	not verified
Namibia	South Africa	23 April 1990	GA res S-18/1
Timor-Leste	Indonesia (Portugal as former administering power)	27 September 2002	GA res 57/3
Dissolution of a federation or union (17)			
Senegal	Mali Federation (France as metropolitan state)	28 September 1960	GA res 1490 (XV)

State	Parent or former ruler	Admitted	Resolution
Mali	Mali Federation (France as metropolitan state)	28 September 1960	GA res 1491 (XV)
Moldova	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	2 March 1992	GA res 46/223
Kazakhstan	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	2 March 1992	GA res 46/224
Kyrgyzstan	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	2 March 1992	GA res 46/225
Uzbekistan	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	2 March 1992	GA res 46/226
Armenia	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	2 March 1992	GA res 46/227
Tajikistan	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	2 March 1992	GA res 46/228
Turkmenistan	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	2 March 1992	GA res 46/229
Azerbaijan	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	2 March 1992	GA res 46/230
Slovenia	Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia	22 May 1992	GA res 46/236
Croatia	Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia	22 May 1992	GA res 46/238
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia	22 May 1992	GA res 46/237
Georgia	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	31 July 1992	GA res 46/241
Czechia	Czech and Slovak Federal Republic	19 January 1993	GA res 47/221
Slovakia	Czech and Slovak Federal Republic	19 January 1993	GA res 47/222
North Macedonia	Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia	8 April 1993	GA res 47/225
Consensual referendum or agreement (5)			
Guinea	France	12 December 1958	not verified
Comoros	France	12 November 1975	GA res 3385 (XXX)
Eritrea	Ethiopia	28 May 1993	GA res 47/230
Montenegro	State Union of Serbia and Montenegro	28 June 2006	GA res 60/264
South Sudan	Sudan	14 July 2011	GA res 65/308
Remedial secession (1)			
Bangladesh	Pakistan	17 September 1974	GA res 3203 (XXIX)
Separation by agreement without a referendum (2)			
Pakistan	British India (United Kingdom)	30 September 1947	not verified
Singapore	Malaysia	21 September 1965	GA res 2010 (XX)
Restoration of a state that had been annexed (3)			
Estonia	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	17 September 1991	GA res 46/4
Latvia	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	17 September 1991	GA res 46/5
Lithuania	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	17 September 1991	GA res 46/6
Independent before the United Nations existed, and admitted after it (shown for completeness) (2)			

State	Parent or former ruler	Admitted	Resolution
Iceland (Kingdom of Iceland, 1918; Republic, 1944)	Denmark (union of 1918)	19 November 1946	not verified
Ireland (Irish Free State, 1922)	United Kingdom	14 December 1955	not verified

Sources: United Nations list of member states for dates of admission; General Assembly resolutions as shown. Resolution numbers for Zimbabwe (S-11/1, 25 August 1980), Pakistan (108(II), 30 September 1947), Ireland (995(X), 14 December 1955), Iceland (34(I), 9 November 1946) and Guinea (1325(XIII), 12 December 1958) were checked against the United Nations Digital Library and related official records. Pathway labels are the author's classification.

Of the 43 admissions, 13 followed decolonisation after armed struggle or dispute, 17 followed the dissolution of a federation or union, and 5 followed a consensual referendum or agreement. One followed remedial secession, in the sense of a claim that the parent had forfeited its title, and that one, Bangladesh, was accomplished by military defeat of the parent and its later consent; it is the subject of the first pair in Chapter 3. The parent's consent appears in several of the other rows, but it has been verified from the sources only for the Czech and Slovak case, where the federal assembly provided for the end of the federation to take effect on 31 December 1992 and both successor states were admitted on 19 January 1993. The remaining rows leave the field open until the sources have been read for it.

Figure 1 shows the admissions by year. After isolated early admissions in 1946 to 1950, they cluster in two periods: the years of decolonisation from 1960 to 1976, and the years from 1991 to 1993, when the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia dissolved. Later admissions are isolated: Zimbabwe in 1980, Namibia in 1990, Timor-Leste in 2002, Montenegro in 2006 and South Sudan in 2011.

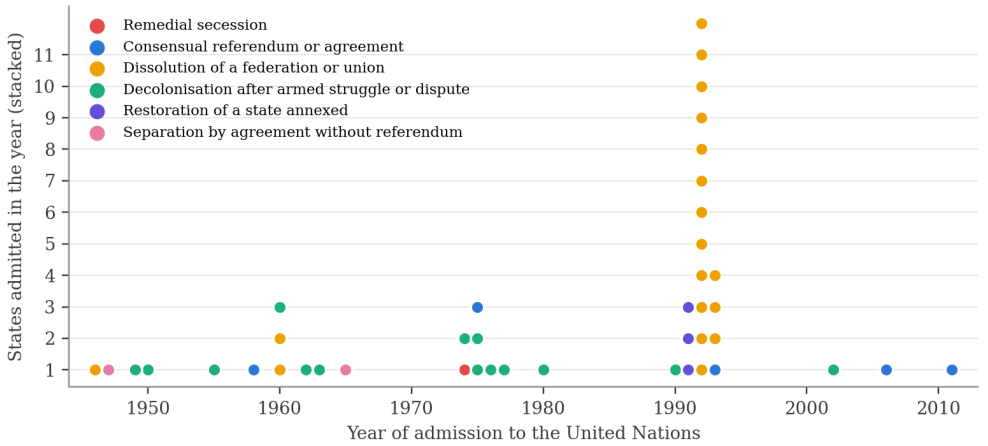


Figure 1. Admissions of states with a contested passage to statehood, by year and pathway, 1945 to 2011. *Source: Table 1. Admissions of uncontested transfers of power are not counted.*

The Baltic states

The three Baltic states are counted as graduates by restoration, not as seceding successors. Their independence in 1991 is treated as the resumption of statehood interrupted by the Soviet annexation of 1940, which the United States declined to recognise from 23 July 1940.[20] Iceland recognised the restored states on 22 August 1991, the United States on 2 September 1991 and the Soviet State Council on 6 September 1991.[21] [22] The General Assembly admitted Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania on 17 September 1991 by resolutions 46/4, 46/5 and 46/6.[23] Latvia reinstated its Satversme of 1922, and its Constitutional Court has affirmed the doctrine of continuity.[24] Estonia and Lithuania adopted new constitutions in 1992 and asserted the same continuity.[25] [26] Russia holds a different position: it continued the Soviet seat in the United Nations after Alma-Ata.[27] Compendium dates for the Baltic states mark restoration, with no date of secession.

The treatment of the Baltic states shows how the pathway labels in Table 1 depend on legal characterisation. If the three states had been treated as successors that seceded from the Soviet Union, they would belong with the other Soviet republics. Treated as continuing states whose independence was restored, they belong in their own category, and the legations that kept the claim alive during the years of annexation are the subject of a separate entry.

Two comparators outside the table

Kosovo declared independence on 17 February 2008, and in the following July the International Court of Justice found the declaration not to violate international law. Kosovo is not a member of the United Nations, and the number of states that recognise it is disputed, with reference works giving about 110.[28] Palestine declared independence in 1988; it is not a member of the United Nations, and 157 of the 193 members recognised it as at September 2025.[29] Each stands at four on the standing index. Their cases show that wide recognition and membership are distinct achievements, and that the second depends on a Security Council recommendation that the first does not secure.

2.2 Entries that reached the recognised tier after 1945

Of the 221 entries in the coded set that began in 1945 or after, 22 reached standing four or five. Table 2 lists them. The list divides into three groups. The first comprises cases that ended in membership of the United Nations: Eritrea, Southern Sudan and East Timor, together with the Algerian Provisional Government, whose state was admitted in 1962. The second comprises cases that persist with recognition from some states and no seat: Somaliland, the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic, Taiwan, Palestine, Kosovo, Abkhazia, South Ossetia and Northern Cyprus. The third comprises cases that ended, with recognition lapsing or merging in a larger state: Biafra, Kalat, Chechnya, the South African homelands, the United Arab Republic, which dissolved in 1961, the Syrian and Venezuelan governments of opposition, and Crimea, Donetsk and Luhansk, which Russia recognised before or at the point of incorporating them.

Table 2. Entries beginning in 1945 or after that reached standing four or five

Entry	Began	Recognition record	Standing
Abkhazia	1992	Russia and a few other members; some recognitions later withdrawn	4
Algerian Republic, Provisional Government of	1958	Eighteen states by 1959; Algeria admitted on 8 October 1962	5
Biafra, Republic of	1967	Tanzania, Gabon, Côte d'Ivoire, Zambia and Haiti; recognition lapsed with the surrender in 1970	4
Chechnya (Ichkeria)	1991	One recognition, by the Taliban government of Afghanistan on 16 January 2000, which ended with that government's fall in 2001	4
Crimea, Republic of	2014	Russia alone; incorporated into Russia in 2014	4
Donetsk People's Republic	2014	Russia (21 February 2022), Syria (29 June 2022) and North Korea (13 July 2022); incorporated into Russia in 2022	4
East Timor, Democratic Republic of	1975	Recognised in 1975 by six states, most of them socialist; Timor-Leste admitted on 27 September 2002	5
Eritrea, Provisional Government of	1991	Admitted to the United Nations on 28 May 1993	5

Entry	Began	Recognition record	Standing
Kalat, Khanate of	1947	Pakistan, August 1947, later repudiated; no other state	4
Kosovo, Republic of	1990	About 110 members by reference-work counts; the republic of the 1990s was recognised by Albania alone	4
Luhansk People's Republic	2014	Russia (21 February 2022), Syria (29 June 2022) and North Korea (13 July 2022); incorporated into Russia in 2022	4
Northern Cyprus	1983	Türkiye alone, since 15 November 1983	4
Palestine, State of	1988	157 of 193 members at September 2025; not a member	4
Republic of China on Taiwan	1949	Twelve diplomatic partners at May 2026; held the United Nations seat until 25 October 1971	4
Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic	1976	Recognised by a number of states, some of which have since suspended recognition; not a member	4
Somaliland, Republic of	1991	Israel, 26 December 2025; no other state	4
South African Homelands	1976	South Africa alone; reincorporated on 27 April 1994	4
South Ossetian Democratic Republic	1990	Russia and a few other members; some recognitions later withdrawn	4
Southern Sudan	1955	Admitted to the United Nations on 14 July 2011	5
Syria, Opposition Coalition and Interim Government of	2012	Recognised in 2012 by a group of states as the legitimate representative; ceased in 2025	4
United Arab Republic	1958	Union of Egypt and Syria, 1958 to 1961; held a single membership of the United Nations, and Syria resumed separate membership on 13 October 1961	5
Venezuela, Interim Government of (2019 to 2022)	2019	About 50 to 60 states at its peak; ended on 30 December 2022	4

Source: coded set, October 2026; recognition fields verified. Standing: 4, recognised by at least one state; 5, member of the United Nations. Counts of recognising states are as at the dates stated in the entries.

Recognition by the patron alone is the commonest form below the level of membership. It appears for Northern Cyprus, the South African homelands and Crimea, and in the Russian recognitions of Donetsk and Luhansk it was followed by incorporation. The coding counts these cases as recognised because the rule adopted for the gradient counts a patron's recognition, but a reader who wishes to exclude them will find that the recognised tier then shrinks to the cases in which a state with no part in creating the entity extended recognition.

2.3 Before 1945: the ladder and the League of Nations

Before 1945 no universal organisation existed whose membership could serve as the test. The League of Nations came closest. Admission lay with a vote of the Assembly, but the League never became universal: it reached 58 members by October 1935, and the United States, whose President had inspired it, never joined, because the Senate refused in 1920 to ratify the Treaty of Versailles.[30] The League therefore supplies a reference point and not a test. For the period before 1945 the entries are placed on a ladder of three rungs. The first rung is general recognition by the powers of the day. The second is recognition de facto only, or by few states. The third is no recognition. The second rung is used sparingly and fills gaps. Placement rests on dated acts of recognition, such as treaties, conventions and formal notes, and where a date could not be verified from a strong source Table 3 gives the year or omits the day.[31]

Table 3. The pre-1945 ladder: acts of recognition by rung

Entry	First recognition and principal acts
Rung 1: general recognition by the powers of the day (8)	
Cisalpine Republic	France, 1797; Austria, Treaty of Campo Formio, 17 October 1797, and Treaty of Lunéville, 9 February 1801
Georgia, Democratic Republic of (1918 to 1921)	Germany and the Ottoman Empire, 1918 (treaties not yet verified); Soviet Russia, treaty of 7 May 1920; Allied Supreme Council, de facto, January 1920 and de jure, 27 January 1921
Hawaii, Republic of	United States, August 1894 (instructions of 7 and 8 August; President Cleveland to President Dole, 7 August 1894)
Hejaz, Kingdom of	Britain, France and Russia, 1916 (for King Hussein); Treaty of Sèvres, 10 August 1920, Article 98 (unratified); Soviet Union, 16 February 1926; Britain, 1 March 1926; Treaty of Jeddah, 20 May 1927
Independent State of the Congo	United States, 22 April 1884; France, 23 April 1884; Britain, 16 December 1884; General Act of Berlin, 26 February 1885
Liberia, Colony and Commonwealth of	Britain, treaty of 21 November 1848; France, 1852; United States, 1862
Orange Free State	Britain, Bloemfontein Convention, 23 February 1854
South African Republic (Transvaal)	Britain, Sand River Convention, 17 January 1852; qualified by the conventions of 1881 and 1884, which left Britain control of treaties
Rung 2: recognition de facto, or by few states (13)	
Armenia, First Republic of (1918 to 1920)	Ottoman Empire, Treaty of Batum, 4 June 1918; Allied Supreme Council, de facto, 19 January 1920; United States, de facto, 23 April 1920; Treaty of Sèvres, 10 August 1920 (unratified)
Azad Hind, Provisional Government of Free India	Japan, 23 October 1943, and other Axis-aligned states
Azerbaijan, Democratic Republic of (1918 to 1920)	Ottoman Empire, 1918 (not yet verified); Allied Supreme Council, de facto, January 1920
Bogd Khanate of Mongolia	Russia, agreement of 3 November 1912; Russo-Chinese declaration of 5 November 1913, recognising autonomy under Chinese suzerainty
Croatia, Independent State of (1941 to 1945)	Germany, Italy and Slovakia, 15 April 1941

Entry	First recognition and principal acts
Finland, Terijoki Government of (1939 to 1940)	Soviet Union, treaty of 2 December 1939
Fiume, Free State of	Italy and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Treaty of Rapallo, 12 November 1920
Kashgaria, Emirate of (Yettishar)	Russia, 1872; Ottoman Empire, 1873; Britain, 1874
Manchukuo	Japan, 1932; El Salvador, 1934; about two dozen states, mostly Axis powers and their satellites
New Republic (Vryheid)	Britain, October 1886
Nicaragua, William Walker's Regime in	United States, May 1856, for the Rivas-Walker government
Ukrainian People's Republic	Central Powers, Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, 9 February 1918
Wang Jingwei Regime	Japan, Treaty concerning Basic Relations, 30 November 1940; Germany and Italy, 1941
Rung 3: no recognition (8)	
Banat Republic (1918)	None; accepted by the Hungarian government of the day as an entity within Hungary
Irish Republic (1919 to 1922)	None; Soviet Russia withheld recognition
Karelia, Republic of (Uhtua, 1920)	None found
Mengjiang and the Mongolian Federation Movement (1934 to 1945)	None found (provisional)
Panama, Isthmus State of (1840 to 1841)	None found
Parthenopean Republic	None found (provisional)
Texas, Long's Republic of (1819)	None
Vermont Republic	None by a foreign state (provisional)
Undetermined (1)	
Cuba in Arms, Republic of	Undetermined: Mexico authorised recognition of belligerency on 5 April 1869; whether it was given is disputed

Sources: treaties, diplomatic notes and archive records cited in the notes to this Part and in the entries. Entries marked provisional rest on the absence of recognition in the sources consulted. The Poti and Batum treaties of 1918 rest on the entries and have not been checked against the texts. The Hejaz and Georgia span more than one rung over time.

The first rung groups four kinds of case. Britain, as the power at the frontier, recognised Liberia and the two Boer republics by treaty or convention. A general act, the Berlin Act of 1885, fixed the position of the Congo after a sequence of single recognitions in 1884. The leading power of the hemisphere, the United States, recognised the Republic of Hawaii. The Allied powers recognised Georgia de jure on 27 January 1921, a year after they had recognised it de facto. In each case a power, or a concert of powers, performed a formal act that others could cite.

Five entries touched the League itself. Liberia was an original member.[32] The Hejaz of King Hussein was named among the original members but did not ratify the Treaty of Versailles, so that its membership never took effect.[33] Georgia applied in 1920, and the report of the Fifth Committee of 10 December 1920 proposed to tell it that its application had been examined with sympathy but that circumstances did not yet allow a definite decision, and to invite it to take part in the League's technical organisations.[34] Armenia's application received a favourable report from the Nansen sub-committee and a favourable reception in the Fifth Committee, and Armenia was not admitted; the committee found on 1 December 1920 that the Covenant did not allow the admission of Azerbaijan under the circumstances of that date, citing difficulty in fixing its territory and the disputes over its frontiers.[35] The Assembly dates and vote counts for the three Caucasian applications have not been verified against the Records of the First Assembly. The Manchukuo entry connects to the League by another route, for it was the object of the Assembly's resolution of 11 March 1932 on non-recognition (Chapter 1).

2.4 What the entry data show

The coded set allows a view across five centuries. Figure 2 gives the share of entries in each era at each level of standing. No entry that began before 1789 reached the recognised tier (1 of 55). The share that did so is 8 per cent for the entries beginning from 1789 to 1913 (15 of 177), 10 per cent for 1914 to 1944 (12 of 119), 12 per cent for 1945 to 1991 (16 of 135) and 7 per cent for 1992 to 2025 (6 of 86). The differences between eras are modest, and the groups are small enough that the ranking of the middle eras should not be pressed. The notable feature is the narrow band: across two centuries and two different systems of recognition, between 7 and 12 per cent of the entries that held territory or sought it reached the recognised tier.

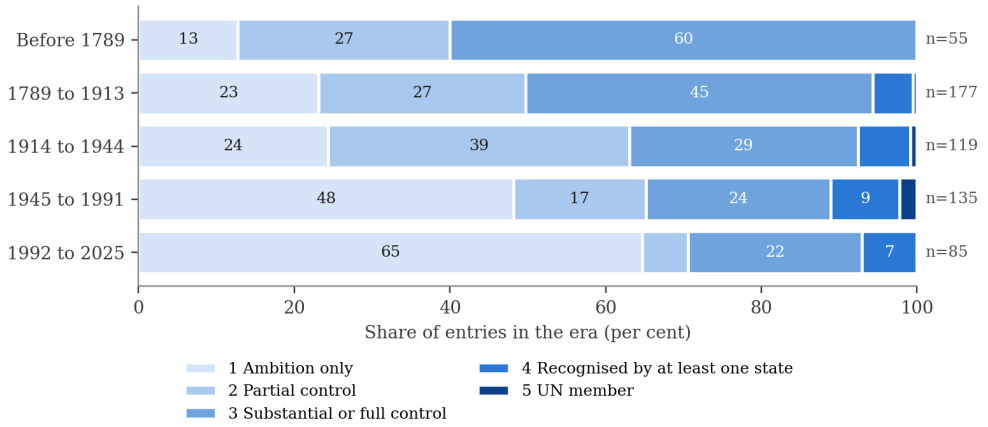


Figure 2. Standing reached, by era in which the entry began (share of entries, per cent). *Source: coded set, October 2026. Standing 1, ambition only; 2, partial control; 3, substantial or full control; 4, recognised by at least one state; 5, member of the United Nations. The figure in each bar is the share of that era's entries.*

Figure 3 shows how the entries ended. Among entries that began before 1945, 57 per cent ended by force or absorption by a neighbour, and 3 per cent persist as claims or in some other form. Among entries that began in 1945 or after, the share ending by force or absorption is 22 per cent, and the share that persist is 37 per cent. Two explanations suggest themselves: the arrival of the post-Soviet de facto states and of the micronations and network ventures of recent decades, and the shorter time that has elapsed for the later entries to end. The coded set cannot separate the two, and the comparison should be read with both in mind.

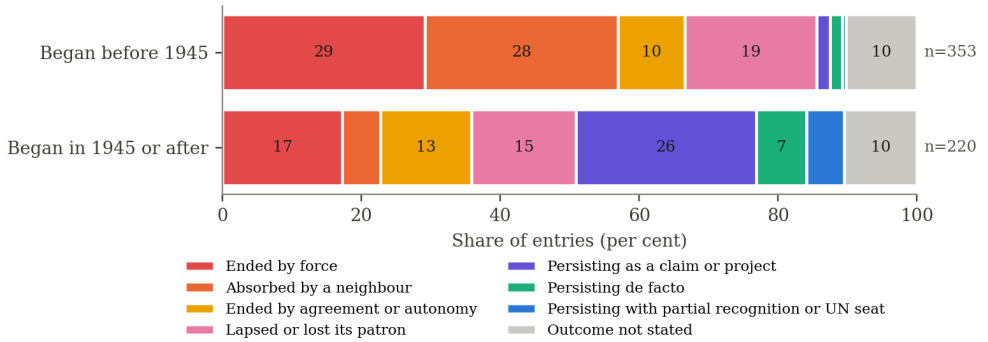


Figure 3. How the entries ended, for entries beginning before 1945 and in 1945 or after (share of entries, per cent). *Source: coded set, October 2026. Groups combine outcome codes as described in the notes to the coded set.*

Chapter 3

Eight Matched Pairs

Each pair sets a case that reached recognition or membership beside a case that followed the same legal pathway in a comparable setting and did not. The method has a known weakness: a pair is an argument from two instances, and a reader can always name a difference that the pair does not control. The pairs are offered as a way to see which features recur, and Chapter 4 returns to the wider data. The pathways follow the labels used in Table 1. Within each pair the table sets out the facts that can be compared, and the text that follows explains the divergence. Each pair closes with the lesson it holds for a founder. Kosovo is not paired as a graduate, because it has no seat at the United Nations, and the final pair is therefore a comparison of two cases that stayed between.

3.1 Remedial secession

Pair 1. Bangladesh and Biafra

Bangladesh (1971); Biafra (1967 to 1970).

	Bangladesh	Biafra
Parent state	Pakistan	Nigeria
Declaration	Proclamation of Independence issued 10 April 1971 and announced at Mujibnagar on 17 April 1971	Proclaimed 30 May 1967 by the military governor of Nigeria's Eastern Region
External sponsors	India, which recognised the new state on 6 December 1971 during the war that began on 3 December 1971; the Soviet Union, listed among early recognisers by January 1972	Informal backing, reported from Israel, France, Portugal, Rhodesia, South Africa and the Vatican; no state committed forces
Recognitions before the outcome	India and the Soviet Union, among others, by 31 January 1972; Pakistan, the parent, in February 1974	Tanzania (13 April 1968), then Gabon, Côte d'Ivoire, Zambia and Haiti
Outcome	Security Council recommendation without a vote on 10 June 1974; admitted to the United Nations by General Assembly resolution 3203 (XXIX) on 17 September 1974	Federal victory; resistance collapsed in January 1970 and the leadership surrendered at Lagos
Legal hook	Remedial secession, as an argument; the operative route was military defeat of the parent followed by the parent's later consent	Territorial integrity of the parent as affirmed by the Organisation of African Unity (AHG/Res. 54 (V), September 1968)

	Bangladesh	Biafra
Decisive factors	• Intervention by a neighbouring power able to defeat the parent's army • Surrender of the parent's forces on 16 December 1971 • Parent's recognition in 1974 and the removal of its objection at the United Nations	• No outside power willing to hold the territory • Regional commitment to inherited boundaries • Federal blockade and loss of territory • Recognition by five states

Bangladesh and Biafra began from a common claim: that a federal government had forfeited its title to rule a population that suffered violence at its hands. Both declarations were issued in the course of armed conflict with the centre. The Proclamation of Independence of Bangladesh was issued on 10 April 1971 and announced at Mujibnagar on 17 April.[36] Biafra was proclaimed on 30 May 1967.[37] The argument in each case resembles the doctrine of remedial secession, and in neither case did the Security Council or the General Assembly accept it in that form.

The cases diverged in their military and diplomatic settings. India recognised Bangladesh on 6 December 1971, three days after the third war with Pakistan began, and Pakistani forces in the east surrendered on 16 December.[38] The General Assembly resolved on 7 December 1971, by 104 votes to 11, that India and Pakistan should halt hostilities and withdraw behind their own borders, so a majority did not endorse the Indian intervention.[39] [40] Recognition by the parent followed: Pakistan accepted the new state in February 1974, the Security Council recommended admission without a vote on 10 June 1974, and the Assembly admitted Bangladesh on 17 September 1974.[41] [42] [43]

Biafra obtained recognition from Tanzania on 13 April 1968 and later from Gabon, Côte d'Ivoire, Zambia and Haiti,[44] [45] yet no state with an army moved to hold its territory. The Organisation of African Unity, meeting at Algiers in September 1968, called on member states to refrain from any action detrimental to the "peace, unity and territorial integrity of Nigeria".[46] The federal blockade and advance ended the secession in January 1970.[47] [48]

Two conclusions follow. Remedial secession supplied an argument in both cases and decided neither; an external power with the means to enforce the result decided the first, and a regional bloc committed to inherited boundaries decided the second. The consent of the parent, given after defeat, converted a contested birth into lasting membership.

Lesson for a founder. A claim of grievance, however grave, did not carry either secession to statehood; the Bangladeshi case succeeded because a capable neighbour enforced the outcome and the parent later consented, while the Biafran case failed because the region offered no such patron and the continental order opposed it. A founder should treat remedial secession as an argument to be paired with a credible security guarantor and a plan to obtain the parent's eventual consent.

3.2 Secession by agreement and without it

Pair 2. South Sudan and Katanga

South Sudan (2011); Katanga (1960 to 1963).

	South Sudan	Katanga
Parent state	Sudan	Republic of the Congo
Declaration	Independence declared on 9 July 2011 after the referendum of 9 to 15 January 2011	Proclaimed 11 July 1960 by Moïse Tshombe, less than two weeks after the Congo's independence
External sponsors	Regional mediation by the Intergovernmental Authority on Development, with United States financial and technical support for the 2005 agreement	Belgian military and political personnel and mercenaries, whose withdrawal the Security Council urged in resolution 161 (1961)
Recognitions before the outcome	Sudan on 8 July 2011 and the United States on 9 July 2011, before admission on 14 July 2011	None
Outcome	Security Council recommendation (resolution 1999, 13 July 2011); admitted by General Assembly resolution 65/308 on 14 July 2011	Secession ended by United Nations forces; Tshombe agreed to end it in January 1963
Legal hook	Consent of the parent, given in the Machakos Protocol (2002) and the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (2005), with borders fixed at 1 January 1956	Security Council non-recognition: secessionist activities declared contrary to the Loi fondamentale (resolution 169 (1961))
Decisive factors	• Treaty right to a referendum • Result accepted by the parent • Colonial-era boundary of 1 January 1956 • Sustained regional and great-power sponsorship	• Security Council condemnation of secession in a new member state • Foreign military presence that the Council demanded be withdrawn • No recognition by any state • Parent's constitution and United Nations force against it

South Sudan and Katanga each sought a state from within a territory that the international community treated as part of a recognised parent, and they reached opposite results. The southern Sudanese route began with consent. The Machakos Protocol of 20 July 2002 stated the right of the people of South Sudan to self-determination, including a referendum at the end of a six-year interim period,[49] and the Comprehensive Peace Agreement followed in January 2005.[50] The vote of January 2011 returned 98.8 per cent for separation.[51] Sudan announced its recognition on 8 July 2011 within borders as they stood on 1 January 1956, which applies the rule of inherited colonial boundaries, and the United States recognised the new state on 9 July.[52] [53] The Security Council recommended admission on 13 July and the Assembly admitted South Sudan on 14 July 2011.[54] [55]

Katanga was proclaimed on 11 July 1960, less than two weeks after the Congo became independent, and no state recognised it.[56] The Council treated the secession as a threat to the unity of a new member. Resolution 161 of 21 February 1961 urged the withdrawal of Belgian and other foreign military personnel and mercenaries,[57] and resolution 169 of 24 November 1961, adopted by nine votes to none with two abstentions, deprecated "the secessionist activities illegally carried out by the provincial administration of Katanga".[58] United Nations operations in December 1962 and January 1963 ended the secession.[59]

The comparison cannot rest on foreign sponsorship alone. Recent scholarship holds that Katangese political leaders drove the secession and built a Katangese national identity of their own, so the label of a foreign creation is incomplete.[60] The better explanation lies in legal title and timing. South Sudan held a negotiated entitlement and sought its state after a long conflict and a parent's acceptance; Katanga sought exit from a state that had existed for days, against the express position of the Security Council.

A secession without the parent's consent, from a state independent for days, met a hostile Council; a secession by agreement met none.

Lesson for a founder. South Sudan reached membership because its parent consented to a referendum under a treaty and the result was accepted within boundaries fixed by colonial history, whereas Katanga acted without consent inside a state that was days old and met a Security Council committed to that state's unity. A founder should secure a binding entitlement and the parent's acceptance of the outcome before declaring, and should expect the Council to act against an exit that threatens a new member's integrity.

	Eritrea	Somaliland

Pair 3. Eritrea and Somaliland

graduate (UN admission 28 May 1993); non-graduate (one recognition, 26 December 2025).

	Eritrea	Somaliland
Parent state	Ethiopia	Somalia
Declaration	Referendum, 23 to 25 April 1993; independence declared 24 May 1993	Withdrawal from the union declared in 1991 after the fall of the Siyad Barre administration
External sponsors	United Nations Observer Mission to Verify the Referendum in Eritrea; Ethiopia's transitional government as consenting parent	Ethiopia (memorandum of January 2024, no recognition); Israel (recognition, 26 December 2025)
Recognitions before the outcome	Ethiopia among the first to recognise after the vote	None for some three decades; Israel on 26 December 2025
Outcome	Security Council resolution 828 (26 May 1993); General Assembly resolution 47/230 (28 May 1993)	Unrecognised by the African Union and the United Nations; one recognition, opposed by the African Union Commission
Legal hook	General Assembly resolution 390 A (V) federation of 1952, annexation of 1962, consensual referendum	Colonial frontier of the British Protectorate; union of 1 July 1960 described as never ratified; African Union fact-finding mission of 2005
Decisive factors (both cases)	• Parent government's consent to a vote • United Nations verification of the referendum • Distinct colonial territory annexed without consent • Opposition of the African Union to unilateral recognition • Single recognition from a distant patron	

Eritrea and Somaliland each had a distinct colonial identity, each passed through a union that failed, and each claims the frontier of a former colony. Eritrea was federated with Ethiopia in 1952 under General Assembly resolution 390 A (V), and on 14 November 1962 Ethiopia's emperor dissolved the Eritrean Assembly and annexed the territory as a province.[61] Somaliland, the former British Protectorate, became independent in June 1960 and entered a union with Somalia in July 1960. The African Union's fact-finding mission of 2005 recorded that the union was never ratified and called Somaliland's search for recognition "historically unique and self-justified in African political history".[62]

Eritrea won the parent's agreement. Asmara was liberated on 24 May 1991, Ethiopia's new transitional government approved the referendum plan in July 1991, and in December 1991 its president wrote to the Secretary-General that the people of Eritrea had the right to determine their own future.[63] [64] The United Nations observed the referendum of 23 to 25 April 1993, more than 99 per cent voted for separation, and observers and the Ethiopian

government certified the vote as free and fair.[65] The Security Council recommended admission without a vote on 26 May 1993, and the General Assembly admitted Eritrea on 28 May 1993.[66] [67]

Somalia has not consented. Israel announced formal recognition of Somaliland on 26 December 2025 and agreed to establish diplomatic relations; it was the first state to recognise the territory.[68] [69] The foreign ministers of Somalia, Egypt, Türkiye and Djibouti condemned the step.[70] On 19 April 2026 the African Union Commission stated that any unilateral recognition of Somaliland is null and void, relying on a communiqué of the Peace and Security Council of 6 January 2026.[71]

The difference does not lie in the strength of the colonial title, which each territory can plead. It lies in the parent's position and in the machinery that certified the vote. A supporter of Somaliland may argue that its union was voluntary but never ratified, so that the case resembles a restoration of independence; a supporter of the African Union position may answer that one recognition from a state with its own strategic interests leaves the membership question with the organisations that decide it.

Lesson for a founder. A colonial frontier gives a claim its shape but not its outcome, because Eritrea reached membership only after the parent government consented to a vote that the United Nations verified. A founder should treat the parent's agreement, or its collapse, as the first objective and a single early recogniser as no substitute for it.

	Guinea-Bissau	Rhodesia

3.3 Decolonisation and the colonial exception

Pair 4. Guinea-Bissau and Rhodesia

Guinea-Bissau (1973 to 1974); Zimbabwe (1980) as the later resolution of the Rhodesian case; Rhodesia (Unilateral Declaration of Independence, 1965 to 1979).

	Guinea-Bissau	Rhodesia
Parent state	Portugal	United Kingdom (Southern Rhodesia, a self-governing colony)
Declaration	Republic proclaimed 24 September 1973 by the PAIGC after elections to a People's National Assembly	Unilateral Declaration of Independence on 11 November 1965 by the government of Prime Minister Ian Smith
External sponsors	Neighbouring and African states and the General Assembly majority; the PAIGC was recognised by the United Nations as the authentic representative of the people	None formally; the Security Council required states to refrain from assisting the regime (resolution 277 (1970))
Recognitions before the outcome	Many states recognised the declaration of 1973; the General Assembly welcomed the new state on 2 November 1973 by 93 votes to 7, with 30 abstentions	No state recognition verified; Security Council resolutions 217 (1965) and 277 (1970) called for non-recognition
Outcome	Portugal recognised independence on 10 September 1974 (Algiers agreement of 26 August 1974); admitted to the United Nations on 17 September 1974 (resolution 3205 (XXIX))	Illegal regime until the Lancaster House Agreement of 21 December 1979; independent Zimbabwe on 18 April 1980; admitted to the United Nations on 25 August 1980 (resolution S-11/1)
Legal hook	Self-determination of a colonial people, with the declaration treated as lawful by the General Assembly	Security Council non-recognition of an illegal regime, with mandatory measures under Articles 39 and 41 (resolutions 217, 232 and 277)
Decisive factors	• Declarant movement recognised as the representative of the colonised people • Control of liberated areas and a functioning assembly • General Assembly endorsement within six weeks • Parent's own political change in 1974	• Declarant government was a settler minority • Binding Security Council non-recognition and sanctions • No state willing to recognise • Settlement through the parent at Lancaster House

Guinea-Bissau and Rhodesia each issued a unilateral declaration of independence against a European parent within eight years of one another, and the pair shows that the instrument did not decide the outcome. The identity of the declarant did. The PAIGC proclaimed the Republic of Guinea-Bissau on 24 September 1973, after elections to a People's National Assembly held in territory it controlled.[72] On 2 November 1973 the General Assembly, by 93 votes to 7 with 30 abstentions, welcomed the independence of the new state and demanded

that Portugal withdraw its forces from the sectors it occupied.[73] Portugal recognised independence on 10 September 1974 under the Algiers agreement of 26 August 1974, and the Assembly admitted Guinea-Bissau on 17 September 1974.[74] [75]

The Rhodesian declaration of 11 November 1965 met the opposite response. On 20 November 1965 the Security Council declared the claim to independence to have no legal validity and condemned the seizure of power by a racist settler minority,[76] and on 16 December 1966 it imposed mandatory measures under Articles 39 and 41.[77] Resolution 277 of 18 March 1970 decided that member states should refrain from recognising the illegal regime and should sever diplomatic, consular, trade and other relations with it; fourteen members voted in favour and Spain abstained.[78] Resolution 448 of 30 April 1979 held the elections of that year to be null and void.[79]

The resolution of the Rhodesian case came through the parent. The Lancaster House Agreement of 21 December 1979 settled the transition, and the Zimbabwe Independence Order 1980 fixed independence for 18 April 1980.[80] [81] The Assembly admitted Zimbabwe on 25 August 1980.[82]

In legal terms both declarations were measured against self-determination. Guinea-Bissau's declarant spoke for a colonised people and was held lawful; Rhodesia's declarant was a minority whose act the Council described as usurpation, and recognition was withheld until power passed to a government with majority support.

Lesson for a founder. A unilateral declaration succeeds in the colonial context when the declarant can show that it represents the people entitled to self-determination, controls territory and wins General Assembly endorsement, as Guinea-Bissau did; it fails, and invites mandatory non-recognition, when the declarant is a minority acting against that entitlement. A founder should test the claim to speak for the whole of the people concerned before relying on a declaration.

	Timor-Leste	Bougainville

Pair 5. Timor-Leste and Bougainville

Timor-Leste (consultation of 1999, independence 2002); Bougainville (North Solomons; referendum of 2019).

	Timor-Leste	Bougainville
Parent state	Indonesia, which annexed the territory in 1976; Portugal remained the administering power in United Nations practice	Papua New Guinea
Declaration	Fretilin declaration of 28 November 1975; independence later reached through the consultation of 30 August 1999	Declarations of 1 September 1975 and 17 May 1990; referendum of late 2019
External sponsors	United Nations (UNAMET, then UNTAET), Portugal, and an Australian-led multinational force authorised in September 1999	New Zealand facilitation of talks in 1990; the peace process of 2001 had international monitors
Recognitions before the outcome	Indonesia accepted the result on 19 October 1999; the Security Council had called in 1975 for respect for East Timor's territorial integrity	None; the result awaits ratification by Papua New Guinea's National Parliament
Outcome	Independence on 20 May 2002; admitted to the United Nations on 27 September 2002 as the 191st member (resolution 57/3)	97.7 per cent for independence (176,928 of 181,067 ballots), non-binding; not ratified as at 31 August 2026
Legal hook	Self-determination of a Non-Self-Governing Territory, exercised under the Agreements of 5 May 1999 with the parent's consent	Consent of the parent: a referendum guaranteed by the constitution, whose outcome is subject to the final decision-making authority of the National Parliament
Decisive factors	• Non-self-governing status and non-recognition of annexation • Agreement of the parent and the administering power to hold a United Nations vote • Collapse of the parent's resolve after violence in 1999 • International force and transitional administration	• Domestic-law referendum with no binding effect • Parent's parliament holds the final decision • Disagreement over the majority required • No external status as a decolonisation case

Timor-Leste and Bougainville both reached independence referendums after armed conflict, and both returned large majorities for independence. One produced a state and the other did not. The difference lies in the legal status of the territory and in the authority that the vote carried.

East Timor was a Non-Self-Governing Territory. The International Court of Justice recorded in 1995 that for both parties the territory remained such and its people held the right

to self-determination, and it described that right as having an erga omnes character.[83] The Security Council had called in resolution 384 of 22 December 1975 for respect for the territorial integrity of East Timor and for Indonesian withdrawal.[84] On 5 May 1999 Indonesia and Portugal signed agreements entrusting the Secretary-General with a popular consultation,[85] and on 30 August 1999 at least 95 per cent of registered voters cast ballots; 78.5 per cent rejected special autonomy within Indonesia.[86] Indonesia's People's Consultative Assembly recognised the result on 19 October 1999, the Council established a transitional administration on 25 October 1999, independence followed on 20 May 2002, and the Assembly admitted Timor-Leste on 27 September 2002.[87] [88] [89]

Bougainville stands in a different position. Papua New Guinea became independent with Bougainville inside it, and the Bougainville Peace Agreement of 30 August 2001 provided for a referendum in which independence would be one option, with the outcome subject to the final decision-making authority of the National Parliament.[90] The vote returned 176,928 of 181,067 ballots for independence, but the result is non-binding and requires parliamentary action.[91] [92] The two governments disagree on the majority that parliament must reach, and the result had not been ratified as at 31 August 2026.[93]

The cases show that a decisive vote converts into statehood when international law already treats the people as entitled to decide, and the parent has agreed to accept the result; where the entitlement rests on domestic agreement alone, the parent's legislature retains the decision.

Lesson for a founder. Timor-Leste converted a decisive vote into statehood because its status as a Non-Self-Governing Territory and the parent's agreement with the administering power made the result binding in international law, while Bougainville's vote of similar size remains subject to a legislature that holds the final decision. A founder relying on a referendum should settle in advance whether its result binds the parent, and should ground the entitlement in international law, not in domestic agreement alone.

	Croatia	Republic of Serbian Krajina

3.4 Dissolution of a federation or union

Pair 6. Croatia and Republic of Serbian Krajina

graduate (UN admission 22 May 1992); non-graduate (ended 1995).

	Croatia	Republic of Serbian Krajina
Parent state	Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia	Croatia, within the dissolving Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
Declaration	25 June 1991 (effective 8 October 1991)	Union of Serb areas announced 19 December 1991; independence declared February 1992
External sponsors	Germany and the Holy See pressed for early recognition; European Community states recognised jointly	Yugoslav People's Army and Serb forces coordinated with the entity's forces; Serbia as the aim of union
Recognitions before the outcome	Eighteen states on 15 January 1992 beside Germany, with Iceland, the Holy See and San Marino earlier	None recorded in the sources consulted
Outcome	Admitted to the United Nations by General Assembly resolution 46/238, 22 May 1992	Ended by Croatian offensives of May and August 1995; some 200,000 Serbs expelled or displaced
Legal hook	Badinter Commission Opinions 1 to 5 (1991 and 1992): dissolution, uti possidetis, minority rights	Badinter Opinions 2 and 3: self-determination does not alter frontiers; minority rights without territory
Decisive factors (both cases)	• Inherited republic boundary protected as a frontier • Finding of dissolution of the federation • Minority rights offered in place of territory • Joint recognition by the European Community • Outcome fixed by force in 1995	

Croatia and the Republic of Serbian Krajina arose from one federation, one arbitral body and one minority question, which makes them a fair test of how the law of dissolution allocates statehood. Slovenia met the Arbitration Commission's conditions and is the cleaner graduate, but Croatia is the closer comparator because the same opinions addressed Croatia's Serb population.[94] Croatia and Slovenia declared independence on 25 June 1991, although the declarations did not take effect until 8 October 1991.[95] On 29 November 1991 the Commission found that the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was in the process of dissolution, which framed the republics as parts of a federation coming apart.[96]

In Opinions 2 and 3, dated 11 January 1992, the Commission held that self-determination could not change existing frontiers except by agreement, that former internal boundaries became frontiers protected by international law, and that the Serb population in Croatia and in Bosnia and Herzegovina should enjoy the rights recognised for minorities.[97] [98] The Serb leadership thus held a claim to protection of identity and not to territory. Its leaders announced

on 19 December 1991 that their areas would form a single Serbian "state" in Croatia and in February 1992 declared independence as the Republic of Serbian Krajina.[99] The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia described the Serb leadership's aim as union of Serb areas with Serbia, and the Appeals Chamber summary records that Yugoslav People's Army, territorial defence and other forces in the entity were coordinated with each other.[100]

Recognition followed a different path. The Commission found that Croatia met the conditions with a reservation on minority rights, and European Community states recognised Croatia on 15 January 1992.[101] [102] The General Assembly admitted Croatia and Slovenia to the United Nations on 22 May 1992, after Security Council recommendations of 18 May 1992.[103] [104] The sources consulted record no recognition of the Krajina entity, and its territory fell to the Croatian offensives of May and August 1995, which expelled or displaced some 200,000 Serbs.[105]

A critic may observe that the reservation on minority rights did not delay Croatia's recognition. A defender of the Commission may answer that Opinion 2 gave the Serb population a route to rights without a route to territory, and that any such route depended on an agreement the parties never reached.

Lesson for a founder. A founder should anchor a claim in an administrative boundary that the parent's own constitutional order already recognises, because arbiters will treat that line as fixed. Offering real protection to minorities inside that boundary removes the argument on which a rival entity would rely.

	Moldova	Transnistria

Pair 7. Moldova and Transnistria

graduate (UN admission 2 March 1992); non-graduate (unrecognised).

	Moldova	Transnistria
Parent state	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic)	Republic of Moldova
Declaration	Declaration of Independence, 27 August 1991	Proclaimed 2 September 1990; Supreme Council declaration of independence, 25 August 1991
External sponsors	Admission supported by the General Assembly without recorded dissent in the sources consulted	Russian Federation (Fourteenth Army, then Russian Operational Group; military, economic, financial and political support per the European Court of Human Rights)
Recognitions before the outcome	Not established in the sources consulted	None; Russia states it has never recognised the territory
Outcome	Admitted to the United Nations by General Assembly resolution 46/223, 2 March 1992	Unrecognised; treated as Moldovan territory by the European Court of Human Rights
Legal hook	Admission to the United Nations within the frontier of the Soviet republic	the Grand Chamber judgments of 8 July 2004 and of 2012 (Catan and Others): Moldova retains jurisdiction, Russia exercises decisive influence
Decisive factors (both cases)	• Republic-level status inside the Soviet Union • Parent's UN membership within inherited frontier • Patron's refusal to recognise • Ceasefire and Russian troop presence freezing the line • Court findings placing duties on both parent and patron	

Moldova and Transnistria give the cleanest like-for-like among the post-Soviet cases. Both arose from one Soviet republic within the same few months, a Russian army stood on the ground at the decisive moment, and Russia, the obvious candidate for recognition, states that it has never recognised the territory.[106] Moldova's parliament adopted a Declaration of Independence on 27 August 1991. The Moldovan Republic of Transdniestria had been proclaimed on 2 September 1990, and its Supreme Council adopted its own declaration of independence on 25 August 1991, two days before Moldova's.[107] The order of the declarations therefore did not decide the outcome.

Moldova entered the United Nations on 2 March 1992 by General Assembly resolution 46/223.[108] [109] The Fourteenth Army, which had been headquartered in Chișinău since 1956, was placed under Russian jurisdiction by decree on 1 April 1992, and the ceasefire agreement of 21 July 1992 between Moldova and Russia provided for a security zone, a Con-

trol Committee and the neutrality of Russian units, whose status and withdrawal were left to negotiation.[110] [111] Russia stated that it signed as a peacemaker and not as a party to the conflict.[112]

The European Court of Human Rights supplied the legal characterisation. In a Grand Chamber judgment of 8 July 2004 in a case brought against Moldova and Russia, the Court held that the territory, set up in 1991 and 1992 with Russian support, remained under Russia's effective authority or at least its decisive influence and survived through Russian military, economic, financial and political support.[113] [114] In Catan and Others the Grand Chamber held that Moldova keeps jurisdiction because the region is recognised as part of its territory, and must use legal and diplomatic means to protect Convention rights there.[115]

The pair separates two variables. Transnistria had a declaration, institutions and a patron's troops, yet the patron withheld recognition, and the territory stayed inside the legal frame of Moldova. Moldova had membership of the United Nations within the republic's inherited frontier, yet membership did not restore control of the left bank. A reader sympathetic to the territory's population may stress that its declaration preceded Moldova's; a reader sympathetic to Moldova may answer that republic-level status, and not priority in time, carried the legal title.

Lesson for a founder. A founder should expect that a patron's troops can preserve a territory but cannot create a state if the patron itself declines to recognise it. Republic-level status inside the parent order, and the parent's admission to international organisations within that frontier, carry more weight than the date of a declaration.

	Kosovo	Northern Cyprus

3.5 A case that stayed between

Pair 8. Kosovo and Northern Cyprus

contested recognition; NOT a graduate (not a UN member); non-graduate (recognised by Türkiye only).

	Kosovo	Northern Cyprus
Parent state	Serbia	Republic of Cyprus
Declaration	17 February 2008	15 November 1983
External sponsors	The United States (recognised 18 February 2008) and most European Union members (20 of 27 by July 2008)	Türkiye
Recognitions before the outcome	At least 43 by July 2008; present counts disputed, from 80 to 121 depending on the counter	Türkiye only
Outcome	Not a UN member; opposition of Russia expected to block membership; ICJ advisory opinion of 22 July 2010	Remains unrecognised; Security Council resolutions 541 (1983) and 550 (1984) call on states not to recognise it
Legal hook	ICJ advisory opinion (22 July 2010) and Security Council resolution 1244 (1999)	Security Council resolutions 541 (18 November 1983) and 550 (11 May 1984)
Decisive factors (both cases)	• Permanent member opposition to Kosovo's membership • Security Council condemnation of the Cypriot declaration • Single patron in the Cypriot case • Split among European Union members on Kosovo • Referendum outcome of 2004 left the island divided	

Kosovo does not pair as a graduate, since it is not a member of the United Nations. It belongs here as a case that stayed between, set beside Northern Cyprus, and the pair shows how patrons and the Security Council shape an outcome that the legal argument alone does not settle.

Kosovo declared independence on 17 February 2008. On 22 July 2010 the International Court of Justice found, by ten votes to four, that the declaration did not violate international law, that general international law contains no applicable prohibition of declarations of independence, that Security Council resolution 1244 (1999) did not bar it, and that the principle of territorial integrity is confined to relations between states.[116] The United States recognised Kosovo on 18 February 2008, and by July 2008 at least 43 states had done so, including 20 of the 27 members of the European Union, while Greece, Cyprus, Slovakia, Romania and Spain opposed.[117] The Congressional Research Service expected Russia's opposition to block membership of the United Nations.[118] Present counts remain contested: Kosovo's president cites 121 recognitions, Serbia's office counts 108 with 28 withdrawals, and a neutral estimate gives 110.[119]

The Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus was proclaimed on 15 November 1983. By resolution 541 of 18 November 1983, adopted by 13 votes to 1 with 1 abstention, the Security Council deplored the purported secession, considered the declaration legally invalid and called on all states not to recognise any Cypriot state other than the Republic of Cyprus.[120] Resolution 550 of 11 May 1984 repeated that call, condemned all secessionist acts including the exchange of ambassadors between Türkiye and the Turkish Cypriot leadership, and passed by 13 votes to 1, with the United States abstaining.[121] On 24 April 2004 some 64.91 per cent of Turkish Cypriots voted for the Annan Plan and 75.83 per cent of Greek Cypriots voted against, and Cyprus joined the European Union on 1 May 2004 with the Turkish Cypriots outside its benefits.[122]

Kosovo had a favourable judicial opinion and many recognitions, yet no Council recommendation, which membership requires.[123] Northern Cyprus had a patron but faced Council resolutions aimed at recognition itself. A court opinion on lawfulness does not admit a state, and a single patron cannot offset a Council call for non-recognition.

Lesson for a founder. The Security Council is the gate to membership and to a durable pattern of recognition: a favourable court opinion and a large body of recognitions leave a territory outside the United Nations when a permanent member opposes, and a lone patron cannot offset a Council call for non-recognition. A founder should build support that includes at least one permanent member before any declaration.

3.6 The parent's choice: Serbia, Montenegro and Kosovo

The Balkan cases leave a question that readers ask at once. Serbia accepted the independence of Montenegro in 2006 without armed conflict, although Montenegro is the republic closest to Serbia in language, religion and long association, and its departure left Serbia without a coastline. Serbia has declined since 1999 to accept the independence of Kosovo, and an armed conflict in 1998 and 1999 preceded that refusal. The comparison is the clearest available test of what a parent state's consent depends on. The record points to constitutional law and international status, and not to ethnic proximity, as the variables that decided the two outcomes.

	Montenegro (Serbia and Montenegro)	Kosovo (Serbia)

Table 4. The parent state's position in the cases of Montenegro and Kosovo

	Montenegro (Serbia and Montenegro)	Kosovo (Serbia)
Status in the Yugoslav federation	Socialist Republic, a constituent unit of the federation	Autonomous socialist province, a constituent unit of the federation and part of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, with its own assembly and courts; its territory could not be changed without its consent (1974 Constitution, as reported)[124]
Change of status before the dispute	None	Amendments of March 1989, put to the provincial assembly on 23 March 1989, with most Albanian deputies abstaining; Serbian Constitution of 28 September 1990 renamed the province Kosovo and Metohija and removed its legislative powers[125]
Agreed procedure for exit	Article 60 of the Constitutional Charter of the State Union (in effect from 4 February 2003): after three years, a decision to leave to be taken after a referendum[126 127]	None. Serbian Constitution of 2006, Article 8: the territory is inseparable and indivisible; the preamble states that Kosovo and Metohija is an integral part of the territory of Serbia with substantial autonomy[128]
International overlay	None beyond mediation by the European Union's envoy, who proposed a majority of 55 per cent of votes cast[129]	Security Council resolution 1244 of 10 June 1999: reaffirms the territorial integrity of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, provides an interim administration, and calls for substantial autonomy pending a final settlement[130 131]
Process	Special Law on the Referendum of 1 March 2006; referendum of 21 May 2006; turnout 86.3 per cent; 55.5 per cent for independence[132]	Declaration of 2 July 1990 and referendum of September 1991, neither accepted by Serbia; declaration of 17 February 2008; ICJ advisory opinion of 22 July 2010[133 134]
Parent's response	President of Serbia accepted the results on 23 May 2006; National Assembly determined on 5 June that Montenegro was independent; government decision to recognise on 15 June 2006[135 136]	No recognition; international status of Kosovo treated as a matter for the Security Council
Outcome	Admitted to the United Nations on 28 June 2006[137]	Not a member of the United Nations

Sources: as in the notes. The Council of Europe report on Kosovo and the Congressional Research Service report are secondary summaries of the constitutional texts.

The first difference is the status of the unit. Montenegro was a republic of the Yugoslav federation and, from 2003, a member of a state union with Serbia. Kosovo was an autonomous province that formed part of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, and so lay inside a

republic's frontier. The Arbitration Commission of the Conference on Yugoslavia reasoned from republican boundaries, holding that the former internal boundaries between republics become frontiers protected by international law.[138] On that reasoning a republic could invoke an inherited boundary, and a province, whose boundary was internal to a republic, stood in a weaker position, whatever the extent of its self-government under the Constitution of 1974.

The second difference is the instrument. Montenegro's exit was written into the founding instrument of the union that Serbia had joined. The Constitutional Charter provided for withdrawal after three years and a referendum, and in early 2006 the envoy of the European Union brokered a rule that the vote must reach 55 per cent of valid votes, which the Montenegrin parliament enacted in early March 2006.[139] [140] The vote reached 55.5 per cent on a turnout of 86.3 per cent.[141] Serbia's acceptance followed in three steps within four weeks, from the statement of its president on 23 May, to the determination of the National Assembly on 5 June, to the government's decision to recognise Montenegro on 15 June 2006.[142] [143] Serbia was therefore performing a clause that it had accepted in 2003, and it did not concede a claim made against its will. Serbia continued the membership of the union in the United Nations,[144] and, as the report of the Congressional Research Service records, the international agreements that bound the union, among them resolution 1244, were to apply to Serbia as successor.[145]

Kosovo had no such instrument. The movement of the law ran the other way. The amendments of March 1989 and the Serbian Constitution of September 1990 reduced the province's powers, and the declaration of the Albanian deputies of 2 July 1990 and the referendum of September 1991 received no recognition from Serbia.[146] The Constitution of 2006 entrenched the opposite position: the territory of Serbia is inseparable and indivisible, and Kosovo and Metohija is an integral part of it.[147] After the armed conflict of 1998 and 1999 the Security Council reaffirmed the territorial integrity of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in resolution 1244, and at the same time placed Kosovo under an interim international administration with the aim of substantial autonomy.[148] The Council thus made the final status of Kosovo a question for the Council and fixed the position of the successor to the Federal Republic, Serbia, as that of the state whose territorial integrity had been reaffirmed. The International Court found that the declaration of 2008 did not violate international law, and it did not find that the declaration created a state.[149] In the absence of an agreed procedure, the consent of the parent remained the pivot, and Serbia withheld it.

Three factors that might be expected to favour keeping Montenegro and releasing Kosovo did not govern the outcome: the shared language and church of Serbia and Montenegro, the Adriatic coastline, and the contrast with a province whose population is mainly Albanian and in which, on the figures reported by the Council of Europe, Serbs numbered about ten per cent.[150] The documents record the legal structure within which Belgrade acted and do not record its reasoning, and two political explanations are commonly offered: that Serbia attached historical and religious importance to Kosovo that it did not attach to Montenegro, and that a refusal to honour the Montenegrin vote would have broken an agreement mediated

by the European Union. This Part does not rely on either explanation. It rests on the point that the Montenegrin exit followed an agreed and lawful procedure to which the parent was a party, while the Kosovo claim arose outside any such procedure, within a province of a republic, under an international regime that preserved the parent's territorial integrity.

Lesson for a founder. A claimant that wishes to leave a state with the parent's consent should seek the procedure before the dispute begins, in the form of a clause in the founding instrument with a stated period, a stated question and a stated threshold, and should hold the unit status on which inherited boundaries depend. Montenegro's route took three years and a referendum rule negotiated with outside mediation. Kosovo's route, which had no such clause, took armed conflict, an international administration and an advisory opinion, and it has not produced membership of the United Nations.

CHAPTER 4

Why Recognition Is Withheld

The pairs suggest five conditions that recur when recognition is withheld. This chapter sets them beside the wider data, with the caution that the coded set can show association and cannot show cause.

4.1 The position of the parent

In each of the seven pairs that contain a graduate, the parent had consented, had been defeated, or had ceased to exist as the state concerned. Pakistan announced its recognition of Bangladesh on 19 February 1974, before the Lahore summit of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference, after the surrender of its forces in the east in December 1971. Sudan accepted the southern vote and announced its recognition of South Sudan on 8 July 2011, within the borders as they stood on 1 January 1956. Ethiopia's transitional government approved the referendum plan for Eritrea in July 1991 and certified the vote of April 1993 as free and fair. Portugal recognised Guinea-Bissau on 10 September 1974, and the Indonesian People's Consultative Assembly recognised the result of the consultation in East Timor on 19 October 1999. The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union dissolved, which accounts for the pairs of Croatia and Moldova. None of the non-graduates in the pairs had the consent of the parent. Nigeria, the Congo, Croatia and Moldova resisted, Somalia has not consented to the recognition of Somaliland, and the Parliament of Papua New Guinea has yet to act on the Bougainville vote. The Serbian cases in section 3.6 isolate the variable: Serbia accepted the exit of Montenegro under a procedure it had agreed, and it has not accepted that of Kosovo, which had no such procedure.

4.2 Patrons and neighbours

The coded set shows an association between external sponsorship and recognition. Among the entries with no patron, 4 per cent (5 of 130) reached the recognised tier. Among those with one patron the figure is 17 per cent (22 of 126), and among those with several patrons it is 40 per cent (10 of 25) (Figure 4). The association is built into the measure in part, because the rule for the gradient counts the recognition of a patron, so that an entity created by a state is likely to be recognised by it. Twenty-eight entries are coded as having at most the recognition of their patron, and for those not yet verified the gradient is left blank. The pairs show the limits of the association. A patron's troops preserved Transnistria and northern Cyprus, and neither patron's recognition produced a pattern of recognition by others. A neighbour able to defeat the parent's army, as India did in 1971, changed the position of the parent, and Bangladesh followed.

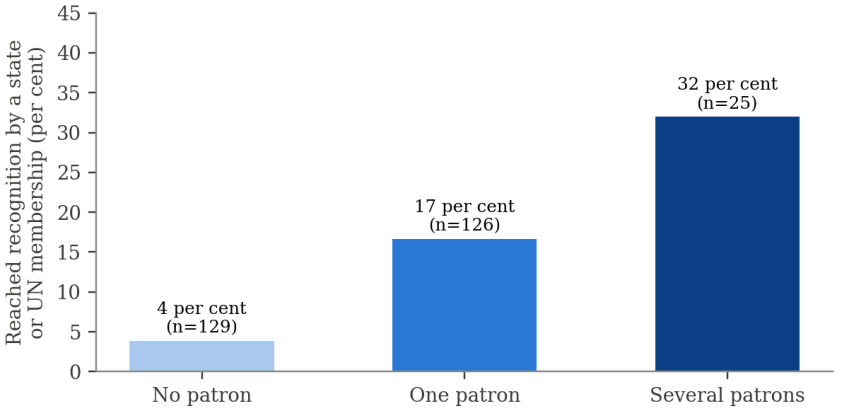


Figure 4. Share of entries reaching recognition by a state or membership of the United Nations, by number of external patrons. *Source: coded set, October 2026. Entries whose sponsorship is not stated are omitted. The group with several patrons is small.*

4.3 Inherited boundaries

Arbiters treat an inherited administrative line as a frontier. In its third opinion the Arbitration Commission of the Conference on Yugoslavia applied the principle of uti possidetis to the internal boundaries between Croatia and Serbia and between Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia, holding that they become frontiers protected by international law and alterable only by agreement.[151] The same logic runs through the African cases. Sudan recognised South Sudan within the borders of 1 January 1956, and Eritrea claimed the frontier of its former colony. Claims that cut across an inherited line, such as that of the Serb entity in Croatia, had no such protection. A claim that follows an inherited line is not assured of success, as Somaliland's colonial frontier shows, but a claim that departs from the line starts with the weight of doctrine against it.

4.4 The Security Council

Membership of the United Nations requires a recommendation of the Security Council and a decision of the General Assembly, and the Council has been the gate in the cases that stayed outside. It adopted resolution 169 in 1961 against the Katangese secession, by nine votes to none with two abstentions,[152] and in the Rhodesian case it adopted resolutions 216 and 217 in 1965, followed by mandatory measures under resolution 232 in 1966.[153] It adopted resolutions 541 and 550 against northern Cyprus. In the Kosovo case the International Court found the declaration not contrary to international law, and the Congressional Research Service expected Russian opposition to block membership, as it has. The Council acts through its permanent members, and a claim that one of them opposes does not reach the Assembly, whatever the number of recognitions it has gathered.

4.5 Time

Most of the attempts in the coded set were brief. The median duration of the 414 entries with a known end is 2 years, 50 per cent lasted two years or less, 27 per cent lasted ten years or more, and 36 lasted fifty years or more (Figure 5). A short life does not exclude recognition, since several entries in Table 3 were recognised within months, but it leaves little time for the slow accumulation of acts of recognition on which a lasting position depends.

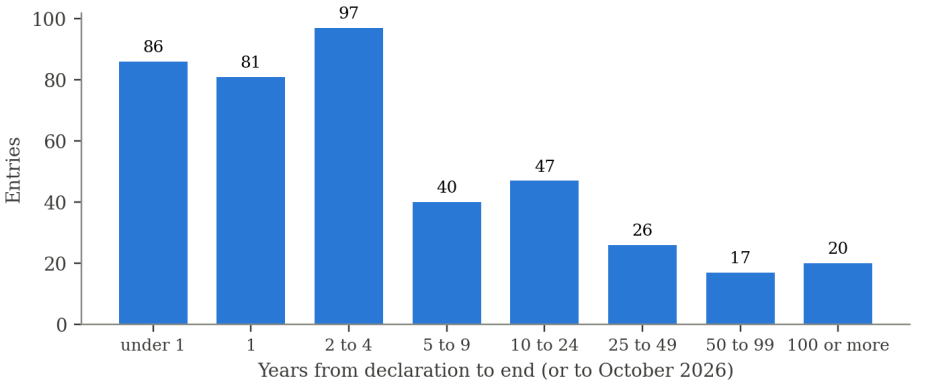


Figure 5. Duration of the entries with a known end (number of entries). *Source: coded set, October 2026. Duration is the end year less the start year; entries still in being are omitted.*

4.6 Territory without recognition: the position as at 19 October 2026

A last question is whether any entity now holds territory and is recognised by no member of the United Nations. On the sources reviewed, Transnistria (the Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic) is the clearest case. Its only recognisers are Abkhazia and South Ossetia, which are not members of the United Nations, and the Russian Federation, which has kept political, economic and military ties, does not recognise it. Russia retained about 1,500 troops there as at mid-2026, formally as peacekeepers; in June 2026 the Moldovan President described that presence as lacking a legal basis, and Russian and Transnistrian officials did not contemplate withdrawal.[154] The economic position has weakened since transit of Russian gas through Ukraine ended on 1 January 2025, and gas has since reached the territory in short tranches financed on credit.[155] Moldova opened Cluster 1 of its accession negotiations with the European Union in June 2026 and Cluster 6 on 14 July 2026.[156] At a working meeting in Tiraspol on 16 April 2026 the Moldovan side tied progress to European integration.[157] The likelier course is a gradual economic and legal integration with Moldova on the European path, though the Russian presence, the elections that the territory has scheduled for December 2026 and the course of the war in Ukraine leave the outcome open.

Abkhazia and South Ossetia stand differently. Four United Nations members recognised each as at July 2026, namely Russia, Nicaragua, Venezuela and Syria, after the government of Naoero decided on 21 July 2026 to withdraw its recognition.[158] Both maintain relations with Transnistria. Somaliland has been recognised by one state, Israel, since 26 December 2025.

Artsakh is not a case: no member of the United Nations recognised it, Armenia included, and it dissolved its institutions with effect from 1 January 2024.[159] The self-declared Donetsk and Luhansk entities were recognised by Russia, Syria and North Korea in 2022 and annexed by Russia in September 2022, an act that most states reject.[160] Northern Cyprus has one recogniser, Türkiye. The sources reviewed do not establish recognition, or continued control of a claimed state, for the Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria, the Houthi authorities, Azawad or Ambazonia, and these are left outside the count.

Chapter 5

Lessons for Founders

5.1 What the record says about micronations and projects The coded set contains 85 micronations, offshore ventures, seasteading ventures, network-state projects, digital programmes, accidental holdings, self-proclaimed monarchies and maritime outlaw polities that carry a territorial ambition. None reached recognition by a state. Of the 85, 48 stopped at ambition, 6 held part of a territory, and 31 held most or all of a territory, most often private land, a vessel or a platform. The median life of the group is 3 years, and 35 remain in being as at October 2026. For comparison, the secessions and breakaway governments in the set number 333, and 5 per cent of them reached the recognised tier. The numbers are small, the two groups differ in purpose, and many of the ventures sought no recognition from states at all, so the comparison describes the record and does not measure any chance of success. It records that control of land, which 36 per cent of the group achieved, did not lead to recognition in any case.

5.2 Propositions drawn from the pairs

1. Secure the parent's agreement, or plan for its collapse, before declaring. Bangladesh, South Sudan, Eritrea and Timor-Leste each had either the parent's consent or the parent's defeat behind the vote, and Biafra, Katanga and Somaliland had neither (Pairs 1, 2, 3 and 5). A founder who can obtain no consent should assess whether the parent is likely to dissolve.

2. Anchor the claim in an administrative boundary that the parent's own order already recognises. The Arbitration Commission treated internal boundaries as frontiers, and the African and post-Soviet cases followed the same line (Pairs 6 and 7). A claim that cuts across the line carries the burden of showing why doctrine should yield.

3. Offer protection to minorities inside the claimed boundary. The Croatian case combined an inherited boundary with minority rights, and the rival entity of Serbian Krajina had only the argument that it required territory (Pair 6).

4. Do not confuse control with recognition. Transnistria held territory with a patron's army for three decades and has not been recognised by that patron (Pair 7); the micronations and projects that held most or all of their land, 36 per cent of the group, were recognised by no state.

5. Expect the Security Council to be the gate. A favourable court opinion and many recognitions left Kosovo outside the United Nations while a permanent member opposed, and a lone patron could not offset the Council's call for non-recognition in the Cypriot case (Pair 8).

6. Treat one early recognition as a beginning, not a pattern. Somaliland has one recognition, from Israel on 26 December 2025, and the African Union Commission stated on 19 April 2026 that unilateral recognition is null and void (Pair 3). The record of Biafra, which obtained five recognitions and lost the war, points the same way (Pair 1).

7. Distinguish continuity from creation. The Baltic states were counted as restored states, not as seceding successors, and the Falepili Union treaty secures the continuity of an existing state; neither supplies a route by which a new community with no territory acquires statehood (Chapter 1).

8. Allow for time. The median entry lasted 2 years. A plan that depends on the slow accumulation of recognitions needs a vehicle that can last longer than that.

5.3 Ventures inside the law of a host state

Ventures that locate themselves within the law of a host state, as a zone or a concession, do not raise the recognition question in the same form. They raise the question whether the host's undertaking survives a change of government in the host state. The Honduran zones are the leading case among the entries, and the question belongs to the study of the network-state ventures and of subnational arrangements, which do not seek statehood and so sit outside the gradient used here.

Chapter 6

Limits and Next Steps

The evidence in this Part has four limits. The first is the quality of the coding. The coded set was produced in a single pass from the text of each entry, and only 79 of the 574 entries have had their recognition field checked against outside sources. All entries at the recognised tier are among them, so the figures for that tier are checked, but they are a minimum and not a total: the 280 entries whose text is silent on recognition may include further recognised cases, and the counts at lower tiers and the shares reported by era and by sponsorship rest on first-pass coding. The coded set holds 574 of the book's 628 entries. The remainder are the 9 comparative cases that begin before 1492, the 44 entries whose text shows no territorial ambition or leaves it unclear, and one entry, Anthemism, that has not been coded. The second is selection. The entries are the attempts that left a record, and the coded set cannot be treated as a sample of all attempts; micronations in particular enter the record when someone documents them. The third is the definition of recognition. The gradient counts recognition de jure, and the rule counts a patron's recognition, which makes some cases look stronger than a stricter rule would. The fourth is the pre-1945 ladder, where several placements are provisional because the sources record the absence of recognition and no positive finding. Details that remain unverified, among them the dates and votes of the League of Nations Assembly on the three Caucasian applications and the exact days of certain recognitions, are flagged in the source notes to the tables. The figures are descriptive counts of a non-random collection of documented cases; they are not probabilities, and an association between a feature and recognition is not shown to be its cause.

Three next steps would raise the standard of the evidence. The first is a second pass over the coding of the entries in the middle tiers, aimed at the recognition and parent-response fields. The second is a read of the sources for the parent's consent in every row of Table 1, since consent is the variable that the pairs identify as decisive. The third is a verification of the League of Nations Assembly records for the three Caucasian applications of 1920.

Notes to Part XII

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APPENDIX TO PART XII

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Montevideo Convention, Arts 1, 3, 11	Signed 26 December 1933	Article 1 lists the qualifications of a state: permanent population, defined territory, government, and capacity to enter into relations with other states.
Stimson note	7 January 1932	The United States stated that it could not admit the legality of any situation de facto arising in Manchuria and would not recognise treaties or agreements brought about by means contrary to the Pact of Paris.
League Assembly resolution on Manchuria	11 March 1932	The Assembly, on a British proposal and unanimously, called on Members not to recognise any situation, treaty or agreement brought about by means contrary to the Covenant or the Pact of Paris.
Friendly Relations Declaration	24 October 1970	The Declaration restates the duty to refrain from the threat or use of force, provides that no territorial acquisition resulting from the threat or use of force shall be recognised as legal, and contains a saving clause that nothing in the self-determination principle authorises action impairing the territorial integrity of States conducting themselves in compliance with equal.
SC res 216 (1965)	12 November 1965	Adopted 10 to 0 with 1 abstention (France). Condemns the unilateral declaration of independence by a racist minority and calls on States not to recognise the regime or assist it.
SC res 217 (1965)	20 November 1965	Adopted 10 to 0 with 1 abstention (France). Determines the situation extremely grave and a threat to international peace and security; condemns the seizure of power by a settler minority and holds that the declaration of independence has no legal validity; calls on all States not to recognise the regime or maintain relations with it.
SC res 232 (1966)	16 December 1966	Adopted 11 to 0 with 4 abstentions. Acting under Articles 39 and 41 of the Charter, the Council determined that the situation constituted a threat to the peace and decided that Member States shall prevent import of listed Rhodesian commodities (asbestos, iron ore, chrome, pig-iron, sugar, tobacco, copper, meat, hides and skins).
SC res 169 (1961)	24 November 1961	Adopted 9 to 0 with 2 abstentions (France, United Kingdom). Condemns the secessionist activities of the Katanga provincial administration, rejects the claim that Katanga is an independent nation, and authorises the Secretary-General to use the requisite measure of force to apprehend and deport foreign military personnel and mercenaries.

Authority	Date	Point relied on
SC res 541 (1983)	18 November 1983	Adopted 13 to 1 (Pakistan) with 1 abstention (Jordan). Deplores the declaration by the Turkish Cypriot authorities purporting to create an independent state in northern Cyprus, considers it legally invalid, calls for its withdrawal, and calls on all States not to recognise any Cypriot state other than the Republic of Cyprus.
SC res 550 (1984)	11 May 1984	Adopted 13 to 1 (Pakistan) with 1 abstention (United States). Reaffirms resolution 541, condemns all secessionist actions including the planned exchange of ambassadors, repeats the call on States not to recognise the 'Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus', and treats resettlement of any part of Varosha by persons other than its inhabitants as inadmissible.
SC res 662 (1990)	9 August 1990	Adopted unanimously. Decides that the annexation of Kuwait by Iraq has no legal validity and is considered null and void, and calls on all States and international organisations not to recognise the annexation.
Badinter Opinion 1	29 November 1991	The Commission found that the SFRY was in the process of dissolution, defined a state by territory, population and organised political authority, and treated the existence or disappearance of a state as a question of fact; recognition by other states has declaratory effects only.
Badinter Opinion 2	11 January 1992	Self-determination does not involve changes to existing frontiers save by agreement; Serb populations in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina enjoy minority and ethnic-group rights and may choose a nationality.
Badinter Opinion 3	11 January 1992	Applying uti possidetis, the Commission held that the former internal boundaries between Croatia and Serbia and between Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia become frontiers protected by international law, alterable only by freely reached agreement.
Badinter Opinion 10	4 July 1992	The Commission held that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) could not claim automatic continuity of the SFRY or its recognition, that it satisfied the statehood criteria within its territory, and that recognition by other states is a discretionary act.
Quebec Secession Reference	20 August 1998	On the duty to negotiate: a clear majority on a clear question in favour of secession gives rise to a reciprocal obligation on all parties to Confederation to negotiate constitutional change (paras 84, 87 to 88, 92 to 94).
Western Sahara AO	16 October 1975	The Court was unanimously of opinion that Western Sahara was not terra nullius at the time of Spanish colonisation, and found legal ties of allegiance with Morocco and Mauritanian-entity ties, but not ties of such a nature as to affect application of GA res 1514 (XV) and self-determination through free and genuine expression of the will of the peoples.

Authority	Date	Point relied on
Kosovo AO	22 July 2010	By ten votes to four the Court held that the declaration of independence of 17 February 2008 did not violate international law (general international law, Security Council resolution 1244 or the Constitutional Framework).
Chagos AO	25 February 2019	By 13 votes to 1 the Court held that the process of decolonisation of Mauritius was not lawfully completed when Mauritius acceded to independence in 1968; by 13 to 1 that the United Kingdom is under an obligation to bring its administration to an end as rapidly as possible; and by 13 to 1 that all Member States must cooperate with the United Nations to complete the.
Occupied Palestinian Territory AO	19 July 2024	Operative para 285: Israel's continued presence is unlawful (11 to 4); Israel must end it as rapidly as possible (11 to 4); all States are under an obligation not to recognise as legal the situation arising from the unlawful presence and not to render aid or assistance in maintaining it (12 to 3); international organisations, including the UN, likewise (12 to 3).
Falepili Union Treaty	Signed 9 November 2023; entered into force 28 August 2024	Australia recognises Tuvalu's statehood and its continuation despite sea-level rise.

Source: texts and reports cited in the notes. Resolution texts and judgments were read through summaries in places.

Appendix A: Register of Limited and Contested Recognition

The register lists the entries whose standing in the society of states is partial, disputed or lost. It repeats no entry. Each row gives the position as the edition was prepared and the page on which the full entry appears. A dagger (†) marks a position that must be confirmed at the date of publication.

Entry	Ref.	Position	Pag
Republic of China on Taiwan (A Recognition Case)	III	Governs Taiwan and neighbouring islands. Recognised by a small number of states, reported as twelve in 2026 and including the Holy See.† Its seat at the United Nations passed to the People's Republic of China in 1971 by General Assembly Resolution 2758.	13
Kosovo, Republic of (Parallel State of the 1990s and Declaration of Independence of 2008)	IV	Declared independence on 17 February 2008, an act on which the International Court of Justice gave an advisory opinion on 22 July 2010. Kosovo's foreign ministry claimed 117 recognitions in January 2023, a figure Serbia disputes; five members of the European Union do not recognise it. Not a member of the United Nations.†	20
Somaliland, Republic of	II	Declared its separation from Somalia in 1991 and has kept its own government since. Israel announced recognition on 26 December 2025, which Somalia, the African Union Commission and the Arab League rejected. No other state is reported to have recognised it.†	8
Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic	II	Proclaimed in 1976. A member of the African Union, recognised at the height of its support by many states, a number of which have since withdrawn or frozen recognition. Counts are contested.† It controls only part of Western Sahara.	9
Northern Cyprus	V	Proclaimed in 1983. Recognised by Türkiye alone.† Security Council Resolution 541 (1983) called the declaration legally invalid.	28
Abkhazia (post-1992)	V	Recognised by Russia, Nicaragua, Venezuela and Syria. Other states that once recognised it withdrew, and Naoero is reported to have done so in July 2026.† Georgia and most states regard the territory as part of Georgia.	26
South Ossetian Democratic Republic	V	Recognised by the same states as Abkhazia, with the same report of a withdrawal by Naoero in July 2026.† Georgia and most states regard the territory as part of Georgia.	26
Transnistria (Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic)	V	Not recognised by any member of the United Nations.†	26

Entry	Ref.	Position	Page
Nagorno-Karabakh (Artsakh, standalone)	V	Never recognised by any member of the United Nations, Armenia included. After the Azerbaijani offensive of September 2023 its president decreed the dissolution of its institutions on 28 September 2023, with effect from 1 January 2024.	265
Donetsk People's Republic	V	Recognised by Russia on 21 February 2022, which signed a treaty of accession on 30 September 2022. The General Assembly condemned the attempted annexation on 12 October 2022 by 143 votes to 5, with 35 abstentions.	263
Luhansk People's Republic	V	Recognised by Russia on 21 February 2022, which signed a treaty of accession on 30 September 2022. The General Assembly condemned the attempted annexation on 12 October 2022 by 143 votes to 5, with 35 abstentions.	264
Palestine, State of (Declaration of Independence of 1988 and the Recognition Record)	III	Declared independence on 15 November 1988. A non-member observer state at the United Nations since 29 November 2012. Recognised by roughly 157 of the 193 members of the United Nations on a count reported in September 2025.† The Security Council has not admitted it as a member.	149
All-Palestine Government (Gaza, 1948)	III	Recognised by several Arab states in 1948. The later claim of statehood is treated in the entry for the State of Palestine.	140
Kurdistan Region of Iraq, Independence Referendum and Bid of 2017	III	A federal region of Iraq. The 2017 referendum produced no recognition of independence by any state.	148
Kingdom of Kurdistan (1922)	III	Never recognised by any state.	147
Yemen, Democratic Republic of (1994 Southern Secession)	III	Declared in 1994 during the civil war and not recognised by any state.	155
Biafra, Republic of	II	Recognised in 1968 and 1969 by a handful of states, which withdrew or were left alone after its collapse in 1970.	71
Katanga, State of	II	Not recognised by any state during its existence (1960 to 1963).	74
Rhodesia, Unilateral Declaration of Independence of	II	Recognised by no state. The United Nations imposed sanctions on the Rhodesian regime.	79
South African Homelands (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei)	V	Recognised only by South Africa, which created them.	291
Manchukuo	V	Recognised by Japan, its Axis partners and a few other states. The League of Nations refused recognition.	283
Azawad, Republic of	II	Declared in 2012. Recognised by no state.	69
North Solomons, Republic of the (Bougainville Declarations of 1975 and 1990 and the Referendum of 2019)	III	An autonomous region of Papua New Guinea. The 2019 referendum returned 97.7 per cent for independence. The result was tabled in the Papua New Guinea Parliament in August 2026, and ratification remains to be scheduled.†	161

Entry	Ref.	Position	Pag
Tibet	III	Independence declared in 1913. Recognition by states was limited and is now absent.	13
Formosa, Republic of	III	Proclaimed in 1895 and ended within months. Recognised by no state.	13

Appendix B: Glossary

Annexation. The incorporation of territory into a state by agreement, conquest or unilateral act. International law does not recognise acquisition of territory by force.

Autonomy. A degree of self-government within a state, usually secured by constitution, statute or treaty, short of independence.

Client state, puppet state. A state whose government depends on a stronger external power for its creation, its survival or its policy. The terms are used here for states that an outside power substantially instigated, sponsored or imposed.

Condominium. A territory under the joint rule of two or more states.

Constitutive and declaratory theories of recognition. Under the constitutive theory a state exists in law only when others recognise it; under the declaratory theory a state exists once it meets the factual criteria and recognition merely acknowledges that fact. The declaratory theory is the more widely accepted in modern law.

De facto state. An entity that controls territory and provides government with some internal legitimacy but lacks wide international recognition.

Effective control. The exercise in fact of governmental authority over a territory and its population, as distinct from legal title.

Filibuster. A private military expedition mounted without state authority against a foreign territory. The term is used chiefly of the American expeditions to Central America, Mexico and Cuba in the 1850s.

Free city. A city governed by its own institutions under a treaty or charter that removes it from the full authority of the surrounding state, as Danzig was under the League of Nations.

Government in exile. A government that claims authority over a territory it does not control and operates from abroad.

League of Nations mandate. A territory, mostly detached from the German and Ottoman empires after 1918, administered by a member state under a mandate from the League of Nations and supervised by the Permanent Mandates Commission.

Maroon. A person who escaped slavery, or a community of such people. Spanish America knew them as cimarrones and their settlements as palenques; Brazil called them quilombos.

Micronation. A self-declared state, usually small and unrecognised, whose claim is maintained by an individual or group. Micronations are distinguished from the cases in this compendium that held territory against an opposing state.

Montevideo Convention. The Convention on the Rights and Duties of States, signed at Montevideo in 1933, which lists the qualifications of a state as a permanent population, a defined territory, a government and the capacity to enter into relations with other states.

Network state. A concept described by Balaji Srinivasan in 2022: a community that forms online around shared values, builds a degree of collective organisation, acquires territory in many places and seeks diplomatic recognition.

Plebiscite, referendum. A direct vote of the people of a territory on a question of status or allegiance.

Protectorate. A territory that retains some internal government but is placed under the protection of another state, which usually controls its foreign relations.

Recognition. The act by which a state acknowledges the existence of another state or of a government. Recognition may be express or implied, and may extend to a state while being withheld from a government.

Remedial secession. The claim that a people subject to grave and persistent oppression may secede as a last resort. The Supreme Court of Canada discussed the idea in the Quebec Secession Reference of 1998, and its status in general international law is disputed.

Seasteading. The founding of permanent communities on the open sea or in floating structures, with the aim of obtaining a jurisdiction of their own.

Secession. The withdrawal of a territory from a state with the aim of forming a new state or joining another.

Self-determination. The principle that peoples have the right to determine their political status. In practice it has been applied chiefly to colonial peoples, and its extension to peoples within existing states is contested.

Stimson doctrine. The policy, announced by the United States in 1932 after the Japanese occupation of Manchuria, of refusing to recognise territorial changes brought about by force.

Terra nullius. Land treated as belonging to no state and therefore open to acquisition by occupation.

Unilateral declaration of independence. A declaration of independence made without the consent of the state from which a territory separates. In its 2010 advisory opinion on Kosovo the International Court of Justice held that the adoption of such a declaration did not violate general international law.

Appendix C: Geographical Index of Entries

Entries are grouped by the present-day territory in which the polity or venture was centred. Positions follow the atlas plates and are approximate. A polity that spanned several territories appears under its seat. Disputed territories appear under their geographic names.

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Appendix D: Directories and Resources

The compendium treats at length only those projects that asserted or sought a jurisdiction of their own, or aspired to statehood. Many more projects, among them startup cities, pop-up villages, special economic zones and early-stage network communities, are catalogued in public directories. The directories below were consulted in compiling the book, and readers who wish to find a project that has no entry here, or only a brief notice, may begin with them. The descriptions are those of the directories themselves as read in October 2026, and their holdings change often. Inclusion here is neither an endorsement of any directory nor a statement about the projects it lists.

Free Cities Foundation, Projects Register. A register maintained by the Free Cities Foundation, a United States non-profit corporation, of projects that the Foundation classes as free cities. It includes special jurisdictions, intentional communities, seasteads and territories of contested status, and gives for each a location, type, operational status and range of residents.
`https://free-cities.org/projects`

xyz.city. A directory and map of network state communities, residencies and events, which sorts its entries into permanent communities and pop-up or experimental gatherings and links each to its own site.
`https://xyz.city`

Network School Dashboard. A database kept by Network School of startup societies, network states and related communities. Each record gives a category, such as startup society, pop-up village, startup city or special economic zone, a location and a short description.
`https://ns.com/dashboard`

NSNodes. A hub for the network state movement that combines a directory of societies, filterable by location and type, with listings of events, jobs and venture investors.
`https://nsnodes.com`

Free Citadels. A directory of the organisations, people and communities that plan and build freedom communities, with links to affiliated discussion groups. Its resources page (freecitadels.com/resources/) lists sponsors and communities and is not a list of projects.
`https://freecitadels.com`

New Cities Map. An interactive map of new cities, published by the New Cities Foundation.
`https://newcitiesmap.com`

Open Zone Map. An interactive map of special economic zones worldwide, produced by the Adrianople Group, a research and advisory firm on such zones. Its launch announcement of October 2021 described a dataset of some 5,000 zones in 70 countries.
`https://openzonemap.com`

Select Bibliography

The bibliography lists the books, chapters, scholarly articles and theses that the notes cite. It does not repeat primary documents, treaties, judgments, official records, press reports or web pages, which the notes cite in full where they arise. Each work is given as the notes cite it.

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