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INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores the concept of Cornish self-determination through political cartooning. A selection of images from a range sources and dates has been chosen to reflect the variety of vested interests in the debate around self-determination in Cornwall. We have applied semiotic analysis to the visual and textual content of the cartoons, to explain the multimodal representation of self-determination in a Cornish context.

CORNWALL AND SELF-DETERMINATION

The politics of self-determination in Cornwall have been addressed primarily in the works of (Willett, 2013, Willett and Giovannini, 2014, Tregidga, 1999, Sandford, 2006). The works mainly contextualise the
Democracy and European Emerging Values: The right to decide

The place of Cornwall in regards to other nations and regions of the UK that have been successful and unsuccessful in achieving devolution of political power. Whilst the movement for self-determination in Cornwall can be traced back many centuries, this chapter will focus on the media from 1970 onwards. Presently, Cornwall is the only Celtic-nation in UK without political devolution.

POLITICAL CARTOONING

It has been suggested by Plumb (2004, p432) that political cartoons are “one of the most powerful weapons in the journalistic armoury” as it helps to expose a “certain kind of truth” (ibid). The political cartoonist’s work has often been said to act as a depictive rhetoric, when strategic pictures, verbal or non-verbal visualizations correspond with the memory of the audiences. Even though occupying relatively small space in publications, cartoons have a certain semiotic density, and in this chapter the compact visual and linguistic modalities of the images will be explored.

Political cartoons are composed of two elements: caricature, which parodies the individual and allusion, which creates the situation or context into which the individual is placed. Caricature is said to have originated around the Mediterranean, and cartoons of a more editorial nature developed in Germany, a chillier climate.

The rise of cartoons was linked to the visual propaganda by Martin Luther’s socio-religious reforms. The appeal of the cartoons to the emerging merchant class and their rise to leadership, and the largely illiterate public was due to the distribution of simple broadsheet posters or illustrated pamphlets through population centres. Cartooning uses a range of stylistic devices including distortion, cliché, exaggeration, simplification, caricature, double meaning, allusion and irony to highlight a political point or message (Seymour-Ure, 2001). What may seem surreal and small in size often hides a well-defined target. Cartoons share rhetorical devices with Poetry, and one of them is ‘dialogism’, literally ‘double-voicedness’ because the sole purpose of acartoonists is to persuade readers to think critically about current political situations in society.

KARTOUNWEYTH POLITEK

Y feu profyes gans Plumb (2004, f.432) bos kartounyow politek “onan a’n arvou an moyha gallosek y’n aruji jornalyasek” awos ev dhe weeres diskudha “unn eghen a wiryonedd” (ibid). Y leveyrs yn fenowgh y hwra ober an kartounydh politek servya avel retorek portrayus, pan omhdesetho lymnansow stratejek, dismygyansow, kyn fons i war anow po heb geryow vyth, gans kov an woslowysi. Kyn hwrions i kevaneiddy hythneck spys byghan yn dyllansow, kartounyow a’s teves unn dosehd sinoniethek, hag y’n chaptra ma modholethow gwelesek ha yethoniethek kesstrothys an imajys a vyth hwihtrys. Kartounyow politek yw komposys a dhiw eivern: gesdresas, hag a barod an unign, ha kampol, hag a great an studh po keketsten, ynn y mwy yw gorys an unign. Y leveyr y tallahas gesdresas a-dro dhe’n Kresvor, ha kartounyow a natur moy pensnikrefiek a veu dispelygs yn Almyn, hin yeynna. Y feu tevys yna kartounyow keskelmys dhe’n plontyans gwelesek gans amenyansow socyo-krifyk Martin Luther. An tennvos a kartounyow dhe’n renkas marchont ow sordya ha’ga tevys yna dhe’n soodh a ledyoreth, ha’n poblans dre vras anlettrys, o awos bos an lesrannans a skrisellow sempel po folenigow lymnys dre gresennow an poblans. Kartounweth y a dhevnevadh kahon a dhevisovy gisec y’ga mysk omgammans, krindyth, gorlwiwans, sempelheans, gesdresas, styr dewblek, kampollans ha gesedh dhe wolowbwoynia mater po messach politek (Seymour-Ure, 2001). An pyth a hevel bos gorwir ha byghan yn myns yn fenowgh a gudh kosten kler by styr. Kartounyow a gever devisoy retoregel gans Bardhionieth, ha onan anedha yw ‘omgowsieth’, mayth yw styr y benfenten ‘dewblek-levegnoth’ drefen bos a unn acheson a kartounydh dhe berswadiya redyoryon dhe brederi yn freusel a-dro dhe studhow politek a-lemmyn y’n bys ledanna.
ANALYSIS METHOD

This chapter will apply the approach of Moeran (2005) and his use of frames to highlight the perspective of those inside and those outside a community. The concept itself can be traced back to Bateson (1972) and more directly to the pioneering work of Goffman and Bennett (1986) in Framework Analysis. The community in this case being those who are pushing for Cornish self-determination. This community has over the years come to encompasses a wide variety of groups. The cartoons used in this short text, have been sourced from political parties such as Mebyon Kernow, housing campaign groups such as Cornwall Concern Group, independent research organisations such as Cornwall Social and Economic Research Group (CoSERG), pamphleteers like Nowodhow an Myttyn (Morning News), and social media based satire groups such as Bulloverman’s Tomb of the Bizzare. The list of other potential sources of data could go on, but due to space restriction in this text, these will be the primary items upon which we will draw. The reason frames are so useful as a theoretical devices is encapsulated by Van Leeuwen (2004) in his descriptions of the role of metaphor:

“The essence of metaphor is the idea of ‘transference’, of transferring something from one place to another, on the basis of a perceived similarity between the two ‘places’.” P30

These two places will be explored in a chronological order so that the development of different themes and styles of cartoon on the topic of self-determination can be seen to emerge.

POLITICAL CARTOONING OF CORNISH SELF-DETERMINATION: CORNWALL - INTERNAL FRAME

PRE 1970S

The movement for self-determination in Cornwall in the modern era can be traced to the formation of Celtic societies and political pressure groups after WW2 and into the 1960’s, hence the authors wished to include work from these earlier periods. Take for example the primitive pamphlet in Figure 1 from a little know organisation calling itself Nowodhow an Myttyn (Morning News). The exact date is unknown but it is likely to be before
1970, as the price is written in a pre-decimal currency which ended into the United Kingdom in 1971.

Figure 1 is written solely in the Cornish language, the use of the indigenous Celtic language functions as a form of literary activism. There are various cartoons in this satirical pamphlet including:

- Mocking BBC radio Cornwall for its Anglicisation of speech,
- The lack of Cornish language content in newspapers,
- Republican sentiment issued towards Prince Charles, the Duke of Cornwall

Moving into the 1970’s with Figure 2, the quality of the illustration can be seen to improve. This cartoon is taken from Cornish Nation, the official publication that is attached to Mebyon Kernow – the party for Cornwall. A political party that has been central to the self-determination movement in Cornwall (Cole et al, 2011). Throughout the 1970’s Cornish Nation used the same masculine figure to signify the struggles Cornwall and its people were facing. The text reads: *Embodyment of the spirit of Cornwall, Guardian of Cornish interests. With Mebyon Kernow a new Kernow Aries!*

Figur 1 yw skrifys yn tien y’n yeth kernewek, us an yeth teythyek keltek a ober avel furv a weythresieth liennek. Yma kartounyow divers y’n folennik esek ma a gomprehend:

- Gul ges a Gorteb Radyo Kernow rag ysowsnekheans a gows,
- Fowt a dhalgh an yeth kernewek y’n paperyow nowodhow,
- Klewans pohlogethek dyllys troha Pennsevik Charlys, Duk Kernow

1970s

The breaking of the chains in the image relates to the 3 characters dressed in top hats shown to be running out of Cornwall. The labels on the characters read: Tory, Labour and Liberal.

*Figure 2 - Male figure as an embodiment of Cornwall Source: (Cornish Nation, 1970)*

*Figure 3 - Masculine Figure as a Clay Miner opposing the image of a rich industrialist Source: (Cornish Nation, 1971)*

Figures 3 depicts a clay pit worker opposing an industrialist. The terms Kernow and Pow Saws are the Cornish words for Cornwall and England respectively. There is a clear association with the Cornish worker as a proletariat suffering unemployment at the hands of an English capitalist. A continuation of the themes echoed in Figure 2.

AN DHEGVLEDHEN 1970

Terri an chaynys y’n imach a sin orth an 3 ferson gwiskys yn hattow owrlin, diskwedhys ow ponya yn-mes a Gernow. An labelyow war an bersons a red: Tori, Lavur ha Livrel.

*Figur 2 - Person gorow avel personegyans a Gernow. Pennfenten: (Kenedhel Gernewek, 1970)*

*Figur 3 - Person gorow avel Den Bal Pri Gwynn owth enebi imach a dhwyysyansydh rych. Pennfenten: (Kenedhel Gernewek, 1971).*

Figure 4 shows the same character – the personification of Cornwall demanding autonomy form the Crowther Commission. A commission set up to investigate the constitutional structures of the United Kingdom.

The cartoons from the 1970’s clearly have socialist and emancipatory overtones. Figures 2, 3 and 4 show a character who is not only seeking freedom from a political system but also an economic one as well.

1980S

Figure 5 - Depictions a London immigrant to a new house in Cornwall Source: (Deacon et al., 1988)

Figure 5 it taken from a Corish research and campaign group with a focus on housing issues. The sign reads: Sold Trefaust & Sons. Trefaust being a Cornish-English portmanteau meaning house of Faust. Suggesting a Faustian pact between property developers and the political and economic establishment.

AN DHEGVLEDHEN 1980

Figure 5 - a dhiskwedh unigyn an Dhegvledhen 1970 a’s teves yn efan hanytwysow soocylythek ha livresonel. Figurys 2,3,4 a dhiskwedh unigyn na hwil rydhses dhyworth system politek heiken mes keffrys dhyworth onan erbysek.

An kartounyow an dhegvledhen 1970 a’s teves yn efan hanytwysow soocylythek ha livresonel. Figurys 2,3,4 a dhiskwedh unigyn na hwil rydhses dhyworth system politek heiken mes keffrys dhyworth onan erbysek.

Figr 5 yw kemerys dhyworth bagas hwithrau ha kaskyrg, ha’ga fog war vaters a aned-hans. An arwodh a red: Gwerthys – Trefaust & Mebyon. Trefaust yw ger portmantel Kernwek-Sowsnek a styr Tre a Faust, ow pro-
in Cornwall and external influences. The cartoon highlights the issue of Cornwall not having control over its own planning laws. A situation that exists to this day. Note the use of the London dialect of English in the speech bubble.

Figure 6 - Mebyon Kernow Leader as Superman Source: (Peninsula Voice, 1988)

Figure 6 continues the theme of the political übermensch, with a parody of Superman. Here a former leader of Mebyon Kernow is shown lifting Cornwall to safety away from and angry dragon. A vexillological symbol of the Wessex region of England. This figure whilst maintaining the superhero theme, does so with an evident amount of satire. Whereas Figures 2, 3 and 4 being taken from the magazine of a political party, entirely avoid satirising themselves. Due to the restriction on space here other cartoons from this period cannot be displayed. For example, also from the 80’s, the Cornwall Concern group used cartoons of a bulldozer driving into the Cornish peninsula, running over its national flag and destroying Celtic crosses. Emblazoned on the side of the bulldozer are the words Heritage Demolition, behind the bulldozer is a picture of an industrial scene. With the associated text reading: Sale of the century...2000 years of Celtic Heritage surrounding by an image of Cornwall.

Fya akord Faustel yntra dispelyoryon anedhans yn Kernow ha awedhyansow a-ves. An kartoun a wolowboynt an mater ma na’s teves Kernow kon-trol a’y laghys towlenna ly honan, studh hag a bes bys y’n jydh hedhyw. Merk an devnydh a’n rannyeth Loundres a Sowsnek y’n hwythen gows.

Fygur 6 - Ledyer Mebyon Kernow avel Superman. Pennfenten: (Lev an Konna Tà)

Fygur 6 a bes an thema a’n übermensch politek gans parodi a Superman. Omma yma diskwedhys kyns-ledyer Mebyon Kernow ow trehevel Kernow dhe sawder dhyworth dragon serrys. Arwodh vanerel an ramndir Wessex a Bow Sows. Kyn hwa an figur ma mentena an thema ughworour, ev a’n gwra gans ges fest kler: bytetygyns, Figures 2, 3 ha 4, kemerys dhyworth hyver termyn a barti politek, a wra goholes yn tien omesa. Awos strothans a spas omma ny yllir displetya kartounyw oew dhyworth an termyn ma. Rag ensampel, dhyworth an dhegvedh 1980 ynwedd, an bagas Bern Kernow a wrug devnydh a gartounys a jynn-herdhya a rol bys yn Kernow, ow skwattya an baner kernewek ha distrui Krowsow Keltek. Tenewen an jynn-herdhya yw afins ymys an geryow Distryuans Ertach, yma a-dryv an jynn-herdhya delinyans a wel diwysyansel. An desten kelmys orto a red: Gwerth an Ganuvledhen ... 2000 vledhen a Ertach Keltek, ow kerghynna imach a Gernow.
Figure 7 shows the current leader of Mebyon Kernow Dick Cole (circa 2015) next to an image of the 1940’s American comic character Wonder Boy, whose name in the comic series is also Dick Cole. This Figure once more continues the super hero theme, but as with Figure 6 the satire is evident even if it is meant in support. Figure 7 is the first noted use of colour in a political cartoon about Cornish self-determination.

Figure 7 is also the first example political cartooning related to self-determination that was sourced from social media. It comes from a satirical Facebook group known as Bulloverman’s Tomb of the bizarre. Who produce surrealist politically themed cartoons and memes.
OUTSIDE OF CORNWALL - EXTERNAL FRAME

The external framing of Cornish self-determination is also important to consider when illustrating the political cartooning concept. Here external sources are taken from media outlets based outside of Cornwall. For example Figure 8 from The Cagle Post (2012) which portrays Alex Salmond, former first minister of Scotland and leader of the SNP enthroned as a king, in front of a crowd of adoring Cornish Nationalist.

Figure 8 depicts Alex Salmond, former first minister of Scotland enthroned as king, in front of a crowd of Cornish Nationalist. Source: (The Cagle Post, 2012)

Figure 8 is designed to mock the deficiencies of the Cornish self-determination movement in comparison to the success of the SNP. The text in the top left hand corner labels the political party a secret English devolution society. Similar themes can easily be detected in Figure 9.

MES A GERNOW – FRAM A-VES

Pan lynnir an konsayt a gartounweth politek, yth yw posek dhe brederi a-dro dhe’n framyans a-ves a omervirans kernewek. Omma, pennfentyynniv a-ves yw kemerys dhyworth tardhellow media selys ynmes a Gernow. Rag ensampel Figur 8 dhyworth The Cagle Post (2012) a dhiskwedh Alex Salmond, kyns kynsa menyster Alban ha ledyer an SNP, a’y esedh avel myghtern, a-rag routh a Genedhlogoryon Gernewek orth y wordhya.

Figur 8 a dhiskwa Alex Salmond, kyns kynsa menyster Alban, war se avel myghtern, a-dherag bush a genedhlogoryon. Pennfenten: (The Cagle Post, 2012)

Desinys yw Figur 8 dhe skornya difygyow an movyans omervirans kernewek kehevelys orth sewena an SNP. An tekst y’n gornel a-wartha kledih-barth a henow an parti politek kouethas digresennans sousnek kevrinek. Themow haval a yll bos dismygys ym Figur 9.
DISCUSSION

We can see that as we move through the different decades up to 2015 how the visual modality of the cartoons change, noting the reduced articulation of detail, depth, colour and shade in the 1960, 70s and 80s (Van Leeuwen, 2004), until we reach the full technicolour of 2015. Beyond this there is a trend that runs throughout all the cartoons in this chapter that should be explored – politicians as superheroes.

POLITICIANS AS SUPERHEROES

The cartoons in the internal and external frames both utilised the conception of politicians as superheroes but to different ends. The depiction of politicians as superheroes is well documented by Plumb (2004) who suggests that they are a suitable topic for cartoons as they are indexed in the public psyche. The internal vs. external framing acts as a perfect example in the context of political figures. Figures 2, 3 and 4 can clearly be seen to be portraying a serious male character, aspiring to raise a pertinent issue. Figures 6 and 7 again present strong masculine personas but with the addition of satire. Whereas Figure 8, and 9 show the trivialisation of self-determination in other European Union member states.

DADHEL

Ni a yll gweles, ha ni ow kwaya dres an degvedhynnyow bys yn 2015, fatel janj gologva welesek an kartounyow, owth attendya an diskwedyans lehes a vanylyon, downder, liw ha skeus y’n 19600ow, 700w, ha 800ow (Van Leeuwen, 2004), bys pan dhrehedhyn an liwyow leun a 2015. Dres hemma yma tuedh a res der oll an kartounyow y’n chaptra ma a dal bos hwitrys – politegoryon avel ughorwer.

POLITEGORYON AVEL UGHORWER

An kartounyow y’n framyow hag a-bervedh hag a-ves a wre devnydh a’n tybyans a bolitegoryon avel ughorwer, mes gans amkanow dyffrans. Kowdhyys yn ta yw an portrayans a bolitegoryon avel ughorwer gans Plumb (2004), neb a brof aga bos testen wiw rag kartounyow drefen aga bos menegys y’n brys poblek. An framyans a-bervedh erbynn an framyans a-ves yw ensample perfyd y’n gettesten a ughorwer bolitek. Y hyllir gweles yn kler bos Figuryys 2,3 ha 4 ow portraya person gorow ha sad, ow medra sordya mater longus. Figuryys 6 ha 7 a dhiskwa arta tus worow ha krev mes keworrys yw ges. Byttegyns Figuryys 8 ha 9 a dhiskwa...
determination issues in Cornwall. That is to state, from the internal frame political cartooning of self-determination attempts to give importance to issues that are considered trivial by others, whereas those from the external viewpoint tend to trivialised issues of self-determination. Which tends to be of high importance to those who live secessionist regions. Both frames use hero motifs to do this, but to different ends. Perhaps the best example of this is Figure 8 describing Mebyon Kernow as a secret English devolution society. Beyond the deliberate misrepresentation of the political party as English, the idea of a secret political party becomes humorously absurd. In conclusion we can return to Van Leeuwen’s idea of the ‘two places’ (passim), that is in sum this chapter shows the shift from the external to the internal frame in political cartooning represents the shift from the iconoclast to the idolisation of political heroes.

an trufians a vateryow omervirans yn Kernow. Henn yw dhe leverel, dhlyworth an fram a-bervedh, kartounya politek a omervirans a assay ri roweth dhe vatyow hag yw gwelys avel trufel tus erel, mes an huni dhlyworth an velva a-ves a’s teves tuedh a drulla materyow a omervirans. Ha’n materyow ma a’s teves an tuedh a vos a roweth bras dhe’n das a drig yn ramndiryow omndhibarthek. An dhew fram a dhenydh motifow a worwer rag gul hemma, mes gans amkanow dyffrans. Martesen an gwella ensampel a hemma yw Figur 8 a dheskrif Mebyon Kernow avel kowethas digressenans sousnek kevrik. Dres an kammdheskrifans a-borpos a’n parti politek avel sowsnek, an tybians a bari politek kevrinek a ha bos heb reson ha hwarthus. Avel gorfen y hyllyn ni deheweles dhe dybians Van Leeuwen a’n ‘dhew dyller’ (passim): henn yw, yn berrskrif, an chaptra ma a dhiskwa an dreylya dhlyworth an fram a-ves dhe’n fram a-bervedh yn kartounya politek dhe representya an dreylya dhlyworth an ikonoklast dhe’n gordhyans a worwer bolitek.
References

THE POLITICAL CARTOONING OF CORNISH SELF-DETERMINATION

On behalf of the Centre Maurits Coppieters and our partners I sincerely wish to thank the authors of the report for their groundbreaking approach to the subject and their passionate, conceptually robust and well structured factual presentations.

Finally I also wish to thank you (the reader) for your interest in our organization and for reviewing our modest contribution to a much wider European political debate in this area.

Günther Dauwen
Secretary of Centre Maurits Coppieters
www.ideasforeurope.eu

GOALS OF THE EUROPEAN POLITICAL FOUNDATION
CENTRE MAURITS COPPIETERS (CMC)

According to its general regulations, the Centre Maurits Coppieters asbl-vzw pursues the following objectives and references:

- Observing, analysing and contributing to the debate on European public policy issues with a special focus on the role of nationalist and regionalist movements and the process of European integration;
- Serving as framework for national or regional think tanks, political foundations and academics to work together at European level;
- Gather and manage information for scientific purposes on all nationalist and regionalist movements, organisations, structures,... in all its appearances situated in a European context;
- Making available information to the public on the implementation of the principle of subsidiarity in a context of a Europe of the Regions;
- Promoting scientific research on the functioning and the history of all national and regional movements in the EU and making the results public to as many people as possible;
- Developing actions to open information sources and historical information sources in a structured and controlled way with the aim to build a common data network on issues of Nationalism and Regionalism in Europe;
- Maintaining contacts with all organisations who are active in national movements and with the Institutions of the EU;

The European Parliament recognized the Centre Maurits Coppieters (CMC) as a Political Foundation at a European Level in 2007. Since then the CMC has developed political research focusing on European issues, also in the fields of multilevel governance, management of cultural and linguistic diversity in complex (multi-national) societies, decentralization, state and constitutional reform, succession of states, conflict resolution and protection of human rights.

So far, every little step has been important to the steady consolidation and growth of the Centre, that’s why I’m especially proud of this publication. Indeed, it undoubtedly represents a crucial contribution to the current state of affairs and will certainly have a notorious impact both in the Academia and among European decision makers in a broad sense, including European Institutions (like the European commission, European Parliament, Council and Committee of the Regions), other political actors, think tanks, research centers and contributors to the European integration process.
The Centre Maurits Coppieters asbl-vzw takes all the necessary actions to promote and achieve the higher stated goals always observing the principles on which the European Union is founded, namely the principles of liberty, democracy, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the rule of law.

MAURITS COPPIETERS (SINT-NIKLAAS, 1920 – DEINZE, 2005)

The Fleming Maurits Coppieters studied history and later became a Doctor of Laws and obtained a master's degree in East European studies. During the Second World War, he refused to work for the German occupier. After many years as a teacher, he worked as a lawyer for a while. He was one of the people who re-established the Vlaamse Volksbeweging (Flemish People’s Movement), of which he was the President from 1957-1963.

Coppieters’ political career began when he became a member of the Flemish-nationalist party Volksunie (VU) which was formed in 1954. With the exception of two years, Coppieters was a town councillor between 1964 and 1983. He was also elected as a member of the Belgian Chamber (1965-1971) and Senate (1971-1979). At the same time, Coppieters became President of the newly formed ‘Cultuurraad voor de Nederlandstalige Cultuurgemeenschap’ (Cultural Council for the Dutch-speaking Community, from which later the Flemish Parliament emanated), when the VU formed part of the government. In 1979, Coppieters was moreover elected during the first direct elections for the European Parliament.

As a regionalist, he became a member of the Group for Technical Coordination and Defence of Independent Groupings and Members in the European Parliament (TCDI). Among other things, he made a name for himself when he championed the cause of the Corsicans. In the meantime, Coppieters also played a pioneering role in the formation of the European Free Alliance, of which he became the Honorary President and in whose expansion he continued to play a role, even after he said farewell to active politics in 1981. In 1996, Coppieters joined forces with the president of the Flemish Parliament, Norbert De Batselier, to promote ‘Het Sienjaal’, a project with a view to achieve political revival beyond the party boundaries. Coppieters died on November 11, 2005.

Among other things, Coppieters was the author of: ‘Het jaar van de Klaproos’; ‘Ik was een Europees Parlementslid’; ‘De Schone en het Beest’. He is Honorary member of the EFA.

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