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A LINK BETWEEN THE CELTIC NATIONS

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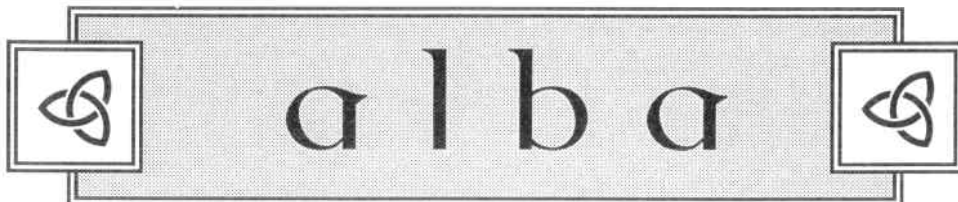
A map of the Celtic Nations is shown, with labels for Alba, Éire, Mannin, Cymru, Kernow, and Breizh. The map is stylized with a textured, shaded appearance. The text 'Plaid Cymru & SNP Successes - A Step Closer towards a Celtic Confederation!' is written diagonally across the map. A legend box in the bottom right corner provides the names of the Celtic Nations in their respective languages.

**Plaid Cymru & SNP Successes - A Step Closer towards a Celtic Confederation!**

**ALBA:** COMANN CEILTEACH • **BREIZH:** KEVRE KELTIEK • **CYMRU:** UNDEB CELTAIDD • **ÉIRE:** CONRADH CEILTEACH • **KERNOW:** KESUNYANS KELTEK • **MANNIN:** COMMEEYS CELTIAGH

**CELTIC LEAGUE** 





## Cho Gòrach Ris Na h-Eoin

**A**n diugh, fhuair mi duilleag a thaobh Taghadh na Pàrlamaid Eorpach air 10 den Òg-mhios am bliadhna.

Bha a h-uile cail sa Bheurla ach aig deireadh na duilleige dé dh'innis i ach far an urrainn dut fhaighinn sna cànaichean eile:-

"GAELIC, Arabic, Bengali, WELSH, Gujarati, Hindi, Punjabi, Urdu, Chinese, Vietnamese, Greek, Turkish and Somali."

Ach feumaidh duine sgrìobhadh no fònaig air son sin.

Carson nach eile COIRNEIS ann cuideachd?

Nach eil Gàidhlig is a' Chuimreis dualach do na h-innsean seo? Agus ma bhios neach fileanta sa Ghàidhlig no sa Chuimreis dh'fheumadh e (no i) iarraidh son na duilleig sa BHEURLA air son eadar-theangaidh sa Gàidhlig no sa Chuimreis!

Car-son? Mata, gun teagamh tha an Riaghaltas agus Seirbheis na Stàitse ag giùlain mar gun robh an lampaichead ann fhathast far nach robh daoine a' bruidhinn ach Beurla a-mhàin dìreach nan "*lesser breeds without the law*"... ('se sin ri ràdh gun robh iad fo-dhaonna no suarach!) mar a theireadh Rudyard Kipling.

Car-son nach eil ar càineanan Cheilteach, an seo a' Ghàidhlig agus a' Chuimreis a' gabhail àite mar gun bheil iad dualach? Mar eisimpleir, car-son nach eil an darna taobh na duilleige seo sa Ghàidhlig no sa Chuimreis? Agus an taobh eile sa Bheurla bhon a tha iad a' dol a-steach don a h-uile dachaigh ann an Alba agus sa Chuimrigh?

Agus, car-son nach d'rinn iad an aon rud air son na Coirneis? Abair a' Choirneis (Cornish) car-son a bheil an Fheadhainn Mhòra cho neo-àireachail, eadhon caran nàimhdeil don Choirneis. Nach do shabhail sgoilearan Còrnach a' chàinean Shasannach agus rinn iad a' Bheurla buadhmhor thairis air an Fhraingeis?

Dh'fhàs tachartasan fàbharach air son na Beurla. Nach do thòisich Cogadh nan Ceud Bliadhna sa bhliadhna 1337 eadar Sasain agus an Fhraing? Leis a sin chaill an Fhraingeis gràdh na dùthcha Shasannach. Eadar 1349 agus 1350 dè bhris a-mach ach a' phlàigh sgrìosail bhàsmhor d'am b'ainm

Am Bàs Dubh. Mharbh e uiread de dhaoine agus, leis a sin, thòisich na h-oibrichean a bhi fada na bu priseile, on a bha iad na bu teirce agus a chionn nach robh robh innealradh no machinery ri fhaotain a dh'oibreachadh mar sna làithean sin. Sna àmnanan fada air falbh cha mhòr nach robh a h-uile cail air a dhèanamh le laimh a-mhàin. Cò a bha anns na daoine iosal seo ach luchd na Beurla agus bu iad a' chuid as motha. An sin bha an Fheadhainn Mòra agus gu ìre bhig gach sgoilear ann an luchd na Fraingeis agus bha iad nan riaghladairean o Cheannsachadh Mór na Sasainn leis na Fraingich-Normanach sa bhliadhna 1066.

Mar eisimpleir dh'ordaich luchd na Fraingeis nach biodh còmhraidh cèadaichte ach tre na Fraingeis no tre Laideann. Sa bhliadhna 1332 bha Achd na Pàrlamaid Shasanach a' cur an òrduigh a-mach gum biodh an Fhraingeis an aon cànan sna



sgoilean feadh Sasainn. Gun teagamh bha luchd na Beurla a' fàs na bu làidire agus leis a sin bha luchd na Fraingeis a' fàs caran eagalach.

Mata bha an tìde a fàs fàbharach air son aiseirigh na Beurla an deidh tòiseach Cogadh nan Ceud Bliadhna 1337. Gu h-araidh bhon a bha luchd na Beurla a nis feumail air son a bhi nan saighdearan sa Chogadh.

An sin, thàinig triuir Ceiltich thairis air an abhain Tamar gu Sasainn agus bha iad a' dol don Oilthigh Oxford. Bha Iain Trevisa à Crocadon, St Mellion a' Chorn an duine as ainmeile. Sgrìobh e leabhar mòr eolais no encyclopaedia is eachdraidh sa Bheurla agus chaochail e sa bhliadhna 1402. Ar leam gun robh teagasg tre na Coirneis a-mhàin sa Chuirn an uair sin, oir sgrìobh Iain Trevisa mar sin:-

"Dh'atharraich Iain à Corn (maighstir-sgoile gràmair) teagasg anns a h-uile sgoil-ghràmar ann an Sasainn. Tha an fheadhainn òg a' treigsinn na Fraingeis agus a' mineachadh agus ag ionnsachadh tre na Beurla..." Mar sin, beagan is beagan, dh'fhàs luchd na Beurla buadhmhor! Sa bhliadhna 1349, taing don triuir gillean Coirneach, thòisich teagasg sna sgoiltean tre na Beurla feadh Sasainn.

Sa bhliadhna 1362 dh'orduich Achd na Pàrlamaid Shasannach gum biodh gnothach nan cuirt-lagha o seo a-mach tre na Beurla an àite na Fraingeis no Ladainn. Ach a-dh'aindeoin sin cha do dh'fhalbh an lagh Frangach gus a bhliadhna 1731! Anns an aon bliadhna 1362 bha a' Phàrlamaid Shasannach air a fosgladh sa Bheurla agus bha i daonnan ceadichte an deidh sin. Leis a sin fhuair Beurla inbhe no status oifigeil. Theirinn... bu mhòr am beud!

Co dhuibh, shabhail triuir as a' Chuirn a chànan Shasannach... Beurla... agus tha e cho doirbh a thuigsinn car-son a tha an Fheadhainn Mòra cho nimheil agus cho neo-àireil a thaobh na Cuirn agus a' chànan aice... Car-son? Car-son?

Ma bhios sinn, a leughadair, air an aon ramh a thaobh na Coirneis sgrìobh gu: Tony Lloyd MP, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Whitehall, London SW1A 2AH. Agus ma bhios tu air lorg de fhèin-riaghladh no *devolution* fhaighain air sgath na Cuirn sgrìobh gu Mike O'Brian MP, Home Office, 50 Queen Anne's Gate, London SW1H 9AT. Oir tha a' Chorn an aon dùthaich Cheilteach sna innsean seo aig nach eil inbhe no status a thaobh fèin-riaghlaidh no teagasg tre na cànan dualach Cheilteach aca.

Gilleasbuig MacMhuirich  
(Gilleasbuig Lachlainn 'Illeasbuig)

### Summary

*This story takes exception to the way that the leaflet for the European Parliament lists Gaelic and Welsh along with a host of foreign languages with the request that a translation of the EU Elections will be sent on request, presumably one will have to make such a request in English! Then it goes on to ask why there is no offer of a text in Cornish, after all three Cornish scholars headed by John Trevisa saved the English language in the fourteenth century when it was being screwed by French just like the way that English is screwing Cornish today!*





## Scottish Parliament

adjourned 1707 –

reconvened 12th May 1999!

The Chancellor of Scotland, the Earl of Seafield, who presided over the demise of the Scottish Parliament on March 25th 1707 said, 'there's an end of an auld sang' [old song] Mindful of history the oldest member of the new Scottish Parliament SNP MSP Winnie Ewing took the chair to swear in all the 129 new Members. Many of them pledged allegiance first and foremost to the sovereign people of Scotland rather than parliament before the official oath to the Queen. In particular Alex Salmond SNP, Tommy Sheridan Scottish Socialist, Dorothy Grace Elder SNP and Dennis Canavan Ind. Labour made commitments to the sovereignty of the Scottish people. All the SNP MPs wore white roses – the symbol of Scotland enshrined in Hugh MacDiarmid's poem the Little White Rose of Scotland – sharp and sweet, that breaks the heart. Four members took the oath in Gaelic. They elected Sir David Steel Liberal Democrat as the Presiding Officer and the SNP's George Reid along with New Labour's Patricia Ferguson as his two assistants. Before Winnie Ewing concluded her duties she said '1707 was said to be the end of an auld sang. We together can begin to write a new Scottish song. I would urge all of you to sing it in harmony, fortissimo.'

Thus the near 300 year wait to resume law making in Scotland has now been bridged. The 1997 Referendum gave a strong YES-YES and the elections of May 6th 1999 elected 73 MSPs by first past the post and 56 under a proportional system called the Additional Member System. The results were of no overall majority for one party. The National shares of the first and second ballots are summarised as follows:-

### 1st ballot

New Labour	39% =	53	seats
SNP	29% =	7	
Conservative	16% =	0	
Lib Dem	14% =	12	
Others	3% =	1	

### Additional Members on the 2nd ballot

New Labour	33% =	3	seats
SNP	28% =	28	
Conservative	15% =	18	
Lib Dem	13% =	5	
Green	4% =	1	seat
Scottish Soc.	2% =	1	
Others	5% =	1	

This gave New Labour the largest number of MSPs. It required careful negotiations to forge a coalition with the Liberal Democrats. Strong policy differences over the overwhelming wish of all parties other than New Labour to abolish recently introduced tuition fees for university students and compromises regarding the tolls on the Skye Bridge were brokered by Donald Dewar, whom the parliament elected as First Minister with Jim Wallace the Lib Dem leader as his ally.

In retrospect the election campaign provided hopes for many strands of Scottish thinking, if not total fulfilment for any one faction. The SNP became the leading opposition party rather than leader of the administration. The parliament saw the first formal coalition in Britain – it is an experience which will be far from stress free. The ability of the Green Party, the Scottish Socialists and an independent ex-Labour MP, Dennis Canavan to be elected provides a breadth of view and colour to the temporary home of the new parliament in the General Assembly building of the Church of Scotland at the Mound in Edinburgh.

Much new ground has been broken and it is hoped that the committee structures and electronic voting and information systems will create a much more involved population and through the proportional electoral system a greater consensus of ideas.

On the other hand the great divide between the Unionists and Nationalists will remain until the voters speak in four years time. Yet the sense of a process unfolding rather than an event taking place once and for all gives the newest parliament in the World a hope for enhancing Scotland's life and democratic future.

The election campaign like that in 1997 for Westminster seemed to last a long six weeks. The SNP received a mixed reception for proposing that Scotland should refuse the penny tax reduction bribe offered by Gordon Brown, New Labour British Chancellor of the Exchequer when housing, health and education spending was being cut in Scotland. Also the Kosovo crisis overshadowed the debate. Alex Salmond's SNP colleagues were forced onto the defensive when their leader described the NATO bombing campaign as 'unpardonable folly'. While the tabloid press turned on him, the weeks of the action proved his point as the refugees and

ethnic cleansing filled the screens and others called for a halt to the bombing which did little if anything to curb Milosevic's death squads.



Alex Salmond

However the wish to walk before they run may be one reason why it led the Scottish voters turn in a predictable result. They also turned out on a wet and dreary day in fewer numbers to vote than expected the average was 58%. It remains to be seen if people will be enthused by the debates of the next four years. They also elected our thirty – two local councils and they received a larger than usual poll returning mixed results for all parties. Clearly big issues will be discussed and decided. However the shadow of Tony Blair's London Labour control freaks hung over the first result of the first modern Scottish parliament. In exceptionally misty weather Scotland's first modern parliamentarians gathered to make history and hopefully sing a new Scottish song.

Rob Gibson



Independent Scots read the 'Scots Independent'

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# Nationalists Success

The Celtic League forwarded a message of congratulations to the leaders of the Scottish and Welsh Nationalist Party's after the two organisations success in the recent Parliamentary and Assembly elections.

The League works closely with the various National organisations to promote self determinations in the Celtic countries and elected members in Scotland and Wales have been particularly supportive of a number of League campaigns.

League Secretary General Bernard Moffatt also sent a separate message of support to Scottish leader Alex Salmond applauding his stance over the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia. The letter is printed below:

Dear Alex,

I have written today to the SNP, on behalf of the Celtic League, conveying our congratulations to the Party on its success in the recent Scottish parliamentary elections. I would also like to take the opportunity to write to you personally and applaud the difficult, but courageous stance you took over the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia.

It was inevitable that this would be seized upon by your political opponents and the hostile media in Scotland to attack you personally in the hope of damaging SNP and its chances in the election.

It may be difficult in such circumstances to advance a reasoned argument however, events which have unfolded – and continue to unfold – in relation to the terrible tragedy in the Balkans indicate that **the stance you took was the correct one.**

Yours sincerely

**Bernard Moffatt**  
Secretary General

## GAELIC UNIT UNCAPPED

Edinburgh City Council are to expand the capital's Gaelic unit with the recruitment of a new teacher. This development marks great progress from the dark days of 1997 when the council was discussing the possibility of setting an overall limit on numbers at the unit and introducing restrictive selection criteria such as Highland background. These proposals were opposed by a massive postcard campaign and demonstration. The council are also currently engaged in discussion with language activists regarding the possibility of the establishment of an all Gaelic school.

**Alasdair MacCaluim**

## Blair's English fishery seizure from Scots "like a sneak thief" says SNP

During the Scottish General Election campaign in April, jurisdiction over 6,000 square miles of Scottish fisheries waters in the North Sea were handed over to English courts of justice. This redraws the legal border between Scotland and England without any debate or consultation.

The SNP claims it has huge implications for both fishery and oil and gas exploration, administration and taxation especially in the event of Scottish Independence. It could be raised at the

European Court of Justice if London refuses to back down.

The New Labour controlled Scottish Office under Secretary of State, John Reid says that a line had to be drawn before jurisdiction is handed over to the Scottish Parliament on 1st July. He claims that the old jurisdiction was "just in people's minds" and that only fishing matters are affected. The international implications are considerable and **Carn** readers will be briefed on developments.

**RG**

## Celtic Art and Design

Celtic Art and Design – an exhibition of the art form was held in May in Weston Favell Library - Northampton.

The Northampton Connolly Association, sponsors of the Irish Community Arts Project, put together an impressive display of Celtic art forms by a small group of Celtic artists in this middle England town of Northampton.

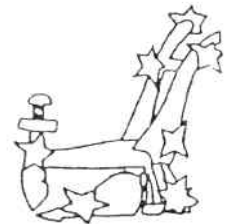
First impressions were the massive eight foot square fabric Celtic wall hangings. They were really impressive. You have to walk around them and those small Celtic designs you see in books are blown up to an impressive size. The colour and the design hits your eye. If there was a seat available I could have sat and stared at these designs. The middle, the corners all told a story.

The centre piece was the Irish dancing costumes from the traditional simple green with simple Celtic designs done by hand to the ultra modern, dare I say, psychedelic designs and colours.

Joy Daniels makes Celtic stencils and produces some really beautiful cards. Stencil work can allow some really subtle colours and blends and Joy even adds glitter to her designs which make them sparkle. A joy to see and something I would like to learn. I understand that she runs classes.

Tony Teevan is a quiet man with a great Celtic talent in leatherwork and glass. He presented some leather cases with fine workmanship and the shading is perfection. A four foot by six design in leather with a clock in the middle is great but his full sized glass door with a Celtic design etched into the glass was superb but he should have put black paper behind the glass to bring out the design.

Peter Mulligan is a screen printer by



hobby. He prints designs on stones, slate, card and fabric. His fabric strips with designs from the book of Lindisfarne were eye catching. His screen printed cards and envelopes are well known in Britain as he produces bi-lingual cards, some with greeting in all the Celtic languages. His prints on stones and tiles were especially pleasing. There is great potential in this area.

David Nicholls is a freelance artist of some repute. His work is mainly in pencil with shading. His designs are all original, based of course on the traditional Celtic manuscripts. You have to see this work to appreciate the new explorations on the basic inherited designs. His designs are an exploration of the variations in Celtic design. Budding Celtic artists could learn a lot here.

The blurb tells us that this exhibition was to enlighten and inform and the eight pages on the history of the Celts and their culture must be read. The Librarian arranged school visits and children were encouraged to make their own designs or colour in freely supplied pre-printed Celtic designs.

The Irish dancing costumes were presented courtesy of the Rhona Baldry Academy of Dancing and the Fiona McMahon School of Dancing. The facsimile of the Book of Kells was loaned by Mary Clifford.

Peter Mulligan who put this exhibition together tells me that the next one is already planned and he would like Celtic artists from around the world to submit designs via the internet. He can be contacted on [pmcelt@compuserve.com](mailto:pmcelt@compuserve.com).

**Sean O'Lynn**





## Diwallomp Buhez an Douar hag an Den

N'eo ket nevez lavaret ez eo lakaet ar vuhez diorroet war an douar e-kerzh 3.5 miliard a vloavezhioù en arvar bras da vout distrujet ma teu un trede brezel-bed pe ma talc'her da saotrañ hon endro gwashoc'h-gwazh. N'eo nemet da heul drouziwezh Hirochima e tiwanas an emskiant eus ar riskl. Aliesoc'h-alies e vez anv bremañ a ziuennadur spesadoù anevaled ha plant, a gontammadur an doureier, a lazhadegoù tud a-gantmiliadoù. Kevredigezhioù amvevadelourien a ra o seizh gwellañ evit lakaat ar pobloù war evezh rak kresk an distruj. Ar renerien-stadoù a oar ez eus ezhomm da barraat ouzh an droug d'en em ledañ met ne welont ket ez eo ken difraeüs-se pe daoust ha ne ouzont ket penaos lakaat ivez er dezhañ hep rivinañ kevrennoù pouezus eus an armerzh hag a belec'h e teuy an arc'hant evit an diarbennnoù da ober? Ken garv eo ar c'hevezerezh er Marc'had ken ne fell ket dezho lakaat reoliadurioù strishoc'h d'an embregerezhioù evit gwareziñ an endro ma ne vezont ket degemeret ivez er broioù all. Ne c'haller ket tremen hep emglevioù bedel er c'heñver-se. Gwelit penaos e c'hwitas an Unaniezh Europat e Kendalc'h Tokyo da gaout asant ar Stadoù-Unanet ha Japan evit an digresk en diskargoù "aezhennoù tiger" (dioksid karbon, metan) rekis evit mirout ouzh live ar mor da uhelaat hag ouzh an toull er gwisad ozon da ledanaat. Ar c'hemmoù a rankfed ober e kement skourr eus an armerzh a zegasfe adframmadurioù ken trubuilhus d'o heul war dachenn ar gourc'hwel ma vefe enebet-groñs outo gant an tolpadou micherourien, pa lakjent nospet anezho da goll o labour.

E pep bro e vo mennozhioù disheñvel evit talañ ouzh an enkadenn. Ouzh ar broioù diorroet e c'houlenner asantiñ da izelaat o live a vuhez. Ar re greñv avat a gendalc'h da dennañ splet eus danvez ar re wan evit mirout o renk uhel hag o aezamant. Gwirheñveloc'h eget rannañ madoù ar bed ingal etre an holl bobloù eo e savo bec'h spontus en darempredoù etrevroadel dre ma'z ay ar madoù-se war rouesaat. Ha n'eo ket 'ta en abeg da se e talc'her d'an armoù nukleel? Salv ma vije kavet tu buan da gizidikaat ar pobloù ouzh an ezhomm d'en em glevout evit diwall,

par ma c'hallint, diwar vremañ da zarbar poanioù ha reuzioù skrijus d'o bugale ha d'o bugale vihan. Ha ni o stourm evit diwall na vo distrujet merkoù hor broadelezh gant hon amezeien vras ha gant unvanadur ar bed, ken pouezus all eo kemer perzh el luskad da ziwall an endro.

Emaon o paouez lenn ul lev'r hag en deas lakaat a-wel din splannoc'h eget biskoazh ment an drast a ya war-raok buanoc'h-buanañ dre ar bed a-bezh koulz lavaret. Al lev'r-se, "The Rise and Fall of the Third Chimpanzee", gant Jared Diamond a garfen e vije gouest an holl d'e lenn pa ziskouez pegen don en emdroadur ar spesad den, en e hêrezh anevalek, emañ gwirizennet an dougoù d'an distruj. An aozer, ur c'helenner war ar vevedouriezh e Skol-Veur Kalifornia, Los Angeles, en deus degaset kalz anaoudegezh nevez da studi an amvevadoniezh. E lev'r zo aes da lenn ha deurus-meurbet - ne lavaran ket dudius, rak ankenius eo e glozadur. An tem: penaos, goude bezañ chomet war-dro tri milion a vloavezhioù hep sevel uheloc'h eget live-buhez ar chimpanzeed eo deuet an den, e berr amzer, da heul e emdroadur da Homo Erectus ha dreist-holl, kalz diwezhatoc'h, gant emziskouezidigezh gouenn Cro Magnon, penaos eo deuet da aloubiñ ar bed a-bezh ha gounezet gantañ bremañ ar galloud da eilpennañ an holl araokadur a-sav-taol.

Emled an denelezh war c'horre an Douar zo bet pennabeg da ziuennidigezh nospet seurt anevaled bras. Meur a boblad zo bet kaset da get gant alouberien. Rolloù eus gouennlazhadegoù kaset da benn abaoe 1492 a ziskouez e c'hoarvezont paotoc'h-paot. Muioc'h-mui pa dud, dezho muioc'h-mui a c'halloud a glask tapout krog en danveziou-beveziñ, hag ar re-mañ o vont war nebeutaat. Ne chom mui frankiz a-walc'h war an Douar, a-barzh ur c'hantved all e vo peurfreuzet an endro ma kendalc'homp da neriñ ha da verniañ dilerc'hiadoù. Ha pa varvfe an holl dud diouzhtu e vo aet c'hoazh da get spesadoù diniver a blant hag anevaled e-kerzh an nebeut dekvloaziadoù-zeu. Pa'z a ur seurt bevien da get e kas gantañ un aridennad a seurtoù all, an eil re e dalc'h ar re all evit o bividigezh. Evel-se emañ kempouez an natur e riskl da vezañ eilpennet-krenn hag

an diazez da vevañs an den da vezañ freuzet.

'M eus aon ez eus peadra da zic'hoanagiñ. J. Diamond en deus degaset anadurezh kendrec'hus da skorañ e dezenn met spi en deus koulskoude e c'haller c'hoazh bevennañ an dismantr ha diogeliñ un dazont d'an den. Ret eo avat gouzout tennañ gounid eus hor skiant-prenañ ha deskiñ mestroniañ hon dougoù henvoazel evit lakaat ar gumuniezh denel war un hent nevez a-grenn: isurzhañ an ekononiezh d'an ekologiezh. Setu a dle awenañ hon emsavioù broadel ivez.

A. Heusaff

**Gerioù nevez:** amvevadelourien: *ecologists*; gourc'hwel: *employment*; bevedouriezh: *physiology*; emziskouezidigezh: *appearance, emergence*.

### Summary:

*The greatest challenge now facing mankind is how to ensure the continuity of its existence. The prospect of countless species becoming extinct due not only to nuclear war but to a wilful or unintended destruction of habitats, with drastic consequences for our material subsistence, is most convincingly brought in the book "The Rise and Fall of the Third Chimpanzee", by biologist-environmentalist Jared Diamond (ISBN 0 09 991380 1). A must for all! Its conclusion could be thus summed up: Priority to Ecology over Economy.*

## Emrenerezh evit Bro-Skos

Ederou an nevezamzer e teuas an Ao. Andrew Welsh, besprezidant an SNP ha kannad skosat e Parlamant London, da gemer perzh en eil "Celtic Meeting" aozet e Lokarn, kreiz Breizh. Komz a reas eus an emrenerezh da vezañ roet da Vro-Skos dindan he farlamant e Din Edin.

"Dav eo gouzout", emezañ, "ez eo an SNP ur strollad poblek eus an tu kleiz Koulskoude, abaoe pell'zo omp a-du gant an embregerezh prevez... Ar c'hooperativou e Breizh evel e Skos zo eus ar gwellañ evit meur a dra. War dachenn an energiezh, an arc'hanterezh, ar skolioù-meur e reomp berzh. Hag evel-just hor whisky zo hep e bar..." a lavaras kannad Angus. Bro-Skos zo ur vro binvidik. Deuet eo pinvidikoc'h c'hoazh abaoe ma'z eus bet kavet tireoul er mor en-dro dezhi. Met dre ma'z a muioc'h a arc'hant er-maez gant gouarnamant London eget na zeu en-dro digantañ ez eo kresket youl Skosiz da adkavout o Frankiz.

Da vare Maggy Thatcher ha Bobby Sands o deus gwelet Tony Blair hag an New Labour e oa dav krefivaat an demokratelezh e Breizh-Veur. Setu perak ez int aet a-du gant reiñ darn eus beli ar Stad, "devolution",



da Skos ha da Gembre. Besprezidant an SNP en deus trugarekaet T. Blair evit an drase. E-giz New Labour, an SNP zo digor war-du Europa hag ar bed-holl. Met sevel a ra enep implij ar nerzh-distrujañ hag an armoù. O vezañ ma'z eus teir yezh e Bro-Skos ez a a-du gant al liesyezhegezh hag ar gwir da vout disheñvel.

Da heul al lamm roet da Thatcher e voe koulz ha skarzhet an "Tories" eus Bro-Skos ha kresket-mat harp an dud d'an SNP. Ar strollad-mañ eo a ren er c'hrennegerioù. E-pad ur pennad a-raok an dilennadeg d'ar Parlamant e kinnige trec'hiñ en enklaskoù-meno. Padal, gant ar brezel e Yougoslavia e voe sachet an dud en-dro muioc'h a-du gant Strollad al Labour. Forzh penaos, laouen eo ar Vroadelourien gant ar votadeg pa 's eus aet un drederenn eus ar bobl a-du ganto. Ur c'hresk bras eo. Amzer o do bremañ da brientiñ kemer ar galloud er vro...

**Gi Keltik**

### Summary

*Prior to the elections for the Scottish Parliament, A. Welsh, MP for Angus spoke in Brittany about the growing popular support for the SNP. The results proved very satisfactory for the nationalists.*

## European Charter Signed by France

The French Government finally, grudgingly, signed the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages on May 7. Although a constitutional lawyer had advised that 52 of its 98 articles would not contravene the Constitution, only 39 of them were accepted, i.e. 4 more than the minimum required. "France is generous", said De Gaulle! These articles, it appears, cover such measures (in education and media) which are already in existence, but not much else. The government specified that the speakers of regional languages were recognised as "groups", not as communities with rights of their own. In any case, the Charter has no validity until it is ratified by the National Assembly. This will not happen until (perhaps) next year. President Chirac intends first to submit the 39 articles to a constitutional vetting (another!). It is by no means sure that they will get over the N.A. hurdle. Politicians of all hues are clamouring that this innocuous Charter is a danger for the unity of France, a threat to the employment chances of the bilingually educated children, anything you may hope the people will swallow. Their attacks are backed by some papers, e.g. Charlie Hebdo, supposedly leftist, which don't shrink back from insults to speakers of the minority languages verging on racism, such as in a cartoon representing Bretons as pigs. Nothing new...

**A.H.**

# Breton Language Office Set Up

A Breton Language Office, the first in the history of Brittany, was set up on May 1 in Karaez in the presence of about 40 representatives of the Breton cultural movement and of J.Y. Cozan, vice-president of the Regional Council. They elected an administrative council which unanimously appointed as president the dynamic and likeable Lena Louarn, editor of the monthly **Bremañ** who is also active in various language associations in Rennes. She was installed in her function by the veteran militant Per Denez. The Office is headed by a committee of 6 members with Iwan Kadored as secretary. It has six full time employees and hopes soon to have 10. It operates to begin with on a budget of 4 million francs. Its creation is due to the help and will of the Regional Council. It is intended to be a means of promotion, development, observation, terminology in the service of the Breton language. In order to implement an effective policy for its repossession by the people it will



*Lena Louarn, President of OFIS ar Brezhoneg (Courtesy Le Peuple Breton)*

seek to operate in close liaison with the elected representatives. The challenge is enormous, but "we shall succeed", said Per Denez. The main office is to be installed in Karaez in September. Another in Rennes under the direction of Olier ar Mogn will take over the work of the Breton Language Service which was attached to the Breton Cultural Institute. There will soon be a third office in Nantes. The Regional Council wants all parts of Brittany to be involved.

## NANTES AREA WANTS REUNION

The demonstration for the reunification of Brittany held in the streets of Nantes on February 6 was attended by about 5,000 people including a number of elected representatives such as J.Y. Cozan, vice-president of the B-4 Regional Council in charge of Breton Identity matters. Next day, the results of an opinion poll commissioned by the daily Ouest-France were published, showing that over 68%\* of the Loire-Atlantique population – more than ever – favoured being incorporated in the same administrative region as the other 4 Breton departments and supported a referendum on the issue.

Numerous demonstrations have been held during the past 30 years against a separation dating back to a decree of the Vichy government in 1941, but the successive governments have maintained the unfair status quo. Is their state such a fragile construction that they fear a united Brittany?

There are strong arguments for reunification.

First, the economic reasons. With Loire-Atlantique, Brittany would have 4 Million inhabitants and would rank among the main Euro-regions. Deprived of one quarter of its population, one fifth of its territory and one third of its GNP it would be condemned to remain a minor region.

Then the historic reasons. Nantes with Loire-Atlantique is part of Brittany since

851 when it was incorporated in the Kingdom of Nomenoe. The city was for five centuries, from Alan Fergent to François II and the very popular Duchess Anne, the preferred residence of the Breton rulers. It boasts the famous Castle of the Dukes of Brittany. (This last 2 words are readily omitted by the partisans of the status quo...)

Finally, the democratic reasons. The population was never consulted by the governments, but repeated opinion polls showed a majority in favour of joining the rest of Brittany in one region. Surely genuine democrats would take account of the wishes of 68%. Yet the reactions from the "establishment" have been as usually dismissive\*\*. Big words like democracy, justice, liberty in which they revel have long for them become so much as empty shells.

**Thierry Jigourel**

(shortened text by translator A.H.)

\* Even S. of the Loire the figure was 63%, while in the W., north of the river it was more than 80%.

\*\* Opposition to reunification was voiced by the mayor of Nantes, J.M. Ayrault ("the federalist culture is not in the French genes"), the president of the Loire-Atlantique Department Council. ("Unemployment is a more pressing issue" – one does not rule out the other), the minister of Home Affairs arch-centralist J.P. Chévenement and others in the Pays-de-Loire region ("what would happen to it without Nantes?" – quelle calamity!).

**A.H.**



# State Hindering DIWAN Progress

The plan to transfer the DIWAN Lycée this year from Ar Releg near Brest, where its premises are no longer spacious enough, to large buildings in Kerampuilh, outside Karaez/Carhaix, was put in jeopardy by the Regional Préfet when he decided on March 19th to appeal to the Administrative Court in Rennes against the decision of the Regional Council to give a subvention of 10.2 M francs for the adaptation of those buildings so as to provide up to 200 pupils with classrooms and boarding. The place, occupied by old people, was to be vacated by May 15th. Work was scheduled to begin immediately to ensure it could at least give accommodation to the pupils by September.

The préfet's appeal claims to be based on a law dating back to 1850 according to which not more than 10% of the money needed by a "private school establishment" could come from public funds. An article in the weekly Bretagne-Info shows that the préfet misread the law. DIWAN has repeatedly stated its claim to be a public school system, giving free and non-denominational education like the State schools. However this belated intervention, coming immediately after the préfet attended a meeting in P.M. Lionel Jospin's offices, is obviously designed like so many other official measures and statements to thwart the growth of DIWAN.

DIWAN immediately responded by calling for a big protest on 27 March in Karaez. 8,000-10,000 people attended it. Its purpose was to back the demand for the subvention to enable the Lycée to open in September and, equally important, for the official status of a "groupement d'intérêt public" to be given to DIWAN. Such groups with cultural aims are already recognised in law as "of benefit to the country". The law would hopefully put the financing of the schools on a firm basis, thus enabling them to develop free from the present crippling restrictions and to overcome the continuous obstacles placed in their path. The government was urged to respond before May 15th.

J.-Y. Le Drian, socialist deputy and leader of the opposition in the B-4 Regional Council, proposed that DIWAN be incorporated into the Ministry of Culture on the grounds that the Breton language was "part of the national heritage". Like the megaliths and the old chapels then? Not a thrilling idea! But DIWAN could still retain its identity, he said.

Early in April, the president of the



*Demonstration for Diwan Lycée in Karaez 27.03.99 (Courtesy of Thierry Jigourel)*

Regional Council and J.-Y. Le Drian accompanied Andrew Lincoln, president of DIWAN, to a meeting with P.M. L. Jospin. A government decision was postponed to June 30. Always seeking to gain time, and presumably expecting that all minds will then be looking forward to holidays.

No progress was made either on April 12 when Regional Council, Karaez municipality and DIWAN delegates met the préfet of Finistère to press him for a solution regarding the Lycée. The Regional Council and Karaez remained determined to release the subventions they had voted for. DIWAN rejected the préfet's proposal for classes to be held in rooms of the Sérusier (public) Lycée. There was nothing definite about it. It was unacceptable to go on under the same precarious conditions as for the past 5 years. In an open letter (published a.o. by Bretagne-Info) to the socialist councillors of the Karaez area who objected to the Lycée project (even though it could for a start bring 150 much needed jobs), A. Lincoln detailed the reasons for his refusal. In Lycée Sérusier, the DIWAN pupils would find themselves in a French speaking environment which would make it impossible to adhere to the principle of Breton immersion, the very raison d'être of their type of education.

To date (May 25) nothing is settled. But builders have started working in Kerampuilh, somewhat late. DIWAN is determined to have accommodation ready in September. Rooms for classes should then be available on a temporary basis in the town. In the meantime, the Breton organisations are all urged to attend the June 5 gathering. If necessary a series of demonstrations will be held to press the demand for recognition as a public service. "Failing this, the existence of every one of our schools will remain under a grave threat" (DIWAN bulletin).

A.H.

## EXCHANGE PUBLICITY

**AL LIAMM**, literary magazine in Breton, bimonthly.

Subscription 180 F but  
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State, to Herve Latimier, 27  
Bali Laenneg, 35000 Roazhon.

The issue Nr 313 begins as usual with a few poems of which one is by Jan Deloof, a Fleming who has published two collections of Breton poetry in Dutch translations; here he writes movingly in memory of his parents. Per Diolier, who is quite familiar to **AL LIAMM**'s public, expresses nostalgia for the long gone happy days of his youth. A folk tale remembered by Gwenaél Herrieu as told in the winter evenings at the beginning of this century reads all the more agreeably that it reflects the humour of the ordinary people of his native Gwened area. I had never read 'Alice in Wonderland' but I enjoyed the beginning of that story translated by the regretted Herve Kerrain when jailed 15 years ago for refusing to serve in the French army. Reun ar C'Halan throws light on several aspects of our folklore, proverbs, onomastics, toponomy. In a more creative vein, Goulc'han Kervella tells about a doctor under cardiac threat who has written a novel about an old man he sees daily gathering limpets. Which of the two will survive the other is decided at the last moment. Some of the shorter contributions should encourage new writers vocations. The Notennou keep readers up to date on various aspects of the Breton cultural scene.

A.H.



## Homeland of the Rights of Man Condemned

France likes to boast being the land elected as it were by the Gods to incarnate the marvellous ideal of the Rights of Man. Was it not those father-figures of its First Republic, Danton, Robespierre and other Marats who served it so zealously in such places as Vendée and Tyrol! Last December, the 50th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was celebrated with great pomp in France but great care was taken not to mention that it proclaimed also the Peoples' Right to Self-determination... Still is it not in that country that they speak "the language of liberty?" Are those who engage in petty attempts to tarnish its image not jealous of the perfection of the concept they have in Paris of human dignity?

### — A Damning Report

On January 21st last the International Human Rights Federation issued a report which for once got a good coverage in the French press. It called into question the judiciary anti-terrorist unit attached to the 14th Public Prosecutor's court in Paris with which Bretons, Basques and Corsicans are now familiar. Drawn up by the British lawyer Michael Mc Colgan and his Italian colleague Allesandro Atanasio, it states in its preamble that "the anti-terrorist practices prevailing in France open the way to an arbitrary administration of justice... There is a wide spectrum of violations by France of its obligations under the European Convention of Human Rights (which, by the way, she was one of the last States to sign and ratify, as in the case of the Charter for Regional or Minority Languages)... These violations are extremely worrying. They contribute to leave empty of substance certain fundamental rights, which however, are guaranteed by the Constitution".

The authors refer in particular to the centralisation in Paris of the organs in charge of the struggle against terrorism, as laid down by a law of 9/9/86, and to the increased power given to the new departments. They further denounce the widely used practice of the examining magistrates of accusing people of "association with criminals involved in a terrorist undertaking...", "This allows too much room for arbitrary interpretation and enforcement". They criticise the protracting of investigations and the abuse of provisional detention. In their view the interrogation of the accused is similar to an inquisition in a strict medieval sense in that it is structured in such a way that it can lead only to a conclusion of culpability, thereby disregarding the right to be presumed

## Fransoaz Louarn, Breton Woman of the Year: '98

For the third consecutive year the "Maouez ar Bloaz" trophy was awarded by Keltik Associations and the Crédit Mutuel de Bretagne (bank and insurance company). Fransoaz Louarn, farmer and chairwoman of the Committee for the Development of Kastellin (W. Finistère), was the happy winner. This year, the leaders of the "War Bed ar Gelted" radio programme chose to honour the world of economics. The award, given on International Women's Day, is reserved by Keltik Associations to Breton speaking women.

Three nominees were invited on March 5th at the CMB head office. Fransoaz Louarn has been a Breton language militant for a long time. She took part actively in the setting-up of the DIWAN school in Rennes with her namesake Lena Louarn, editor of *Bremañ*. Breton is the mother tongue of the family. So it was natural for her to help the Roudour language centre when a first Breton course was run, last year, for members of the two farmers organisation, the FDSEA and the CDJA.

An agronomical engineer by trade, she took over her parents' dairy farm. She is known for her commitment to the rural world. Not only is she a leading member of the FDSEA, she is also president of FARRE, a forum promoting a rational way of farming that respects the environment. Referring to FARRE, she said: "In Penn Ar Bed (= Finistère), the contribution of the Committees for Development in creating this 'label of quality' constitutes an important step for the future".



Fransoaz Louarn,  
Breton Woman of the Year: '98

This woman of convictions is not afraid of speaking her mind. Thus she didn't hesitate to express her solidarity with the vegetable farmers when they demonstrated in April '98 on the bridge of Morlaix. It is with the same informality that she joined the farmers of Argol, her native village, in cleaning the nearby river.

On the whole, a range of human, cultural and professional qualities make of Fransoaz Louarn a potential candidate for new agricultural and economical responsibilities.

Gi Keltik

innocent asserted by Art. 6 of the European Convention of Human Rights.

As regards the struggles of the nations without Stages of their own incorporated in the French State, the author's consider that the "repression all around" policy adopted by the government creates more problems than it solves. They suggest that the French State would do well to adopt models used by neighbours, that when a certain point is reached they would tackle the political problem. Finally, they recommend that it should renounce the resort to special laws which it so readily uses whenever "the integrity of the national territory" is deemed to be threatened.

Besides, one can only wonder why the Corsican, Basque or Breton militants are treated more severely than the Red Brigades or the Prima Linea terrorists whom France protects for ideological reasons and refuses to extradite in spite of repeated demands from Italy.

Th. Jigourel

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A.H.





## Ewro, Euro, Iwro ??

Eleni gwelwyd dechreuad Undod Ariannol Ewrop a'r un uned ariannol yn cael ei ddefnyddio ar draws y rhan fwyaf o'r Undeb Ewropeaidd am y tro cyntaf ers dyddiau'r Ymherodraeth Rufeinig. Mae'r cam yma yn hwb i statws y gwledydd bychain difreintiedig gan ei bod yn golygu yn y pen draw na fydd rhaid i ni ddefnyddio arian ein gormeswyr. Ond mae peth ansicrwydd yn y cyfryngau, ac ymysg y Cymry eu hunain, am beth i alw'r uned arian newydd yn Gymraeg. Mae o leiaf dri enw yn cael eu harfer gan bobl wahanol - Euro, Ewro ac Iwro. Gan fod pawb sydd yn defnyddio iaith yn dylanwadu mewn ffordd fach ar ddatblygiad yr iaith (yn yr un ffordd ag y mae pleidleisio mewn etholiad yn dylanwadu mewn ffordd fach ar ganlyniad yr etholiad) mae'n werth i ni ystyried pa ffurf i'w chefnogi. 1. *Euro*. Dyma'r ffurf fydd wedi'i hysgrifennu ar yr arian ei hun. Y ffurf hon sydd yn cael ei harfer yn Saesneg. Ffrangeg ac Almaeneg ac fe'i hyngenir yn ôl patrymau ynganu rheolaidd yr ieithoedd hynny (sef "iwro" "yrô" "oerô" yn fwy neu lai). I ddilyn y patrwm yma dylem ni ysgrifennu "Euro" a'i seinio fel yn "euraid". 2. *Ewro*. Dyma'r ffurf sydd yn cyfateb i'n henw ni ar Ewrop fel y mae Euro yn cyfateb i Europa/Europe ieithoedd

eraill. Mae'n Gymreigiad naturiol ar yr enw, sydd yn cael ei ddefnyddio fel rhagddodiad yn barod, ac mae'n swinio'n gartrefol yn y Gymraeg. Ond mae'r sillafiad yn wahanol i'r hyn sydd ar yr arian. Yn Saesneg a Ffrangeg mae *Euro* yn cyfateb i'r enw ar Ewrop mewn sain ac mewn orgraff, ond mae'n rhaid i ni ddewis rhwng yr orgraff a'r sain. Beth mae ieithoedd eraill â'r un broblem yn wneud? 3. *Iwro*. Benthyciad o'r Saesneg yw'r ffurf hon, fel "iws" a "niwtral". Mae benthycia o'r Saesneg yn naturiol i'r Gymraeg, ond yn yr achos yma mae arwyddocâd gwleidyddol i fenthycia. Mae'r uned arian Ewropeaidd yn uno cenhedloedd ar delerau cyfartal. Drwy arfer enw arno sydd wedi'i gopïo o'r Saesneg tra mae ieithoedd eraill yn arfer ffurf gynhenid yr ydym yn cydnabod darostyngiad ein cenedl a'n hiaith i'r Saeson ac yn diraddio nid yr iaith ond Cymru fel gwlad. Felly gadewch i ni aros a dilyn esiampl ieithoedd eraill wrth ddewis ein henw ar yr arian newydd, a pheidio ag efelychu'n slafaid iaith ein meistri.

Robat ap Tomos

### Summary

*There are political implications in the names we chose for the new European currency, the Euro, in our languages.*

umbrella organisation of social institutions and community groups working for the Basque language with some 100,000 members and 5,000 employees. Last year they had organised a campaign "Bai Euskarari", Yes for Basque, bringing 100,000 to rallies held in five football stadiums. While acknowledging that some important steps for normalizing Basque had been taken by the Basque parliament, there was a need to set firm foundations for the language policy for the next century.

Principles from the demands of the Bai Euskarari campaign have been adopted into Cymdeithas's demands for the language policy of the Welsh Cynulliad, outlined in the document "Dwyieithrwydd Gweithredol/ A Working Bilingualism", in particular the basic principles on which the language policy should be based, namely:

- Welsh is the language proper to Wales (priod iaith Cymru)
- Welsh and English are the official languages of the Cynulliad
- Wales is a multilingual country within a wide multilingual context

The first of these principles gives Welsh a special place in view of its history in Wales and its role as a symbol of Welsh identity. It is the common inheritance of all people living in Wales, be they Welsh-speakers or not. Although treasured as the main symbol of Welsh nationality, it is not to be restricted to a symbolic role.

The second principle provides assurance to English-speakers of their rights. It is to be taken to mean that the two languages are to be treated on an equal basis and that everything is completely bilingual except in cases where Welsh only is used as the language proper to Wales.

The third principle is a recognition that Wales is part of the multilingual European Union and that a number of other languages are used by some people in Wales e.g. Greek, Urdu. The document recommends that the Cynulliad make use of such languages where appropriate. In the past the existence of speakers of other languages has been used as an excuse to refuse status for Welsh ("Welsh is not the only minority language in Cardiff, you know").

The document outlines how the language policy of the Cynulliad should reflect these principles:-

- All titles used should be in Welsh, as the language proper to Wales, rather than bilingual e.g. the presiding officer should be known, in English, as the Llywydd, the assembly members as Aelodau o'r Cynulliad, and a regional committee as a Pwyllgor Rhanbarth, in the same way as titles such as Taoiseach and Tánaiste are used in Ireland
- The title Cynulliad Cenedlaethol Cymru (and Y Cynulliad as the short

## Welsh In The Cynulliad

The annual conference of Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg, the Welsh Language Society, held in Aberystwyth in March, was concerned above all with the position of the language in the Cynulliad Cenedlaethol / National Assembly for which the historic first elections were just a few weeks away.

The conference was addressed for the first time by guest speakers from the

Basque Country, a stateless land of comparable size to Wales which has had limited self-government for some twenty years. In the number and percentage of speakers of the native language, the Basque country resembles Wales more than do the other Celtic countries. Could their experience of self-government teach us anything? The Basque representatives were leading members of Kontseilua, an



form) should be the official name of the assembly in English too, cf. again Dail Éireann. (Hence the use of the title 'Cynulliad' through this article)

- The business of the Cynulliad should be conducted fully bilingually, with simultaneous translation in both directions. (This is the main difference between these recommendations and what is actually happening).
- The committees as well as the plenary sessions should be fully bilingual with simultaneous translation in both directions and everyone invited to address committee meetings having the right to do so in Welsh or English
- Cymdeithas have called on all Aelodau o'r Cynulliad who are able to do so to use only Welsh in the Cynulliad, and call on non-Welsh speaking aelodau to learn Welsh and use it as soon as possible
- All members of staff of the Cynulliad should have a knowledge of Welsh, though the level of ability required will vary for different posts
- Communication with the public through signs, notices and advertisements should be bilingual with the two languages given equal prominence, the Welsh on the left or at the top and English on the right or beneath
- Where appropriate, e.g. notices in Welsh languages papers, Welsh only should be used
- The Cynulliad should communicate with other public bodies in Welsh only

The recommendations of the Assembly Advisory Group, which will be form the initial practice in the Cynulliad, include a fair amount of the above. The major difference is that simultaneous translation will be only from Welsh to English so that speeches in English cannot be heard in Welsh. This, in effect, makes English the main spoken language in the Cynulliad and also means more effort and time is required to produce minutes of the sessions in Welsh. The struggle for the national language to be given its appropriate place in our Cynulliad is far from over, and Cymdeithas yr Iaith will be not relax in pursuing these matters.

Robot ap Tomos

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## GAELIC AND CATALAN IN SCOTLAND'S PARLIAMENT

The first day of operation of Scotland's parliament saw all 129 MSPs taking an oath of loyalty to the English monarchy. This blatantly provocative oath was only taken under protest by a large number of MSPs. What was less widely reported was the fact that four MSPs chose to take their vows in Gaelic and one in Catalan. The SNP members Michael Russell and Winnie Ewing, both Gaelic learners, took the oaths bilingually as did the Liberal Democrat MSP John Farquar Munro and the Labour MSP Alasdair Morrison both of whom are native speakers. In a surprising move, the Tory MSP Nicholas Paul Johnston, who is married to a Catalan, chose to repeat his oath in Catalan.

Alasdair MacCaluim

## Socialists: Hostile Moves in Finistère

It was customary for the UDB party to ask its supporters in elections, where it had no candidates or if they had lost in a first ballot, to vote for those of the French Socialist Party (PSF). But in recent years, the latter has been so negative in its attitude towards the specifically Breton aims of the UDB that it decided to discontinue that favour. Revenge and open hostility followed. It has been particularly nasty in Finistère and more so in the Karaez canton.

At the instigation of Richard Ferrand, PSF, representing that canton on the Finistère Department council, eight municipal councils dominated by socialists withdrew the financial contribution they had promised to give towards the cost of building work for the DIWAN Lycée. In St. Hernin the Socialist councillors defeated the UDB mayor's budget proposals. Several cultural associations known to have supported the Lycée project saw the subventions they used to get from the Finistère council, now controlled by socialists, greatly reduced or suppressed. This applies to cultural centres (Ti ar Vro in Karaez, Ijin), to the excellent quarterly AL LANV, to the Karaez Vieilles Charrues festival which draws 100,000 participants, a bigger crowd than any other in France on which however millions of public money are lavished, but then that festival apart from bringing economic benefits to a low employment area could not be forgiven by the enemies of the Breton language for having made a gift of one million francs to DIWAN!

The question arises as to who is behind Richard Ferrand. At the very top, undoubtedly the minister for Home Affairs P. Chévenement. But the numerous protests at all those measures have brought alarm to leading socialists like F. Cuillandre MP and J.Y. Le Drian, MP for Lorient and leader of the opposition in the Regional Council. Up to now, there was almost universal agreement among politicians on the need to "preserve our linguistic heritage", but not all are happy to see Breton being brought back into use by young people. Hopefully they are wise enough to think that the dictates of their ideological bosses in Paris may weigh less with many of their voters than their concern with the future of the language. That is how they should be made to feel. It has to be said that there are many socialists who sincerely support Breton.

A.H.



The elections for the first Welsh Cynulliad Cenedlaethol/National Assembly took place on May 6<sup>th</sup> and were characterised above all by a substantial increase in support for Wales's national party, Plaid Cymru, mainly at the expense of the Labour Party who hold power in London. No one party won a majority of the sixty Assembly seats, so the government of Wales will have to depend on co-operation between parties. The breakdown of seats is: Labour 28, Plaid Cymru 17, Conservative & Unionist party 9, Liberal Democrats 6. Thus in number of seats, as well as percentage of the vote, Plaid emerged clearly as the second party in Wales with more seats than the two smaller unionist parties put together.

Because 40 of the 60 seats were based on the same constituencies as those used for Westminster elections, with the other 20 being top-up seats to give a degree of proportional representation, a comparison with the last all-Wales vote, the Westminster election of 1997, is that much easier. In 1997 Labour won 34 of the 40 seats in Wales, Plaid Cymru having four and the Liberal Democrats 2. In this election Labour lost six of the seats they hold at Westminster - 4 to Plaid Cymru, and one each to the Tories and Lib. Dems.

Plaid won the four seats they hold in London comfortably with increased majorities - Dafydd Wigley in Caernarfon and Ieuan Wyn Jones in Ynys Môn winning in their own seats, and Dafydd Elis Thomas (former Plaid president and Westminster MP) in Meirionnydd Nant Conwy and Elin Jones, Mayoress of Aberystwyth, in Ceredigion winning the seats held in Westminster by Elfyn Llwyd and Cynog Dafis respectively. As we hoped and expected Plaid won Carmarthen East & Dinefwr, the seat where they came a close second in 1997, with Rhodri Glyn Thomas taking 53% of the vote. Less expected were Plaid victories for Gareth Jones in Conwy in the North and Helen Mary Jones in Llanelli in the South - both areas bordering on Plaid territory but which have never been held by Plaid in Westminster. The most symbolically significant Plaid victories came in the South Wales valleys, Labour's main stronghold in Wales in which Plaid had never before won a Westminster constituency despite several close seconds over the years. Geraint Davies won for Plaid in Rhondda, a seat they had been hoping to win ever since they came a close second thirty years ago, and Brian Hancock took Islwyn in Gwent, once the seat of former Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock.

While it is victories that count, satisfaction can be gained from the very large number of respectable second places

## FIRST ASSEMBLY ELECTION – PLAID PREVENT LABOUR MAJORITY

from all parts of Wales. The closest (all behind Labour) included Cwm Cynon, Pontypridd, Preseli Sir Benfro/Pembrokeshire and Abertawe/Swansea West, while in Clwyd West Plaid could have won if some of their voters had not apparently voted Labour in order to keep



*Dafydd Wigley, President of Plaid Cymru  
(Courtesy of Le Peuple Breton)*

out Tory leader Rod Richards, a futile step since Richards was first on the Tory regional list anyway.

In addition to the constituency victories Plaid took seats in each of the five regions thus ensuring that everywhere in Wales has a Plaid representative in the National Assembly. Jocelyn Davies and Dr. Phil Williams, who nearly won Caerffili in a by-election thirty years ago, were elected in South Wales East. Pauline Jarman, leader of Rhondda Cynon Taf council, and Owen Jon Thomas of Cardiff were elected in South Wales Central. Janet Davies and Dr. Dai Lloyd were elected from the South Wales West list. Ceredigion Westminster MP Cynog Dafis was elected in Mid & West Wales and Janet Ryder in North Wales.

The Labour vote decreased in every constituency but one, with much of Wales showing a substantial decline, despite the fact that the Tories failed to regain the ground they lost to Labour in 1997. The decline was due to the swing to Plaid, of course, and can be attributed, among much else, to disillusionment with the right wing stance of the New Labour government. The way in which Labour from London

manipulated the election of Alun Michael as leader of the party in Wales, instead of Rhodri Morgan, the favoured choice of party members in Wales and Welsh people in general, did not help the Labour campaign. It is no surprise that the one seat where the Labour vote increased was Cardiff West where Rhodri Morgan was the candidate - we can guess that some of his support came as a gesture of defiance to London. Alun Michael only

just scraped in on the Mid & West Wales regional list.

The Conservative & Unionist Party, the main opponents of devolution in Wales, seemed to approach the election on a ticket of fundamentalist unionism. A reduction in the amount of compulsory Welsh in schools and no additional powers for the assembly featured prominently in their campaign. A Tory leaflet delivered to my own door started with the words "Whether you voted 'No' or didn't vote at all in the referendum..." The campaign failed in general with the Tory leader, like the Scottish Tory leader, failing to win back a traditional Tory constituency that had been taken by Labour in 1997 and depending on the regional list to be elected. However in two very Anglicised areas which had voted heavily against devolution, Mynyw/Monmouth and Bro Morgannwg/Vale of Glamorgan, the Tories did succeed in pulling out a substantial vote, enough to win the former constituency and come a close second in the latter, possibly as a result of the appeal of their anti-Welsh stance.

So the first elected Welsh government is in place and ready to assume its limited powers. Labour, as the largest party, are forming the administration. Despite lacking an overall majority they have chosen to do so without a coalition - this will increase the opportunity for Plaid to influence policies when the chance arises. Alun Michael was chosen as First Minister by common agreement. Dafydd Wigley is official leader of the opposition - not an opposition as destructive as that characteristic of Westminster, we trust - and Plaid's Dafydd Elis Thomas is Llywydd/Presiding Officer.

The Plaid successes in the Assembly elections were supplemented by successes in local government elections held on the same day. Plaid retained control of Gwynedd council in the North West and gained control of Caerffili and Rhondda Cynon Taf in the southern valleys.

**Robat ap Tomos**







# É i r e



## Scoil Gàidhlig do Dhùn Éideann

**I**mí Bealtaine na bliana seo caite thug triúr ó ghluaiseacht na gaelescolaíochta in Éirinn cuairt ar Ghlaschú na hAlbain le labhairt le grúpa tuismitheoirí ansin a raibh a bpáistí ag freastal ar Aonad LánGhàidhlig i scoil Bhéarla sa chathair. Is iad Ciarán Ó Feinneadha, tuismitheoir agus bunaitheoir gaelescoile, bun agus iarbhunleibhéal, Pádraic Ó Ciardha, TnaG agus tuismitheoir agus Jacqueline Ní Fhearghusa, Stiúrthóir GAELSCOILEANNA (eagraíocht comhordaithe na scoileanna LánGhaeilge) an triúr a d'imigh trasna go hAlbain. Bhí an deireadh seachtaine againn ann agus bhí fíor-spéis ag na tuismitheoirí i gcoincheap scoil neamhspleách seachas Aonad a bhí faoi smacht agus faoi chúram na mátharscoile Bhéarla. Chuir siad chun oibre le fonn ina dhiaidh sin agus thosaigh feachtas láidir dían chun foirgneamh scoile a aimsiú agus chun cead a fháil scoil neamhspleách a aimsiú. D'éirigh leo ar deireadh, cé gur cuireadh go leor constaici rompu, agus beidh an scoil nua ag oscailt ar an 17 Lúnasa 1999. Ócáid stairiúil ar fad agus táthar ag súil leis go spreagfar tuismitheoirí in Aonaid Gàidhlig eile ar fud na hAlbain chun an t-éileamh céanna a dhéanamh. Tá sé i gceist ag tuismitheoirí na scoile damhsa ceilidh mór a bheith acu chun oscailt na scoile a cheiliúradh ar an Satharn 19 Meitheamh i nGlaschú. Guím gach rath ar an scoil nua agus táim cinnte go rachfaidh sí ó neart go neart sna blianta atá amach romhainn agus go mbeidh sí mar thuar dóchais agus mar shampla dóibh siúd ar mian leo scoil neamhspleách Gàidhlig a bhaint amach sa todhchaí. Gura fada buan iad!

Tá caint ar siúl i nDún Éideann freisin le tamall anuas i measc tuismitheoirí na leanai atá ag freastal ar an Aonad Gàidhlig ansin, maidir le neamhspleáchas a bhaint amach don Aonad sin. D'eagraigh Comunn nam bParant nó Coiste na dTuismitheoirí mar a thabharfaí orthu i nGaeilge, seimineár lae do thuismitheoirí an Aonaid sin ar mhaithe leis na tuismitheoirí a chur ar an eolas faoi cad a bhí ag titim amach i nGlaschú agus in Éirinn maidir le cúrsaí gaelescolaíochta. Tugadh cuireadh domsa labhairt ar an

ngaelescolaíocht in Éirinn agus thugas aghaidh ar Albain don dara uair taobh istigh de bhliain chun labhairt le grúpa tuismitheoirí ar an Aoine 19 Márta. Bhí an seimineár ar siúl ar feadh an lae ar an Satharn faoi chathaoirleach Robbie Ó Maolalaidh, fear as Baile Átha Cliath atá léachtóireacht i Roinn na Ceiltise in Ollscoil Dhún Éideann. Bhí freastal an-mhaith ar an seimineár féin. Bhí suas le 100 tuismitheoir i láthair agus ba léir go raibh an-spéis acu i gcoincheap na scoile Ghàidhlig. I measc na gcainteoirí, bhí Morag Mac Néill ó Leirsinn, Sabhal Mór Ostaig, Mike McCurdy, Cumann nam bParant, Glaschú agus mé féin ag caint ar thaithí na hÉireann.

Labhair mé go príomha ar na deacrachtaí a bhaineann le tumoideachas a chur ar fáil do dhaltai sa dara theanga i dtimpeallacht an chéad teanga, is é sin an Béarla, sa tír seo agus in Albain. Is é taithí ghluaiseacht na gaelescolaíochta anseo ná nach n-oibríonn sruthanna nó Aonaid go háirithe ag an mbunleibhéal, ar an mbonn go bhfuil na páistí timpeallaithe ag an mBéarla go fóill agus go bhfuil sé do-dhéanta iad ag cur ag labhairt na Gaeilge lasmuigh den rang. Más tumoideachas atá i gceist agus má tá mórchuid in ndaltaí ag teacht ó chúlra Béarla ní mór iarracht mhór a dhéanamh sa scoil le cinntiú go bhfuil deiseanna ag na daltaí an Ghaeilge mar theanga bheo a chleachtadh. Do chuid mhaith acu is beag teagmhála a bheidh acu leis an nGaeilge tar éis an lá scoile, cé go gcaithfear a rá go bhfuil tionchar an-mhór le himirt ag TnaG anseo.

Tá cleachtadh ag GAELSCOILEANNA ar an Roinn Oideachais agus Eolaíochta agus eagraíochtaí oideachais eile a bheith ag tairiscint sruthanna don eagraíocht mar fhreagra ar an éileamh leanúnach ar an oideachas trí mheán na Gaeilge. Níl an eagraíocht sásta glacadh leis an rogha seo in aonchor agus cuirfear go láidir i gcoinne aon iarrachtaí sruthanna a bhronnadh ar thuismitheoirí seachas scoileanna neamhspleacha inar féidir timpeallacht agus sainmheon Gaeilge a chruthú i gceart.

Cé go bhfuil sé deacair múnla nó taithí

thír amháin a chur in oiriúint go díreach do thír eile chuir mé in iúl do thuismitheoirí Dhún Éideann go mbraitheas sa tír seo gurb i an scoil neamhspleách an bealach is fearr le tumoideachas tríd an dara theanga a chur ar fáil. Mhínigh mé dóibh freisin go raibh gluaiseacht na gaelescolaíochta fíor lag agus in isle brí go mór 20 bliain ó shin ach go bhfuil fás agus forbairt as cuimse tar éis teacht ar an réimse scolaíochta seo le 20 bliain anuas. Do shamhlóinn an rud céanna ag tarlú in Albain má bhíonn dóthain tuismitheoirí ag gníomhú ar son na gluaiseachta mar atá anseo.

Bhí seisiún oibre mar chuid de chlár ama an tseimineáir chomh maith agus shuigh mé isteach ar cheann acu. Bhraitheas go bhféadfainn a bheith ag cruinniú tuismitheoirí gaelescolaíochta anseo in Éirinn. Bhí na ceisteanna céanna faoi obair bhaile, caidreamh le páistí eile nach bhfuil sa scoil chéanna, tuismitheoirí gan Ghàidhlig nó ar bheagán Gàidhlig srl. ag teacht aníos. Bhí díospóireacht bhríomhar speisiúil faoi go leor gnéithe den tumoideachas agus nochtaigh daoine tuairimí éagsúla faoin cheist. Bhailigh an slua le chéile arís ansin agus tugadh tuairisc ó na seisiúin oibre ar fad. Cé gur lá fada oibre a bhí ann bhaineas an-taitneamh as an seimineár agus tháinig mé ar ais go hÉireann lán de dhóchas go bhfuil réabhlóid scolaíochta le teacht freisin in Albain mar atá anseo le blianta beaga anuas. Ó shin i leith tá grúpa oibre bunaithe ag na tuismitheoirí i nDún Éideann chun na féidearthachtaí agus na deacrachtaí a bhainfeadh le scoil neamhspleách a bhunú, a fhiosrú tuilleadh. Guím gach rath ar thuismitheoirí Dhún Éideann i pé cinneadh a dhéanann siad, fanacht mar atá le hAonad Gàidhlig nó feachtas a thosú chun scoil neamhspleách a bhaint amach. Bhí agus beidh GAELSCOILEANNA fíorshásta pé cabhair agus tacaíocht gur féidir linn a thabhairt don ghluaiseacht in Albain.

**Jacqueline Ní Fhearghusa,  
Stiúrthóir  
GAELSCOILEANNA**

### Summary

*A Gàidhlig medium school will open in Glasgow in August after much effort and some difficulties placed in the way of the parents. GAELSCOILEANNA manager, Jacqueline Ní Fhearghusa, one of three Irish people who visited Glasgow to advise on the Irish experience in May of last year went to Edinburgh in March to talk to the parent's group there. A day long seminar with workshops led to a lively debate with echoes of many of the questions raised by parents in Ireland. The Edinburgh group are wished well.*



# Protastúnaigh Óga ag Foghlaim Gaeilge ó Thuaidh

Bhí aiste an-spéisiúil i geló ag Anton Mac Cába i **Cuise** (iris nua Gaeilge a foilsítear i gConamara) cúpla mí ó shin. "An Rang Rúnda" ba theideal don aiste seo agus séard a bhí inti ná cur síos ar na daltaí Protastúnacha ó scór scoil stáit sna Sé Chontae ó thuaidh atá ag gabháil do chúrsa Gaeilge a reachtaíonn Gael-Linn. Cúrsaí idir 8 agus 10 seachtain a bhíonn i gceist.

Daltaí ó rang a sé a bhíonn páirteach agus, de réir dealraimh, is mór leo uile an Ghaeilge. Ar na múinteoirí a dheachaigh i bhfeidhm orthu tá Ian Malcolm, nó Eoghan Rua Mac Giolla Choilm mar a thugann sé air féin i nGaeilge. Is duine spéisiúil é Ian. Protastúnach atá ann, aontachtaí daingean, duine a thacaíonn go láidir le foireann sacar Glasgow Rangers. Ach is duine é freisin a bhfuil grá mór aige ar an teanga.

Tá sár-obair á dhéanamh ag Ian agus na múinteoirí eile agus is cosúil go bhfuil toradh ar a saothar, óir tá na daltaí óga Protastúnacha ag cur an-spéis sa teanga agus iad fonnmhar a thuilleadh den teanga a fhoghlaim amach anseo. Ach is faoi rún fós, faraoir, atá na ranganna Gaeilge ag dul ar aghaidh. Níl aon cheann de na scoileanna atá páirteach sásta go n-ainmneofaí iad. B'fhéidir amach anseo, nuair a bheidh rath ar an bpróiseas síochána, nach mbeadh an drogall céanna orthu. Feicfimid.

Seán Ua Cearnaigh

## Summary

*Pupils in some Protestant state schools in the Six Counties of Northern Ireland are now learning Irish thanks to an 8 to 10 weeks course called "Enrichment Programme in Gaelic Studies" sponsored by Gael Linn. Irish language learning forms a major part of this course. Pupils are keen to learn Irish, even if none of the participating schools wish to be identified.*



*Pupils from  
Bunscoil  
Phobal Feirste  
in Belfast  
where the  
Gaelscoileanna  
AGM was held  
for the first time.*



## Call for Celtic Emphasis at Gaelscoileanna AGM

The first Gaelscoileanna AGM to be held in the North (in Belfast, in April in conjunction with Gaeloiliúnt, the Council for Irish Medium Education in the North) heard reports on a year of significant achievement. Among these were the final commitment by the Dublin Government to the establishment of a support body for Irish medium education, the opening of six new schools (two interdenominational) in the Republic and four (but without recognition) in the North and improvements in the poor accommodation position for many Gaelscoileanna.

In his Presidential address Vivian Uíbh Eachach referred to the visits to

Alba to help those promoting Gàidhlig medium education and advised schools to remember their Celtic connection when considering international links and visits. In the context of the new parliament in Scotland and Assembly in Wales he called for a greater awareness of our interceltic links. In particular the aversion to the use of the British Isles (to describe Ireland, Britain and the Isle of Man) in the media leading to the use of the term 'These Islands' was noted and he called for the adoption of the more correct term 'The Celtic Islands' and suggested that the Irish Dept. of Foreign Affairs henceforth use this.

## CONAMARA GAELTACHT THREATENED

It is depressing some thirty years after the formation of the long defunct Gaeltacht Civil Rights Movement (and it did achieve some very positive things) to read that the process of westward expansion of Galway City coupled with the rocketing house prices associated with the roar of the Celtic Tiger is threatening not only the areas immediate to it but, due to the knock on effect, the whole of this weakened if still vibrant Gaeltacht. As the price of land and houses have soared in the Gaeltacht areas closest to the city the effect has been felt further west and young Gaeltacht couples are leaving the country for the city to find accommodation.

The call thirty years ago for a proper Gaeltacht Authority with full planning powers was met eventually, but in part only, in the seventies with the establishment of Údarás na Gaeltachta (with elected control) which essentially only took over the industrial development powers of its

predecessor, Gaeltara Éireann. Politicians were certainly not going to weaken the powers of their parties in local authorities merely to try to stem the (even then very clear) erosion of Gaeltacht areas!

Now the position is becoming critical – as Pádraig Ó hAoláin, Head of Information with the Údarás says "One thing is very clear at this moment: if there is not an integrated language plan in a very short time, there is no doubt that English will have the upper hand at the end of the day". Unfortunately there is no such plan and what is required is a broad ranging initiative which would embrace both housing and linguistic needs. The powers of the Údarás should be extended to allow it to incorporate planning control and develop a comprehensive plan of economic and linguistic measures to counter these trends and ensure the survival of the various Gaeltacht areas.

CÓL.



## Funding Refused for Irish Schools in North

**T**he refusal of the Six County Department of Education, DENI, to fund seven Irish language schools in five out of six northern counties has been condemned by parents involved in the schools. The Irish language education umbrella group, Gaeloiliúint, has also pledged to carry out protest action and is planning high level meetings to force DENI to reverse its decision. Last week DENI announced it would not use the money allocated by the European Special Support Programme to promote social inclusion, to fund schools in Coalisland, Gortin, Armagh, Castlewellan, Downpatrick, Derry and Dunloy. North Belfast parent Kate Clarke called the decision "totally unfair". She said it was "wrong that parents should be asked to pay twice for their children's education. After all we pay our taxes." The New Lodge woman added that local parents wanting Irish medium education for their children would not be deterred and that the local Gaelscoil McCracken would be opening as planned this September. The organiser of Gaeloiliúint, Cathal Ó Donghaile, said the DENI decision would leave Irish medium education with a £500,000 shortfall needed to maintain the current rate of growth in Irish schools in the North.

Ó Donghaile pointed out that although DENI criteria demanded that a school has a projected increase of 25 new pupils per year before it gets formal recognition and funding, "a situation that has left 65% of Irish schools unrecognised and unfunded, over 60% of English language schools were recognised and funded despite failing to meet the criteria".

Meanwhile the news that Part III of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages will be applied to the Irish language before the end of the year has been welcomed by Pobal, the Belfast Irish language umbrella group.

Spokesperson Janet Muller welcomed the announcement that means made by NIO Development Minister Paul Murphy saying it was a "tribute the years of hard work and dedication of energy and commitment of the Irish language community". She added that full implementation of Part III would "need additional resources for Irish language grassroots organisations".

Please write to the British embassy or consulate nearest you and DEMAND FULL FUNDING. Addresses can be found through the following website:

AHREF=<http://www.fco.gov.uk/directory/posts.asp>

**Mark Kermode**

## EXECUTIVE OR NOT?

For months now progress on the many elements of the Northern Agreement, in particular the setting up of the executive for the Northern Assembly, have been stalled due to the decision taken by David Trimble and his Ulster Unionist Party to divert the process down the cul de sac of calls for immediate decommissioning. This seems to have been taken as much to keep his own position as leader as it was to avoid splits in the party - all of which does not auger well for real commitment on the part of the UUP to implement the Agreement fully.

After the failure of the Hillsborough Declaration, endorsed by Tony Blair, British Prime Minister and Bertie Ahern, Taoiseach, a period of almost following the Unionist agenda by the two leaders (in calling for a beginning of decommissioning before the setting up of an Executive) seemed to come to an end. Another deadline for agreement by the parties was set, June 30th (significantly the date on which powers are to be devolved to the Scottish Parliament and Welsh Assembly), this one to be the last deadline. A significant shift in emphasis by the two men however was apparent. It was recognised

and stated formally that a beginning of decommissioning prior to the setting up of the Executive was not a requirement of the Good Friday Agreement and that it would be possible to persuade paramilitaries to dispose of their weapons only in the context of confidence in functioning democratic institutions. It was also emphasised that the decommissioning deadline of May 2000 had to be adhered to.

At the time of writing the two leaders are to initiate this new phase of the process by attending the beginning of talks. A report on decommissioning is to be prepared by Gen. De Chastelain. Meantime low scale 'ethnic cleansing' of Catholics in majority loyalist areas and further pipe bomb attacks (more than 150 to date) by loyalist paramilitaries opposed to the Agreement continues. Drumree looms large ahead with loyalists about to begin their 'Long March' from Derry to Drumree, hardly likely to pass off peacefully. In the context of developments to date to make any predictions on the outcome of the present phase of talks would be difficult but let us hope that those genuinely interested in making the Good Friday Agreement work are successful.

## Attacks on UN Peace-Keepers a Crime Under International Law

*By continued attacks on UNIFIL Israel is 'thumbing its nose' at the community.*

**I**n 1991 the Celtic League wrote to Snr. Perez de Cuellar, UN Secretary General, expressing concern at the continuing toll of deaths sustained by UNIFIL forces in S. Lebanon. At that time 140 blue berets had been killed, as a result in many instances of unprovoked attacks by both regular Israeli military units and Israelis proxy 'South Lebanon Army'. The number of Irish troops killed at that time numbered 30. With today's death of Private William Kedian the death toll has reached 40.

Marrack Goulding, who replied to us for the Secretary General Office, was at pains to stress that the "sacrifice of these men was not forgotten" and that every effort was made to ensure "compensation" was paid.

We were a little disturbed by this attitude then, and with the passage of time and continuing deaths that concern has grown.

Let us be clear an attack on the United Nations mandated force is nothing less than a crime under International Law. It is past time that the standard response, an exchange of diplomatic notes and the usual condemnatory noises, was discontinued and that meaningful sanctions were enforced against the perpetrators.

The situation in South Lebanon is fraught with uncertainty and danger, particularly given the parlous nature of the Arab-Israeli peace process but the International community is sending the wrong message by allowing these attacks on peace-keepers to go unpunished.

In other conflicts perpetrators of war crimes find themselves indicted before war crimes tribunals. It is past time this message was applied to the Israeli military.

At present Israel is 'thumbing its nose' at the International community. How many more deaths before we take a stand?

**J B Moffatt**



# Sinn Féin gains in Local Elections

## — Greens hold European Seats

In the local elections in the Republic, held in conjunction with the European Parliament ones, there was little difference for the two major political parties in their overall performance between this and 1991, the last time local elections were held.

For the Labour party, the merger with Democratic Left did not bring any electoral benefit, with the merged party vote only being similar to that of Labour last time out. The surprise, for all the political pundits at least, were the gains made by Sinn Féin and the increase in their overall vote from 2.1% to 3.6%.

More significantly were the gains in particular areas, specifically Dublin, which could be of more long term benefit to the party in their hopes to win more Dáil seats at the next general election.

Sinn Féin increased its representation in Dublin City from one to four. Dessie Ellis, who served eight years for possession of explosives, topped the poll and was elected on the first count in Finglas. Nicky Kehoe performed a similar feat in Cabra-Glasnevin, while Larry O'Toole, shot at a First Communion service last year, was elected in the Artane Ward. The three join Christy Burke, re-elected in the North Inner City Ward.

In County Dublin, Sinn Féin won two seats on South Dublin County Council with Seán Crowe and Mark Daly elected in neighbouring Tallaght wards. Seán Crowe (Dublin South West) can be expected to challenge strongly for a Dáil seat in the future, while D. Ellis (Dublin North West) will also attempt to build support for a Dáil seat.

Sinn Féin trebled its representation on Monaghan County Council taking six seats, the same number as Fine Gael. They won 3 seats on Sligo Corporation among them senior party figure Seán McManus won a seat on Sligo County Council. Martin Ferris, jailed in the past for gun-running, was elected on the first count in Tralee.

Sinn Féin won its first Meath County Council seat with the election of Ms Joe Reilly in the Navan electoral area. Liam McGirl and Michael Colreavy were elected for the party in Leitrim, a gain of one seat.

In the European election results Sinn Féin polled over 6% in the Republic and increased their vote in the North from 9.8% in 1994 to 17.3% this time.

The Green Party MEPs in the Republic had their seats targetted by the larger



Seán Crowe, Sinn Féin

parties but held them. Patricia McKenna, for Dublin, was elected for the third seat ahead of Labour's De Rossa and Nuala Ahern, in Leinster in the final count won the fourth of five seats. The surprise in the Connaught Ulster Euro-constituency was the election of Independent (pro-life) candidate Ms. Dana Rosemary Scanlon at the expense of Fianna Fáil. In the North Ian Paisley headed the poll, pipping John Hume by about 2,000 votes. Despite Paisley's claim that this indicated rejection of the Northern Agreement. John Hume was quick to point out that over 70% of the vote went to parties who supported the agreement.

### Consulates opened in Cardiff and Edinburgh

The Irish Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. David Andrews, opened a new Consulate in Cardiff on 28th May ushering in a new era in inter-Celtic relations. The Irish Government decided to set up Consulates in Cymru and Alba soon after the Northern Good Friday Agreement was signed.

The following day Mr Andrews travelled on to Edinburgh where he officiated at the opening at the Consulate there. Mr. Alan Michael, First Minister for Wales and Mr. Donald Dewier, First Minister for Scotland will both have seats on the new Council of the Isles resulting from the Northern Agreement.

## Call to Dismantle 'Jerry-Built' Border Electronic Installations

*"absolutely no checks or balances over the electronic paraphernalia the Army has deployed in border areas"*

The Celtic League, while welcoming the assurance from Irish Foreign Minister David Andrews that he is actively pursuing with the British authorities the de-escalation of security installations throughout the north of Ireland, believe steps taken to date are cosmetic rather than substantive.

The League had expressed concerns following a visit by the League Secretary General to the South Armagh area earlier this year as a guest of the South Armagh Farmers and Residents Committee, when it became apparent that despite claims to the contrary the installations were being strengthened and military activity was extensive.

We also remain concerned about the health hazards caused by the very extensive electronic surveillance and micro-wave communications equipment deployed. Some of this is mounted in a manner which is unacceptable and dangerous in a civil context. Continuing research into civil micro-wave communications is posing concerns and yet there is absolutely no checks or balances over the electronic paraphernalia the Army has deployed in border areas on the north of Ireland. The British government remain tight lipped about the types of equipment deployed in S. Armagh and are also reluctant despite being repeatedly pressed to publish information on general site pollution problems.

The Celtic League urge Minister Andrews to put pressure on the British to publish a check-sheet on the substance of demilitarisation to date and also a schedule for the dismantling of the 'jerry-built' micro-wave installations which festoon British military posts in Border areas.

J.B. Moffatt



## Degre An Kenza Pryck

**L**abm an mouyha tha leas beska a vee pederez vee an daryvas alaire drez gytheffiaz tha Kernow Degre an Kenza Pryck. Rag fra ew hebma mar veare besy?

Hevol dre vidna talvega thene monnah rag dereval nye aman meaze an state bohodgack a vee nye laggia thea mar bell drell dean vetholl perri ko. Ma deaw weall en enwedzhak ra gwaynia thurt hebma: an Carians ha an Deskians.

Urt an kenza, Kernow ew powe heere ha cul, ew scattrez a venethiou ha trehez adres gen ruzza leb o en kenza dallah tegez gen gweeth ha lug; alena, e vee neverah callish tha dravalia lebn war an moare. Thera nye keiz genz an moare, ha thea termen pell an Curnowean a yuzia moaze aleaze tha leez powe et ago coocoe, ha heb caletter. Athore creis an nawdêgvas cansblethan e vee framyas an furu hoim, en deaw lene mouyha a joynea Plymouth gen Penzans, ha Lesteevan gen Laffenake, keffres ha dyffrans lenga leiha, en furmya rooze leadan aheaze hag aleaze an powe. Roath pednzhivik a buses reeg distributia an vaggoryan pelle bennag.

Seweth! Docture Beeching reeg gweele duah tha hedna. Rag sparria monnah, radn vroaze an rooze a vee terhez aman, heb malbew consyderacion rag tregorian Kernow, ha udg'hedda an serves geath thort droag tha lacka. Gwethe arta, an pednzhivigian reeg towlah tha kêaz leez an clodgyow leiha, en compellya teeze tha gerras pelha ha pelha. Neverah bohodgack, pobell an laze nye a dalvea vaggya dreath car, mengans pe na vengans.

Eah, ma furu dah tha nye, ha louare, buz nature an annezans en Kernow ew drigge teeze a tregaz en leez trevow bean ha ny en nebbaz a vo meare, ha ma hebma a keele an case meare tha lacka. Pelha ages hedna, ma an rodes meare leb vee gwreze alaire a dry hunz ubba mouy ha mouy a trade, ha genz hedna, a gweethhe an amplish.

War an duah an state ma a vee markyz, ha lebmen nye a veath neb sort a weras, car dre hevol.

Urt an Deskians, ascongez aweath en matter ma, skylurrian Kernuack a vee neverah reze moaze pell aleaze rag stethya en unyversite, ha ugge hedna dres licklaud gye a vee reze wheelaz wheal atter. An amplish ma a vee gwreze lacka aweath

drevan an Governans tha gomeraz tha veaze skoothians arranol an desgiblon, reeg gweskall per gallish an deeze younk Kernuack, rag nyz en ednack a reze angye vaggya pell, han cost a vaggya neverah a cressia, buz mar bell athore an dreav angye, gye a dale pub preze wheelaz ha pea quarter. Nye a vee pell a peidgy neb consideracion thurt an Governans rag tha gytheffia thene Unyversite Kernuak, ha lebmen, genz an gwyeras a veath thene thurt an Degre noweth, nye a veath hebma war an duah.

Rag fra ew hebma mar veare tha leas an bobell Kernuak? Oll an beaz ell gothaz puna leas a veath tha penagol dreav po tereath eze dotha Unyversite e hunnen. Nyz en ednack a veath an deez younk stethya en bar angye, oagoaze louare tha go owne oales, heb boaze reze vaggya pell adres an powe, buz po angye ago tytyll, gye ell wheelaz wheal en Kernow metessen, rag kene leas edn unyversite ethew tha dedna adro tha e hunnen mouy ahozhono, mouy wheal, ha hebma a veath gwayne keveris an theskadzher ha an marchants, an gwickorian, ha menze tra-gweele. An gwelha, metessen, ethew drell Unyversite Kernow settya pryck noweth et an gweale a theskians, sengez obma, ez iggez a quachaz, matter an tavaz.

**Richard Gendall**

### Précis: Objective One Status For Cornwall

*Communications by land were always difficult in Cornwall due to its shape, hills and valleys, except by sea. The excellent railway network laid down in the 19th century made sea travel redundant; but when Dr Beeching axed the system, Cornish people, living in many scattered hamlets rather than in a few large towns, were left high and dry, and had to rely on their own cars. The centralization of the health system made things worse. For university education, students have been obliged to travel abroad, a further burden with diminished grants and the need to find accommodation. The aureole of supportive enterprises and the creation of employment suitable for graduates that a university attracts have always been lacking in Cornwall. The new status should now help to provide our own University, and improve our communications, meaning a better deal for us all round.*

This year saw the fortieth anniversary of the death of Robert Morton Nance, the pioneer of the Cornish language revival who devised Unified Cornish. The month of May saw a marking of the event with a flower laying ceremony on Nance's grave and a Deth Lowender organised by Agan Tavas, the language society which holds closest to the form of Cornish established by him.

It is generally acknowledged that the Cornish language is much indebted to the work of Nance, even by those who have come to hold different views to his about the most suitable form of Cornish for the revival. Nance's two dictionaries of 1938 (Cornish-English) and 1952 (English-Cornish) continue in wide use and were for years indispensable to the learner. The Unified system of spelling and grammar devised by Nance as a standardised form of the language of the mediaeval miracle plays was the accepted form used by revivalists for much of this century and still has its users today, and some of those who believe it vital to base revived Cornish on the traditional spelling of the texts are willing to accept Unified as part of the history of Cornish.

\* \*

The project to translate the whole Bible into Cornish by the year 2004, the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the publication of Jenner's Cornish handbook, continues under the guidance of Keith Syed. The latest book to be published is Amos, translated by Stephen Amos in Australia, and published in Unified and Kemmyn versions by Kesva an Taves Kernewek, 65 Churchtown, Gwinear, Hayl, Kernow, TR27 5JL from whom it is available for £2-50 + 30p post. (state version).

\* \*

The mediaeval Welsh text Breuddwyd Macsen Wledig, The Dream of Magnus Maximus, has been translated into Cornish by José Calvete from Galicia and published by Kernewek dre Lyther (6, Halton Road, Sutton Coldfield, B73 6NP, England) from whom it is available under the title 'Hunros Macsen Wledig' at a cost of 60p inc. postage.

Macsen Wledig was the Roman ruler whose departure from Britain can be said to mark the end of Roman rule here and the emergence of Kernow and Cymru as independent nations. He is mentioned in Bewnans Meriasek as well as other Welsh texts. This new Cornish translation is accompanied by notes.

**Robat ap Tomos**



## Wider Still and Wider. Turning the tide. A case for Mebyon Dewnans?

There is a saying among linguistics: a language is a dialect with an army and navy. What this means in practice is that a speech-community defines itself from the inside, in opposition to neighbouring groups which are excluded by not being part of the same culture and not participating in the same customs, practices and rituals; by not sharing the same "collective fantasy", whose institutions and world-view are encoded in the very language people speak. Well, Cornwall does not have its own army and navy but it does have a growing sense of national identity bound up with its Celtic language and she has always regarded people beyond the Tamar as foreigners. I say always, but there was a time before the coming of the Saxons when, so we believe, the differentiation between the languages of Cornwall, Welsh and Breton had not yet taken place. Whereas Cornish was at first perhaps a dialect of South-West Celtic, it became a language by virtue of its being

isolated by Saxon encroachment to the East. However, for a considerable period of time there must have been people who spoke a Celtic language in parts of Devon before they succumbed, over the generations, to English-speaking culture. (Indeed I have some anecdotal evidence, which I must follow up, that a phrase or two of Old Devonian has been handed down among the people of Clovelly, in North Devon). Without going into the matter in any great depth and there are, I'm sure, people who can put the matter into better Celtic ancestry, i.e. their distant forbears spoke a Celtic language, or whose family can claim residence in a particular spot dating back to pre-Saxon times, is likely to prove higher in Devon, Somerset and Dorset than elsewhere in Saxon Britain. It is known too that there was a sizeable enclave of Cornish in Exeter during the Middle Ages.

In spite of recent developments we have still to entertain the possibility that

Cornwall may not succeed in getting its special status recognised by Westminster and, if they are thinking in terms of instituting a South West Regional Assembly with its capital outside Cornwall on the basis of lingering "Devonwall" thinking: "what is good for the South West is good for Cornwall", perhaps we should be thinking now rather in terms of "Cornvon" and be trying to sell, East of the Tamar, the idea rather that "what is good for Cornwall is good for the South West in general" and be pressing for the recognition of Cornish as an official language of a Regional Assembly "at the heart of the South West". Cornwall's struggle has the potential to enlist the grass-roots sympathies of Somerset and Devon as was the case in the past, e.g. 1497, providing a focus of inspiration as it serves a broader range of interests and aspirations than was hitherto thought possible. Since for many, constructing a Celtic identity and speaking a Celtic language is very much a matter of conscious choice and at the same time, a political act, there is, on the lines of Mebyon Kernow, I believe, at least a reasonable case for a "Mebyon Dewnans". (Trans. Sons of Devon).

Philip Chadwick

### MILITARY MICRO HEALTH-CHECK QUESTIONS

The Celtic League has stepped up its campaign to obtain information about potential health hazards caused by microwave communications and surveillance equipment used by the British Army over the past two decades in border areas of N. Ireland.

Correspondence to both the National Radiological Protection Board and the RPII asked a series of questions about monitoring and risk posed.

In separate correspondence to the MOD - Directory of Environment Policy the League also asked what specific information was provided four years ago when the Irish government was reassured that equipment used by the British Army posed no risk to health.

In January of this year the League cited new evidence from Norway alleging health implications from military radar and communications equipment. This has recently been complemented by parallel claims over the damage to health posed by civil mobile telecommunications.

The League pointed out that the Ministry of Defence has an appalling record over general environmental safety.

### BOOK REVIEW

#### An Introduction to the Celtic Languages by Paul Russell (Longman: London & New York)

Superficially, this book could be daunting with its phonetics and specialised concepts but these should not put off the general reader. The layout and clear prose makes it very rewarding reading, especially if the reader is fluent in at least one of the six Celtic languages. The first section gives the historical background, touching on Continental Celtic of Gaul (France), Northern Italy and the Iberian peninsula and the distinctives of those and P and Q Celtic. The second chapter discusses the Goidelic languages of Irish Gaelic, Scottish Gaelic and Manx. It seems unfortunate that the term "Old Irish" is used when one would have thought that "Old Gaelic" would have been more appropriate.

The third chapter is devoted to Irish or Irish Gaelic, while the fourth refers to the Brittonic languages of Welsh, Cornish and Breton and that following to that of Welsh only.

The sixth chapter gives an intensely interesting account of the spelling systems employed in the Celtic languages. The next chapter discusses Lenition (otherwise

known as Aspiration) and Mutations.

Perhaps the eighth chapter might be looked on as not the most exciting one, discussing as it does, "verbal nouns, verbs and nouns" but one would lose a lot by skipping it.

The ninth and last chapter looks as word order in the Celtic languages. The Note References at the end of each chapter can be most illuminating and contains references to vast amount of future reading. The book concludes with a reading list that would take years to get through.

Taking the Celtic languages from prehistory to the present day makes absorbing reading, especially for one who has mastered or attained fluency in one or more of the six Celtic languages.

It saddens one to consider that not one of the six Celtic nations conducts all its teaching in its schools, colleges and universities through its own Celtic language as does most of countries of Europe from Norway to Portugal. But, hopefully the day will come!

Gilleasbuig MacLachlainn

The Chief Executive of Cornwall Council, John Mills, has left to start a new job outside Cornwall. It is felt by some that he had sometimes obstructed developments in favour of the Cornish language, and so we may hope for some improvement in the Council's attitude.



## Jee-Veanaghey Kiart, Ny Kialg?

**T**a'n ardwhaiyl Albinagh as y whaiyl Vretnagh fo raad nish. T'eh ro leah dy ghra nee jee-veanaghey (devolution) kiart ny kialg t'ayn. Dy firrinagh, cha nel ardwhaiyl Nalbin cho pooaral as Tinvaal, er aght cosoylagh. As cha nel whaiyl Vretnagh cho pooaral as ardwhaiyl Nalbin. Agh she toshiaght t'ayn. Derrey nish, va Bretin goll er reill myr coloin as pooar dy liooar ec un dooinney. Scrudeyr Vretnagh. Bee cooinaghtyn eu er Redwood, y Thoree va jannoo yn obbyr shen kuse dy vleecantyn er henney. Va Redwood boght goit er y chellveeish as eh lhiggey er dy row eh goaill arrane ashoonagh Vretnagh. (Dy dooghyssagh, ta deiney berchagh Vannin feer ghraihagh er Redwood, ta cheet gys Mannin mennick dy liooar.) Nish, ta curymyn Scrudeyr Vannin ec Quaiyl Vretnagh.

V'eh feer vie dy ren Plaid Cymru cho mie as ren ad. Hoilshee ad dy row ny towseyn-barel aggairagh, son y chooid smoo. My oddys y Plaid goaill tooilley votyn veih Obbraghys Noa, hig caghlaa feer vooar. Va'n Plaid currit er bun roish y nah chaggey mooar. Rish bleecantyn va'n Plaid coontit dy ve lane dy 'leih va meen as coar dy liooar - agh ass nyn gecall. Sleih va noi caggey erbee, va screu draneyn as dreamal ayns Bretnish. Ec y traa cheddin, she ashooneyrn v'ayn. Va'n Partee Obbraghys feer lajer ayns Bretin, erskyn ooilley sy jiass. Va ram Bretnee sy Phartee Obbraghys cur feoh da'n ashoonaghys. V'ad dy firrinagh credjal ayns eddyr-ashoonaghys as soshiallys. Cha nyrrys dy row fer jeh foawir y Phartee Obbraghys lurg y nah chaggey mooar ny Vretnagh - Aneurin Bevan, ren obbyr virrilagh tra hug eh yn chirveish-slaynt er bun. Agh, bentyn rish ashoonaghys Sostnagh, er lhiam pene dy row ny Bretnee shoh beggan doal. Cha jinnagh ad goaill rish dy row Lunnin brah ad car y traa.

Agh nish t'eh jeeaghyn dy vel reddyn caghlaa ayns Bretin. Ta Shenn Obbraghys foast lajer dy liooar ayns Bretin (myr t'eh foast ayns Nalbin as twoaie Hostyn). Ta Blair as e chumraagyn sonnaasagh ayns Lunnin er chur yn olk er sleih dy liooar ayns Bretin. Shenn Obbraghys,

ashooneyrn as sleih elley. Cha row Bretin laccal Alun Michael myr y Cheid Shirveishagh jeh'n cheer. As ren lught Vlair marran tra nagh hoig ad dy row whilleen sleih noi Michael ayns Bretin. Gyn ourys, ren Bretnee dy liooar votal noi'n Phartee Obbraghys er y fa dy row ad corree as noi Lunnin. Agh jean ad tannaghtyn myr noidyn jeh Obbraghys Noa as jean ram jeh goll dys Plaid Cymru? Ta caa mie ayn dy jean.

My vees ny Bretnee coontey Quaiyl Vretnagh dy ve myr 'shapp-tagglou', oddagh daa red taghyrt, foddee. Oddagh pobbble Vretnagh soiaaghey beg jeh Quaiyl Vretnagh as ec floateil ersooyl dy fardailagh ayns bodjallyn dy h-ennal cheh. Er nonney, oddagh ny Bretnee cheet dy ve ny smoo corree as caggey son tooilley pooar son y whaiyl.

Ec y traa t'ayn, ta ny h-Albinee coontey foddey ny smoo jeh'n ardwhaiyl oc na ta ny Bretnee coontey jeh'n whaiyl ocsyn. Hannah, t'eh jeeaghyn dy vel deiney pooaral ayns Obbraghys Noa ayns Lunnin foast coontey Nalbin dy ve ny choloin ta fo Lunnin dy bollagh. Gyn ourys erbee, hig boirey dy liooar ass shoh. Cha lhisagh oo cur ardwhaiyl er bun as eisht gra rish yn ardwhaiyl car y traa 'Cha nod shiu jannoo shoh' as 'Cha nod shiu jannoo shen'. Agh er lhiam dy bee Obbraghys Noa Lunninagh jannoo shoh. Bee Partee Ashoonagh Nalbin jeant bwooiagh kyndagh rish shen. As bee Albinee shirrey tooilley pooar son yn ardwhaiyl oc.

Un red t'er jeet magh ass y jee-veanaghey shoh, shen ymmoddey artyn ayns pabyryn trome Hostyn mychione henoilaght (identity) Sostnagh. Ta'n chooid smoo jeh ny h-artyn shoh gra cre cho tushtagh, meen as surransagh as ta ny Sostnee boghtey, boirit er y fa nagh vel fys oc e' red ta Sostnaghys! 'Ta henoilaght chiart ec ny Bretnee. Albinee as Yernee, agh ren ny Sostnee baih nyn Sostnaghys ayns Goadaghys'. Insh dooin fer elley, ta ram Celtice gra. Shinynt ta streeu dy ghloasaghey'n jeelym dy Cheltiaghys ta faagit dooin, ta shin toiggal dy mie dy vel Sostnaghys cho lajer as nagh vel y chooid

smoo dy 'leih toiggal dy vel ad beaghey ayn. Cha lhiass da ny Sostnee boirey mychione y henoilaght oc. Ta'n henoilaght shen cho lajer as dy vel ny Frangee, ny Rooshee, ny Sheenee, ny Germaanee, as myr shen, cliaghtey gra 'Sostnee' rish ooilley'n sleih ta cummal ayns ny h-ellanynt shoh. Ansherbee, lhig dooin cur bwooise son caghlaaghyn ennagh. Lhaih mee skeeal dy bee ny cuirraghyn-kiaullee Lunninagh shen, ny 'proms', troailt mygeayrt cheu-mooie jeh Lunnin. Ayns Bretin, myr sampleyr, cha bee ad goaill yn arrane shen 'Land of Hope and Glory' (dynsee mish 'Land of Snob and Tory' ec yn ollooscoill) oie s'jerree ny proms. Syn ynyd jeh shen, ayns Bretin, bee ad goaill 'Hen Wlad fy Nhadau', arrane ashoonagh Vretnagh.

Da dy vel caarjyn Tony Blair cabbaragh mychione 'Y Trass Raad', t'eh jeeaghyn dy vel Obbraghys Noa foast goll er raad y Thooder, er-lhimme jeh jee-veanaghey ayns Nalbin as Bretin. Bentyn rish jee-veanaghey, ta mish jekal dy vel Blair er vosley Kishtey Phandora. Ta mish jekal dy jean sleih ayns Nalbin as Bretin cur tooilley geill da'n pholiticaght hene as dy bee jee-veanaghey kiart ayn. Eer fegooish shen, bee politickeyryn as sleih elley ayns Mannin er chur geill da ny reddyn ta goll er ayns Nalbin as Bretin. Eer ny Manninee ta foast smooiinaghtyn dy vel Sostyn yn ynrican cheer fo'n ghrian, bee ad eginit caghlaa nyn aignaghyn er aghtyn ennagh. Jeeaghyn er un chooish, v'eh mie dy row Bretnish as Gaidhlig ry-chlashtyn er y chellveeish tra va'n whaiyl Vretnagh as yn ardwhaiyl Albinagh currit er bun. Lhisagh Tinvaal loayrt dy jeeragh rish ny politickeyryn Bretnagh as Albinagh as cur cuirrey daue dy heet lesh shillee er Mannin.

Hug reilys Lunnin jee-veanaghey er bun dy chur lhietrymys er ashoonaghys Albinagh as ashoonaghys Bretnagh. Foddee dy bee y chroust shoh speedeilagh. Agh my vees Obbraghys Noa ro chroutagh as ro honnaasagh, bee y chroust failleil as son shickyrys bee ashoonaghys mooadaghey ayns y daa heer. Foddee nagh bee y Reeriaght Unnaneysit tuittym veih my cheillee, agh she unnaney elley vees ayn. As cre mysh Nerin twoaie? Shen cooish oddagh caghlaa reddyn ayns ny cheeraghyn elley.

**Brian Stowell**

*Generally, the Blair government has followed right-wing policies, with the exception of devolution in Scotland and Wales. It remains to be seen if Blair has opened Pandora's Box.*





# Independence – The Final Step for the Isle of Man

## *Progress of the modern Manx National Movement*

(The following is an edited version of the address given by Bernard Moffatt in Trinity College, Dublin.)

### INTRODUCTION

The Isle of Man, along with the Channel Islands is a modern peculiarity of the British constitutional system. Its status is fairly uninteresting and vague to most people outside the Island. There are occasional bursts of publicity surrounding its seemingly outdated laws and punishment system (the death penalty, the birch, homosexuality), and a general consensus that it is a good place to stash your money (tax haven). Stemming from the legislative branch, distinct institutions have formed in the various other areas of government including the judiciary, finance and local government as key examples.

Without labouring on the differences between the UK and the Isle of Man, the key point to grasp is that the power invested in a separate legislature has allowed the Island to devolve differing emphases on major issues that concern the Manx people. In this way we have come to live with the best and worst that devolution can offer. Both the advantages and disadvantages are key to nationalists on the Island in their call for independence. The strengths of self-rule, even in the current limited form, provide optimism about increasing the scope of power. The weaknesses inherent in the current system are a warning to nationalists about any attempt to gain independence, and are a salutary lesson about the need to widen electoral appeal and find solutions and new ways of working politically.

### DEVOLUTION

The Isle of Man is possibly one of the most over represented places on earth. For a population of around 70,000, there are 24 elected Members of the House of Keys. In real terms it probably takes more votes to be elected Student's Union President of an average sized university than to become a full time paid elected member of government. Local politics, through local elections also affords an even more accessible route to some form of influence on the Island.

A cursory glance at the Island indicates a

strong innate conservatism within government. This requires some explanation. Firstly, the Isle of Man has a form of government, which engenders a large degree of inward looking self-interest. International interest on the Isle of Man would be largely understood as something to do with overseas bank accounts. There is no European dimension as is understood in Ireland or the UK, and very little international accountability. We are truly a nation of shopkeepers, with all the narrow worldview that implies. The Manx, like the English, appear to have a paranoia of being told what to do by Europe, the irony being that the Manx Government consistently shadow all legislative developments in the UK, lifting and developing the aspects they feel apply, and discarding all those they feel don't. In effect the Island fools itself in believing they have autonomy, by not accepting that we can develop virtually no progressive policies independent of the UK. We are, in effect, very subtly and effectively; being 'told what to do'.



*Bernard Moffatt, Celtic League General Secretary, delivering his lecture 'Independence - The Final Step for the Isle of Man' in Trinity College, Dublin in late April. The event was organised by the Irish Branch of the League with the assistance of the Celtic Alliance, TCD.*

Devolution has encouraged a conservative approach to government. It is a system of government that offers the potential of innovation but in practice allows a lazy, half hearted approach to administration and an entrenched fear of risk taking. The

piecemeal development of devolution rewarded conformity to the UK model.

Like successive Stormont administrations we have allowed our governments to selectively discard social legislation that the rest of the UK enjoys. In no other field is this the case. The IOM Government repeatedly copy legislation covering areas such as Social Security Benefits, Public Order etceteras when legislation is of a conservative nature. Hence, the Isle of Man following on from a period of Conservative rule in the UK can boast tougher regulations on seeking benefits, but no protections for workers in the areas of gender, political, racial or disability discrimination, for example.

Secondly, the emphasis on the individual 'independent' member in politics has reinforced this conservative tendency. The stress on accountability to the constituent acts against political innovation. Perversely a government already historically and institutionally forced to look inward, repeats the tendency on a micro scale.

### ECONOMICS

Obviously the economic outlook of the Island is governed by the overall political approach of successive governments. The outstanding feature of the Island is the low taxation that exists at present. The status of the Island as a tax haven has undoubtedly brought large benefits to the Island in recent years, and only a fool would assert otherwise. After the decline of the traditional industries of agriculture, fisheries and tourism, the growth of the finance and related industries threw a lifeline to the Island. Unemployment is negligible, local businesses after a period of adjustment are reaping the benefits of a rejuvenated economic climate, wages are rising, much of the dereliction of properties that has occurred in previous decades is being reversed through construction and development, and there are numerous other knock on benefits.

The Manx Government have sought to control the development of the finance sector and increase the opportunities of benefits to the Manx people through work permit legislation which limits the importing of labour and legally obligates companies to offer all employment to Manx workers first. The number of work permits issued per year is strictly controlled, and can be revoked at any time at the discretion of the Work permit Committee. Consequently, although discriminatory, it is an immensely popular measure with Manx workers.

In essence work permit legislation seeks to protect Manx workers position in the work place, and should in theory give them a platform for bargaining on an individual level to a much more effective degree. In reality, it tends to ensure there are plenty of



unskilled poorly paid jobs which are always open to Manx workers, whilst the higher paid and skilled posts are reserved for work permit holders. This is the perception, and the Government's increased efforts to train Manx workers, is testimony to the partial admittance of this by them.

## CULTURE

Manx culture has seen a rapid decline, but recently has picked up due to the dedicated work of an extremely small group of individuals. The language lost its last native speaker in the 70's, but nationalist groups sought to protect and preserve the language before this making recordings and generally documenting it while it was still 'a living language'.

The long fight to promote the language and re-assert it within the Manx community culminated in its re-introduction in schools, and once again it can claim to be in a healthy state. Side by side was a prolonged effort to use other cultural forms, largely dance and music, to ensure they remained alive as a part of Manx culture. Thankfully, efforts by cultural nationalists are not now merely aimed at giving Manx Culture the 'kiss of life' as such, but increasingly are seeking new ways to promote it and expand its relevance to modern life.

This is incredibly important, in just 20 years an entire culture has gone from being more or less dead to thriving and cherished by its people. Most companies will now use the language, for instance, as a promotional tool or as a way of proving their relevance or commitment to the community and Manx interests. It may be piecemeal, it may be cynical, but the use of Manx in this way is an important indicator of the importance that previously was not attached to either saving or using the language.

Attempts are also being made to institutionalise the one nationalist martyr in our history Iliam Dhone, who led a short-lived rebellion against the English overlords in the seventeenth century. Moves are afoot to designate the date of his execution as a national holiday, and his death has for many years been commemorated on that date with growing support and commitment.

Perversely then, the one great achievement of Manx nationalists has been something which they can not use to appeal for independence in any significant way. It is universal in appeal, it is not divisive or emotional, it does not drive a desire for independent nationhood, in the way Irish culture has for right or wrong. In a sense history once again comes into play. Irish cultural movements and the emphasis on re-Gaelicisation, were integral at the turn of the century to the irresistible drive towards Irish independence. Manx cultural movements, on the other hand, have

re-emerged *despite* the lack of sustained moves towards independence. It has not been a galvanising force in politics in this sense to any significant degree.

However the resurgence of cultural strands of national identity has undoubtedly coincided with a strong period of expansion in the finance and related industries, with all the aforementioned problems that has brought. It also coincides with census figures reporting for the first time that Manx born residents are not outnumbered by non-Manx – making Manx people in their home country and ethnic minority. There is clearly a strong sense that Manx people are being short-changed in terms of employment, wages and housing in particular. The emergence of the FSFO campaign, which enjoyed strong public sympathy and support and culminated in the imprisonment of nationalists who burnt down holiday homes, is an example of the militancy such developments have inevitably produced. The three imprisoned nationalists were not pilloried for their actions but indeed were lauded by most for having the guts to take some form of action, however destructive that may have been in the short term.

Obviously something significant was occurring here, but again support was tacit and unsustainable over a long period. Eventually positive cultural moves superseded short-term shock tactics.

## NATIONALISM WITHIN THIS CONTEXT

What then has this meant for nationalists? The development of nationalism on the Island has not followed the course of the other Celtic countries. There has been no history of successive uprisings or resistance, apart from that led by Iliam Dhone. No dramatic and turbulent periods of history, such as those experienced by the Irish, Welsh or Scots, have marked a steady rise of nationalist fervour. Instead the Manx have traditionally subsumed 'foreign' influences into culture and society and acquiesced to a great degree to overseas control. Devolution is a reward for a commitment to the Union, rather than an attempt to diffuse opposition to it. In this the original idea of Home Rule, as a kind of outsourcing of administrative tasks with all the major policy decisions and directions taken at Westminster, has come to fruition in the Island's government.

Nationalism has rarely even been marked by civil disobedience or protest for any sustained period, in contrast to say Ulster or Brittany. The exception to this has been issue – based protests (Calf of Mann, demilitarisation, The Chronicles of Mann, FSFO).

How then can nationalists reconcile this state of affairs, where a populace with a high level of national self identity, and

obvious long standing concerns can seem so willing to accept the status quo?

Ironically, I believe, Mec Vannin needs to develop the internationalist perspective it currently Otherwise it could become locked into a Manx 'backwater' mentality of isolationism and glorified navel gazing. We have to look at the role of the Island in a global sense, and do so realistically. This involves some acceptance of how essential a 'clean' finance sector is to the economy of the Island without losing our ability to monitor and criticise its shortcomings. (The idea of 'accommodation' with the finance industry is anathema to most nationalists and attracted considerable criticism when I first mooted it some years ago). It also involves rubbishing any suggestion of an anti-British stance. It is quite simply foolish to suppose that we can ever reach a state of independence in the future without ever being affected to a huge degree by the political events of our eastern neighbour (or indeed Ireland), especially considering our past. We need to follow the example of the SNP re-focus on being pro-Manx and reject any suggestion of being anti-English (British), otherwise we hand a convenient weapon to those who label all nationalists racists.

With a clear, concrete, realistic vision the nationalism we advocate for the Isle of Man today will succeed. Which brings me back to my question – Can independence achieve anything significant for the Manx people, which the present system does not?

I believe independence and the quest for independence will ultimately provide that which is lacking in Manx politics and society today – vision. It will bring innovation not derivation, and hopefully a just and more equitable future for all Manx people. It will vindicate those people, who had the foresight to start to articulate the aims and hopes of the Manx people in their own unique and particular way. Their names will be unfamiliar to you, but are well known to us – Mona Douglas, Jack Irving, Lewis Crellin, Doug Faragher, etc.

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## Jewels of the Manx Language



The Isle of Man Post Office specially commissioned a range of products, released on 11th May 1999, to celebrate 100 years of Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh – The Manx Gaelic Society.

Four stamps were issued featuring striking Celtic Jewellery designs that recall the seasons and the ancient elements of Earth, Wind, Fire and Water. The jewellery was designed and made by Gill Barclay and Charles Alexander on the Isle of Man.

For further information regarding jewellery and stamps contact: Maxine Cannon, The Philatelic Bureau, PO Box 10M, Douglas, Isle of Man, British Isles IM99 1PB. Fax (01624) 68132. E-mail: stamps@po.gov.im.

## Reprint of Book of Common Prayer in Manx Gaelic

The Book of Common Prayer, translated into Manx Gaelic, is now available as part of the Manx History Reprints series.

The edition is the translation prepared in 1760 under the direction of Bishop Hildesley and revised in 1842, which was published by the Manx Society in 1893 – an edition prepared by A.W. Moore and Professor John Rhys.

The new edition costs £8, including post and packing, and is available from Ken Gumbley, 37 Farmhill Park, Bradden IM2 2ED.

The text is also available on the internet at:  
<http://homepages.enterprise.net/gumbley/mcbp.htm>.

# Retain Celtic Studies Call

*New appeal to save Berlin Humboldt Celtic Department targets Scots and Welsh First Ministers - League has produced a Chronology of 150 years work at the University on Celts languages and culture*

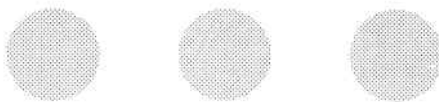
The Celtic League has renewed its call that the Celtic Studies faculty at the Humboldt University Berlin be retained.

Humboldt was threatened with closure last year and the League launched its initial campaign. Although recently a new Professor was appointed this has only bought a temporary reprieve.

Last year the Irish government's Ambassador to Germany expressed support which was echoed by his German counterpart in Dublin. Celtic nationalist politicians also supported the fight to save the Celtic studies faculty.

Now the League has renewed the call writing to earlier supporters but also broadening the list to include Scottish and Welsh First Ministers, Donald Dewar and Alun Michael, and other nationalist politicians in Wales, Scotland, Ireland and the Isle of Man.

The League has produced a chronology of the Celtic Studies work carried out at the University stretching back over 150 years. The list of projects includes major studies of all the Celtic countries and is available from the General Secretary, Bernard Moffatt (Addr. pg.24)



*The recent appointment of Dr. George Broderick of Ramsey to the Celtic Studies chair has bought time for the League's campaign to retain the faculty.*

## Yn Ghaelg Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh Manx Gaelic Society Summer Courses in Manx Gaelic 1999

The courses are meant for all those interested in learning the native language of the Isle of Man. The stress will be on the spoken language, but formal grammar will be presented in reasonable detail. The language of instruction will be English, with Manx Gaelic being used wherever possible. There will be opportunities to experience other aspects of Manx culture, such as the music and songs.

There will be two five-day courses, held in the Manx Museum, Douglas, Isle of Man, from 10 a.m. to 4.30 p.m. each day:

**Course A:** Monday 2 August until Friday 6 August 1999

**Course B:** Monday 9 August until Friday 13 August 1999

Course B will be slightly more advanced than Course A, but you can take either Course A or Course B on their own (Course fee £15), or Course A followed by Course B (Course fee £20).

Fees payable to Brian Stowell, who will provide information on travel and accommodation. Contact: Brian Stowell, 16 Hilary Road, Douglas, Isle of Man IM2 3EG, British Isles.

Tel: +44-1624-62 38 21.  
e-mail: [bstowell@mcb.net](mailto:bstowell@mcb.net).

## Progress of Manx in Schools

The Manx speakers of the Island will be encouraged by the appointment of an extra peripatetic teacher of Manx. It justifies all the hard work that was done by the last generation of speakers. Were they still alive, they would know that their efforts were not in vain.

Colin Jerry

## INDEPENDENCE ISSUES NOT ON THE AGENDA

Earlier this year Illiam Costain, member of the Mannin Branch, currently employed by SNP, tried to arrange a presentation to Tynwald on 'Scottish Independence and Constitution Change'. This was to have been given by Roseanna Cunningham, now SNP MP for Perth. It was given the go-ahead by the Clerk to Tynwald, but the Tynwald Committee backed out and the visit did not happen.

I informed MHK Bill Henderson, who is in favour of pursuing more independence: to see if he knew, or could find out if there was a reasonable explanation for dropping the

initiative. In his reply Bill confirmed that he agreed with Illiam's view that the Committee got 'cold feet'. He also expressed the opinion that Tynwald is so entrenched in the ethos that 'independence' is a dirty word which will send the Finance Sector scuttling from our shores, destabilising the whole economy. Bill considers that independence and international issues must be debated and pursued, especially because bodies such as the EU are discussing proposals to even out the tax advantages throughout EU countries.

C.J.K.



## Another Look At The Irish Famine

The first official census in Ireland took place in 1821. For estimates and figures before that date I have used "Some gleanings from THE CENSUS RETURNS of 1841" by Thomas Willis, Fellow of the Statistical Society, Dublin, 1845, before the famine, and an article in *ATHENAEUM* magazine for July 12, 1851, as reproduced in the 1851 edition of *ASSURANCE*, the journal of the English Institute of Actuaries. I have, of course, used the more generally available sources as well.

Though not strictly relevant, I have set out population estimates for 1603, 1641 and 1672 to show the effect of the Elizabethan, Cromwellian and Williamite wars and clearances.

It will be observed that the average rate of increase of population between 1695 and 1821 was 16% per decade. The intermediate figures, though derived independently, are remarkably consistent with this rate of increase.

Between 1821 and 1831, the population increased by 14%. Between 1831 and 1841 the population increased by only 5%. Between 1841 and 1851 the population decreased by 20%.

Willis (op.cit.) was very impressed by the census of 1841. However, he could not explain the mere 5% increase over 1831 which was obviously inconsistent with the experience since 1695. Emigration as an explanation he found "scarcely tenable".

The figures below are in round thousands.

The Irish famine of 1845 and subsequent years is usually attributed to the unforeseen failure of the potato crop in those years combined with the bungling of the English ruling class who were also the Irish ruling class by conquest and possession.

One method of genocide is to deprive the victims of the means of subsistence.

The North American Indians depended on the buffalo for subsistence. The European settlers reduced the buffalo population from hundreds of millions to a few thousand.

In Australia, the settlers poisoned the aborigines' waterholes.

Before Hitler, it was generally assumed that white people did not use genocide against white people except in remote historical times

A similar assumption was made about selling into slavery. Nevertheless, Cromwell made an exception in the case of Irish men, women, and children.

If a fire breaks out in one place it is nothing remarkable. If fire breaks out in several places almost simultaneously, it is likely to be arson.

Up to 1845, the native Irish population existed on potatoes and buttermilk, milk from which the butter has been extracted.

The hitherto unknown potato blight fungus, *Phytophthora infestans*, first appeared in North America in 1844. Curiously, it was next reported in the Isle of Wight, England, at the beginning of August 1845. Later in August it reached Kent. In September it reached Ireland.

By October, 1845, the fungus was reported all over the place in Ireland from Antrim to Cork. In 1846 it was everywhere in Ireland.

Curiously again, this pattern was repeated in the Western Highlands and Islands of Scotland, the other potato dependent area. In 1845, the fungus leapt over to Lewis, Islay and Skye, missing

Mull and the mainland. In 1846 it was everywhere in the area.

How did the fungus cross the water and reach so many places almost simultaneously? Internal communications in Ireland were bad. There were only 123 miles of railway.

Who would want to get rid of the poor, largely Irish-speaking, native Irish people? And why?

If some people die, and others are likely to die, large numbers can be persuaded to move. Even where people may still be unwilling to move, deaths weaken their morale and solidarity and soften up their will to resist eviction.

Year	(A)	(B)	(C)	(a)	(b)	(c)
1603	700	Not Applicable	N/A			
1641	1466	N/A	N/A			
1672	1100	N/A	N/A			
1695	1034	N/A	N/A			
1754	2373	N/A	N/A			
1791	4201	N/A	N/A			
1805	5395	N/A	N/A			
1812	5937	N/A	N/A			
1821	6802	N/A	N/A	293	N/A	N/A
1831	7767	7767	1.00	366	366	1.00
1841	8178	8869	1.08	389	457	1.17
1851	6554	10127	1.55	274	571	2.11
1861	5799	11564	1.99	255	713	2.80
1871	5412	13205	2.44	246	891	3.62
1881	5175	15078	2.91	245	1113	4.54
1891	4705	17217	3.66	219	1390	6.35
1901	4459	19660	4.28	199	1736	8.72
1911	4390	22449	5.11	192	2169	11.30

(A) Official census figures of population, 1821 and after. Other figures and estimates prior to 1821

(B) Census figures if population had increased at the same rate as between 1821 and 1831

(C)  $(B) / (A)$



The official intercensal estimates show a population increase of 1.33% from 1830 to 1831 and of only 0.55% from 1831 to 1832. The slowing down of growth would thus appear to have started about 1831.

The higher the figure (C) the greater the relative loss of population. Equivalent census figures are set out for poor Irish-speaking Mayo in columns headed (a), (b) and (c). These figures are slightly exaggerated because they take account of "migration" from Mayo to other parts of Ireland as well as to other places. However, they provide further evidence that the disaster was not only quantitative but also qualitative as far as the Irish language was concerned.

An independent nation, or a nation which is part of a confederation, can build up reserves out of the surplus created by its people.

A nation which is under the complete domination of another nation, and whose surplus product is regularly appropriated by that other nation, can build up no reserves. It is on bare subsistence. Once that subsistence is removed, disaster must ensue.

In 1835 the Poor Enquiry Commission reported that, under normal circumstances, 2,385,000 people were starving in Ireland.

According to Willis' gleanings from the 1841 Census for the whole of Ireland 389,149 families lived in 304,264 stone or brick houses 1,083,590 families lived in 1,024,575 mud cottages or cabins nearly half of which were one room without windows. As can be seen, families often shared accommodation, bringing their standard of housing down to single room level.

According to Willis, only 10 1/3rd per cent of the Irish people lived beyond the age of 50.

The great majority of the Irish people had no reserves at all to fall back upon.

The population of Ireland should have increased by 190% between 1831 and 1911. Actually it decreased by 43%, more so in the Irish-speaking areas and among the rural native Irish generally. The population of England and Wales increased by 160% over this period.

It is not completely accurate to assume that Catholics means native Irish and non-Catholics means settlers and their descendants. However, this assumption is close enough for practical purposes.

Before 1835 the numbers of each religious denomination in the population could only be a matter for speculation.

In 1835 the Commissioners of Public Instruction (Ireland) reported to Parliament. Details of religious

denomination numbers were set out at every census including and following that for 1861.

A summary is shown below, in round thousands.

Year	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)
1835	6428	852	642	22	7944	80.91
1861	4505	693	523	77	5798	77.69
1871	4151	668	498	96	5413	76.69
1881	3961	640	471	104	5176	76.54
1891	3547	600	445	112	4704	75.40
1901	3309	581	443	126	4459	74.21
1911	3243	577	441	130	4391	73.86

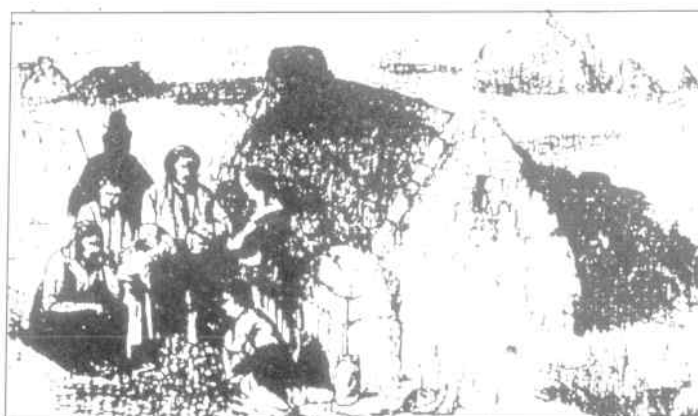
- (a) Roman Catholics
- (b) Established Church (Anglicans)
- (c) Presbyterians
- (d) Other Protestant dissenters
- (e) Total of (a), (b), (c) and (d)
- (f) Percentage of Roman Catholics in the population

According to the 1835 Report, there were no members of the Established Church in the South and West of Ireland. There were considerable numbers in the large towns. Roman Catholics were diffused over all parts of the country with the largest numbers as compared with the rest of the denominations in the ecclesiastical provinces of Dublin, Cashel and Tuam. Presbyterians resided chiefly in the other ecclesiastical province of Armagh. The other Protestant dissenters were mainly in the towns.

Between 1835 and 1911  
 Catholics decreased by 50%  
 Anglicans " " 32%  
 Presbyterians " " 31%  
 Other dissenters increased by 491%

The events between 1831 and 1911, including the Great Famine, combined to create two facts.

- 1) The de-Irishization of Ireland, as far as the language was concerned.
- 2) An increase in the relative numerical importance of the settlers' descendants, particularly in the Six Counties.



*Driven out by death and eviction.*

#### Footnote

*The Welsh were not dependent on the potato. Coincidentally, though, in 1844, a devastating attack was made on the Welsh, their language and their culture, in some official government reports known as the Blue Books. The consequences for the Welsh language turned out to be serious. The reports came as an unpleasant*

*surprise to the people of Wales as is evidenced by the term which they still use for them. Brad y llyfrau gleision, ie. the Treachery of the Blue Books. The Welsh, like the Irish, had done nothing wrong. All they asked was to be left alone. Even that was not permitted to them. Hence the feeling of betrayal.*

**Ivor Kenna**



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