

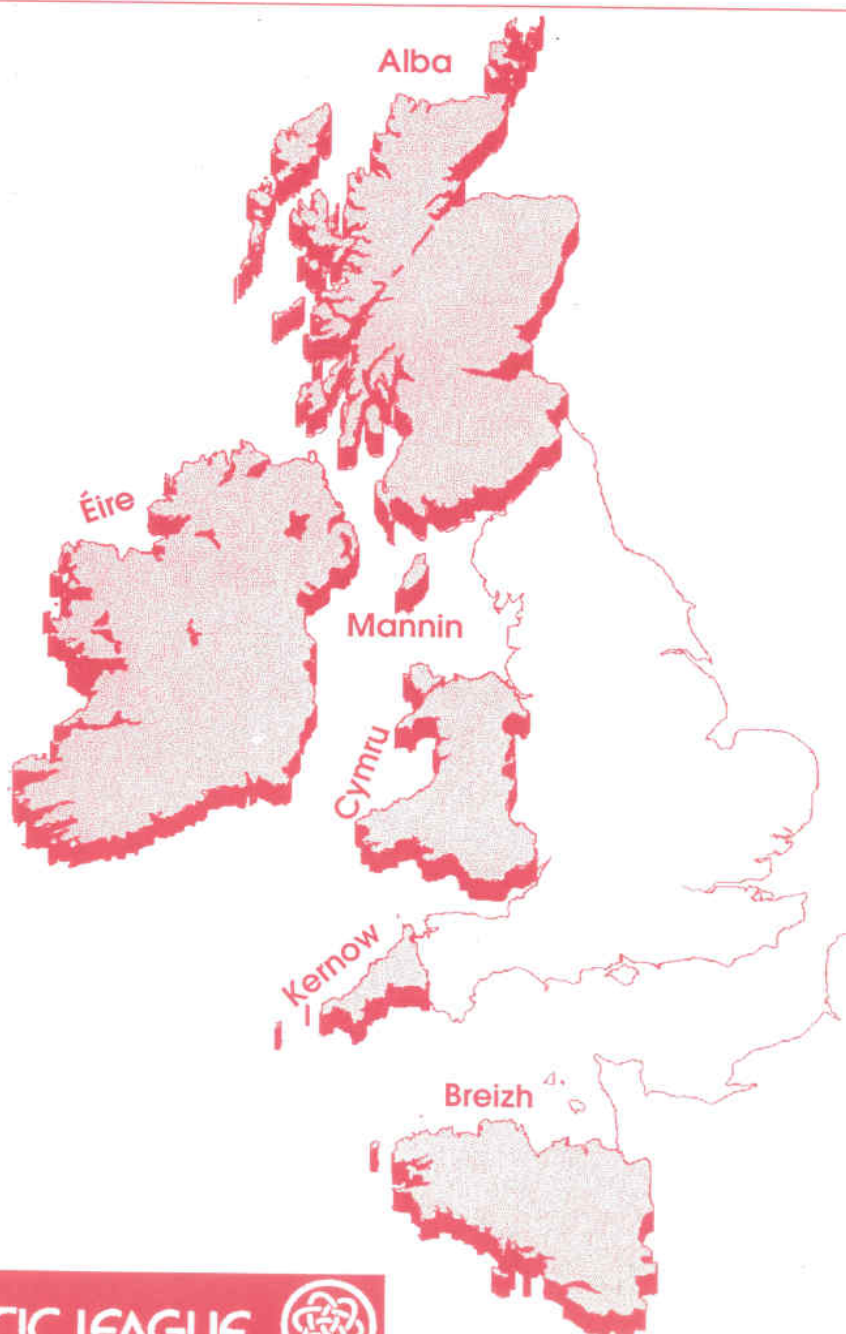
# comann

A LINK BETWEEN THE CELTIC NATIONS

No. 114

Summer 2001

£2.50



- Scottish Politics in Election
- Diwan says 'Yes'
- Un Amzer Nevez Evit Bro Skos
- Plaid Stays Static
- Respect the Irish 'No to Nice' Decision
- Manx Population Debate
- The Way Forward for Brittany

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

CELTIC LEAGUE







# Tilleamaid don Roinn Eorpa a Risd

Fad iomadh linn bha Alba 'na dùthaich Eorpach, gus an robh sinn air ar slugadh a steach don Ìompaireachd Bhreatainn air a' chiad latha den Chéitean sa bhliadhna 1707.

Bha ar lagh coltach ris an lagh air an Tirmór Eorpach far a bheil bun-stéidh an lagh Romanach. Nò mar a theireadh iad sa Laideann ... Corpus Juris Civilis. Bha na togalaichean againn, cuideachd, anns an nòs Eorpach agus mar sin air adhart.

Bha ar ceannachan-siubhail, marsantan, saighdearan, sgoilearan, pearsachan-eaglais agus Albannaich eile de gach seòrsa ri fhaotainn air an Roinn-Eorpa.

Ach mean air mhean an deidh sin bha sinn air ar putadh a-steach do Shasunn an deidh Aonadh nan Crun sa bhliadhna 1603 agus an Ìompaireachd aca ann an 1707. Leis a sin, bha sinn air ar tarraing air falbh bhon Roinn Eorpa do Shasunn agus don Ìompaireachd aca.

Ach, an deidh an darna Cogadh Mhór (WWII) chaidh an ceòl air feadh na fìdhle. Cha do mhair an Ìompaireachd seo no Ìompaireachd Eorpach eile. Leis a sin, tha sinn air ais a-steach don Roinn Eorpa agus an t-Aonadh Eorpach.

Mata, de an difir eadarainn a thaobh cànan? Sa chiad dol a-mach, chan eil dùthaich san Roinn Eorpa far a bheil iad a' teagasg tre'n Bheurla; ach tre'n chànan dualach aca fhéin.

Ach, gearrainidh an leughadair, "Nach eil aiseirigh na Gàidhlig ann an drasda?"

"Sin agad an fhìrinn," fhreagradh sinne, ach tha uiread de chnap-starraichean ann an slighe na Gàidhlig. Chan eil Inbhe Thearainte dhan Gàidhlig, no, *Secure Status for Gaelic*, againn fhathast. Leis a sin chan eil àm ri teachd na Gàidhlig agus an fhoghlum tre na Gàidhlig ach cuglaidh. Chan eil ar cànan co-ionann ri Beurla Shasunnach fhathast. Le sin, b'urrainn na h-ùghdarrasan ionadail dèanamh na b'fheàrr. Aig a cheart àm seo, cha mhór nach do stad Comhairle Pheairt agus Ceann-rois a bhith teagasg na Gàidhlig agus tre na Gàidhlig feadh na sgìre aca.

Rud eile, tha Riaghaltas na h-Alba a' cur foghlum tre na Gàidhlig gu bàs le bhith gearradh cuidichidh. Direach mar a thuirt Rob Dunbarr sa leabhar d'am b'ainm, "Aithne na nGael: *Gaelic Identities*" deasaichte le Gordon McCoy agus Maolcholuim Scott agus foillsichte le... The Institute of Irish Studies, Queen's University, Belfast aig £9.50 air duilleag 69... *The approximately £12 million that the Scottish Office will*

*spend on Gaelic-medium services in fiscal 1998-99 looks very impressive, until one recognises that this represents less than one tenth of 1% of the total Scottish Office budget of over £14 billion for the same fiscal year.*

Gun teagamh sam bith, cha bhi ceartas air son na cànan againn gus am bidh a h-uile sgoil feadh Alba uile gu lèir a' teagasg gach cuspair tre na Gàidhlig coltach air gach dùthaich san Roinn Eorpa a tha a' teagasg tre'n chànan dùthchasach aca. A bhàrr air seo chan eil dùthaich o cheann gu ceann den Roinn Eorpa far nach eilear a' teagasg tre Beurla.

Chan eil neach comasach a ràdh nach robh muinntir na sgìre seo a' bruidhinn na Gàidhlig aig aon àm; nuair.

Rud eile, gun teagamh bithidh a' chuid as mó den sgoilearan ag ionnsachadh na Beurla Shasunnach (gu nàdarraich tre na Gàidhlig). Ach cha bhiodh e àbhaisteach san Roinn Eorpa, litreachas na Beurla Shasunnach ionnsachadh nuair a tha uiread de dheagh litreachas anns a' Bheurla Albannach. C'àite a bheil an t-àite cubhaidh air son litreachas na Beurla Shasunnach ach sna oilthighean leis na litreachasan coimheach eile!

Chan eil Chaucer freagarrach sna sgoiltean Albannach nuair a tha Barbour is Blind Harry againn. Is suarach Wordsworth no Milton nuair a tha na Baileadan Albannach againn agus a thaobh rosg... dé mu dheighinn Scott agus na h-ùghdairan Albannach ainmeil eile gus an latha an diugh?

Ged a tha sgoiltean nan dùthchannan Eorpach a' foghlum na Beurla Shasunnach mar theanga choimheach, tre na cànan dùthchasach aca, cha dh'ionnsachadh iad ach an litreachas ach tre na cànan aca fhéin.

Feadh na Roinn Eorpa teagaisidh sgoiltean gach cuspair agus litreachas agus orain agus a h-uile cail eile tre na cànan dùthchasach aca. Mar eisimpleir, teagaisidh tre na Danmhaircis agus seo agad an aon rud a thaobh na Portagail, no na Fraing, no na Gearmailt, no na Eadailt agus mar sin air adhart.

Mu dheireadh thaill, a thaobh an leabhar "Aithne na nGael: *Gaelic Identities*" ... bha sinn a' bruidhinn m'a dheidhinn agus na thuirt Rob Dunbarr shuas ... ged a thàinig an leabhar seo à dh'Eirinn tha e loma-lan de chuspairean Albannach air a mhór-chuid agus fiosrachadh gu leoir a thaobh aiseirigh na Gàidhlig Albannach. Ach theagamh, tha an leabhar seo caran eu-dòchasach no pes-

simistic mu dheidhinn an aiseirigh seo. A rèir Ailean Caimbeul, Comann na Gàidhlig, tha an Riaghaltas Albannach air "*a learning curve*" gu h-àraidh bhon a tha e fada nas fhasa don Chomann na Gàidhlig bruidhinn dìreach ris an Riaghaltas againn.

Agus a rèir a' cholbh Gàidhlig a tha ri fhaotainn dà uair gach seachdain sa phaipear-naidheachd "An t-Albannach" chunnaic sinn air an darna latha den Chéitean am bliadhna gun robh bodach Astrailianach ainmeil d'am b'ainm an t-Ollamh Eòsaph Lo Bianco, fìor chomasach teagasg chànaichean, gun robh e comasach an aireamh àrdachadh nan sgoilearan ag ionnsachadh tre na Gàidhlig o 2,000 gu 24,000 leis a' bhliadhna 2010, nan gabhadh daoine a chomhairle.

Ma bhios sinn comasach na aireamh a mheudachadh cho luath, bhiodh a h-uile Albannach òg ag ionnsachadh tre na Gàidhlig re ar linn fhéin!

**Gilleasbuig MacMhuirich**  
(Gilleasbuig Lachlainn 'Illeasbuig)

## Summary

*We are reminded that Scotland was for centuries a European country until the Union of the Crowns in 1603 and the Act of Union 1707 when we lost our Parliament. These drew us into the orbit of our Southern neighbour and its empire. But this empire has disappeared and we are again in Europe. Accordingly, it is reasonable to see how language is there regarded. Firstly, every European country teaches through its own language not through English. Taking this into consideration one cannot but have enthusiasm for the present initiatives to found and run Gàidhlig playgroups (croileagan) for those of over 2½ and under 5 years of age and the teaching through Gàidhlig in schools.. Secondly, each country's songs, poetry and literature have a prime place in the curriculum. Teaching through Gàidhlig should be able to inspire the young with the literature, songs and poetry of that half of Scotland's culture. Equally, those learning English ought to be conversant with the vast Scottish tradition in English and Scottish English and its literature, songs and poetry. Chaucer must disappear from Scottish schools in favour of Barbour and Blind Harry etc. Our Scottish Ballads should take the place of Wordsworth or any of the other English poets. Authors from Scott and R.L.S. to the present day must take the place of English prose and so on. The English language and this Scottish English culture being taught through Gàidhlig like every other subject. Indeed the proper place for English literature etc. is in the universities along with other foreign literatures, not in Scottish schools.*

*Finally, attention is drawn to the book "Gaelic Identities", edited by McCoy and Scott and published by the Institute of Irish Studies, Queen's University, Belfast at £9.50.*



# BEYOND THE CRINGE

## - taking Scottish traditional music to the nation's heart.

A timely comparison of the health of Scottish and Irish traditional music and musicians appeared in the Dublin-based Sunday Tribune on 15th April. Its author, Fintan Vallely, is amongst other things a fine flute player, teacher and editor of The Companion to Irish Traditional Music. In his column Vallely notes that the first students have started the first undergraduate degree course in Irish traditional music. In comparison the third tranche of students in Scottish traditional

music will soon graduate from the RSAMD. But, he argues Scotland is far behind in numbers playing our music or in public appreciation of the traditions here.

While families and communities in Ireland have cherished their music, Irish organisations like Comhaltas Ceoltoiri Eireann, CCE, have also raised the status of Irish music in all its forms over the past fifty years. But CCE had to undo 'the national cringe' as part of its task to

promote understanding, live performance, and help achieve the status that Irish music has in the world today. Vallely suggests that 'the national cringe' is clearly thriving in Scotland yet.

He cites the largesse bequeathed to Scottish Opera and the tired recital of vague commitment to the tradition in the current National Arts Strategy. The actions of the Scottish Executive, the arts establishment and the media merits careful examination for they undoubtedly take for granted our uniquely Scottish musical traditions.

Lip service is paid to traditional music by government but funding has yet to reach a tenth of that bestowed on Scottish Opera alone. Look how much more the SAC is spending on the traditional arts than ten years ago, they say. Yet beyond cultural champions for each school and centres of excellence, government policy is yet to be properly spelt out. Consider how newspapers and TV consign traditional music to occasional forays, mostly linked to the Celtic Connections festival; and disdain to cover much else in the folk world - because folk events are too cash-strapped to buy advertising space? Don't these strike you as prime manifestations of 'the Scottish national cringe' at work?

When did you last meet a minister who rushed to promote Scottish music in an everyday policy development? When will the SAC spell out what its development plan is for the traditional arts? When will the broadsheets, far less the tabloids, feature musicians and review new traditional CDs alongside classical, jazz and pop each week?

Fintan Vallely feels that Scotland has to build firm foundations to raise our self-esteem in our own traditional arts, 'and short of evangelism, the best place for that is likely in the schools'. The availability of traditional music in mainstream education should be possible in a nation where 96% of pupils go to comprehensive schools. 'Present and future generations of Scots have a right to be in full contact with their musical traditions', said the 1999 Traditional Music in Scotland report endorsed by the SAC. Government commitment to achieve this would signal that being Scottish is socially inclusive, not just a matter to trumpet on Tartan Day in the USA.

Thank goodness for a chance to see ourselves as others see us; by the way, if you think our Scottish establishment exhibits 'the national cringe' just look at the status of traditional music in England and think what an uphill struggle English cultural self-esteem has against its own 'national cringe'.

**Rob Gibson,**  
*Director, The Highland Traditional Music Festival, Dingwall.*

## Gaelic Education News

The Deputy Minister with responsibility for Gaelic, Alasdair Morrison, has lent his support to the campaign for an all-Gaelic primary school for Inverness, a proposal which has already received the backing of the Local Authority: Highland Council. It now remains to be seen whether Mr Morrison will provide the funding which is necessary for the construction of the school.

The level of interest shown in Scotland's first and only Gaelic primary school - Sgoil Ghàidhlig Ghlaschu - has been so considerable that it seems certain that the school will be full only a few years after opening and that another school will be necessary. Good news also comes from nearby North Lanarkshire where a Gaelic medium secondary unit is to be opened in Greenfaulds High school, Cumbernauld to cater for the pupils who have attended the North Lanarkshire Gaelic medium primary unit.

Despite good news such as the above, however, those involved in Gaelic medium education are concerned that the further expansion of education through the language will be hampered by a lack of teachers. At present there are far more vacancies for Gaelic teachers than there are teachers being trained. If this situation persists, new Gaelic units will not open and some existing Gaelic units will close. A Gaelic medium teacher training course to begin in Lews Castle College in Autumn should help to alleviate the situation to some extent, but will not on its own be enough to overcome the crippling teacher shortage.

## COUNT ME IN?

Despite the "Count me in!" campaign to encourage the public to complete and return the 2001 Census form, Gaelic speakers were in fact counted out by the General Register Office for Scotland (GROS). The GROS have been criticised for the following reasons:

1. The Census form was not available in Gaelic.
2. The shiny census promotional leaflet for Scotland, which was available in a number of languages, was not available in Gaelic.
3. In the run up to the Census, Gaelic groups were not invited to participate in the Community Liaison process that the GROS conducted.
4. The GROS failed to publicise the existence of the limited provision

which they did make available for Gaelic: a Gaelic information line and a Gaelic mock-up of the Census form (which the public was not allowed to fill in!).

Several Gaelic activists including Fionnlagh MacLeòid and Roy Wentworth have refused to fill in the Census form in protest and hundreds of language activists have written to the Registrar General asking him to ensure that the 2011 Census form will be available in Gaelic. If you would like to take part in the campaign, please write to: J. N Randall, Registrar for Scotland, General Register for Scotland, Ladywell House, Ladywell Road, Dùn Èideann/ Edinburgh EH12 7TF email: [scottish.enquiries@2001census.org.uk](mailto:scottish.enquiries@2001census.org.uk) asking him to ensure that the 2011 Census form will be available in Gaelic.

Brude mac Maelcon



# Scottish Politics in a Westminster Election

For the first time the political parties have had to face up to the implications of devolution to Scotland and Wales, not to mention the North of Ireland, in the way the campaign for the British General Election is being fought. Because the Scottish Parliament is already taking more radical policy decisions, such as free long-term care for the elderly and replacing New Labour's student tuition fees with a graduate tax, the English based parties have had to tread carefully. Indeed the position of the cabinet post of Secretary of State for Scotland is anomalous. Now we have a first minister, does Scotland need the ongoing costs?

The Scottish dimension is taking more and more of people's attention because, health, education, jobs, agriculture and fisheries etc are now dealt with in Scotland. But because few think that a change of government in Westminster is likely, they are showing the lowest interest in a General Election for a century. Nevertheless, the SNP's campaign to *Stand for Scotland* points out that Blairite plans that are anti-Scottish will have to be

vigorously opposed in Westminster. Since New Labour members elected will be tightly whipped, who else will oppose cuts in the block grant, more crippling fuel price increases and point out the free market agenda of New Labour as selling Scotland short in the European Union and World Trade Organisation negotiations?

On a matter close to Carn readers' hearts, the painfully slow provision of Gaelic speaking teachers for our expanding Gaelic-medium schools is down to New Labour's incompetence. The disgraceful delay in erecting Gaelic medium signs on Highland roads was another example of unsympathetic civil servants getting away with evasions when we have a minister for Gaelic in Edinburgh. The big issues of boosting health spending and paying for 21st century education both show a marked lack of ambition and wasted cash, while New Labour followed the Tories down the route of paying for new buildings and refurbished schools and hospitals by borrowing money at high interest rates. As an alternative the SNP has offered

the costed scheme, *Scottish Trust for Public Investment*, which would aggregate all schemes and save money through imaginative bond issues and borrowings from the European Development Bank outside the public spending budgets.

Similarly, the *Scottish Fund for Future Generations* would invest Scottish oil revenues for future use. Surely such imagination will eventually attract the voters attention? Meanwhile with clinical cynicism Tony Blair has his safe seat totals calculated and we can expect less than half of those voting to deliver a massive majority in the least fair voting system in the western world. So the dumbing down of politics continues, and 'president' Blair tries to rise a strong economy into a second five year term, and if we don't get Scotland full fiscal powers in 2003, possibly a third UK New Labour government delivering Thatcherite policies that people rejected four years ago in the 1997 landslide. Meanwhile the worm of democracy is active in the Celtic nations still locked in the UK.

RG

## Election - Nationalism Drives Agenda in Scotland & Wales

Commentators have reported the Westminster election result as being disappointing for both the Scottish National Party and Plaid Cymru. However, a more studied consideration of the results reveals that both organisations are still better placed than at any previous time to drive the debate on both fiscal and political autonomy. Both Parties went into the election with new leaders and both parties also faced the challenge of readjusting to the changed electoral landscape brought about by the creation of the Scottish Parliament and Welsh Assembly. These two institutions have crucially altered the way all the political parties in Wales and Scotland present themselves.

Following the results in Wales the Labour Party announced that it was the real "Party of Wales". Paradoxically, although the Labour Party and Liberal Democrats would be the last to admit it, they have increasingly taken to stealing the nationalist's *political clothes*. We have the 'Welsh' Labour Party and the 'Scottish' Liberal Democrats - obviously these political charlatans know when to play the nationalist card. It is a trend that will continue

because it is the Nationalist parties - The SNP in Scotland and Plaid Cymru in Wales that are driving the political agenda now.

Both Nationalist parties have a popular electoral base and professional political machine that could only have been dreamt about two decades ago. The real battleground for both SNP and Plaid Cymru will be the Scottish Parliament and Welsh Assembly elections. Increasingly the Westminster political scene will become irrelevant other than at times when there is conflict between it and the devolved bodies. Such conflict seems inevitable and then those political parties, such as the Labour and Liberal democrats, who so conveniently adopt the Scottish or Welsh label when it suits them will be exposed for what they are - *carpetbaggers!*

Bernard Moffatt



Angus Robertson  
- Moray



Michael Weir  
- Angus



Annabelle Ewing  
- Perth



Alex Salmond  
- Banff & Buchan



Peter Wishart  
- Tayside North

The 5 SNP, MPs at Westminster



# Committee of the Regions and the Scottish Parliament: *Making a reality of subsidiarity*

How can the governance of Europe respond to the diversity of interests, systems and organisations, which make up modern European countries? How can subsidiarity be made a reality?

These were the key questions discussed at a lively joint meeting of the Committee of the Regions Institutional Affairs Commission and the European Committee of the Scottish Parliament on Tuesday 22nd May 2001. The meeting took place in the chamber of the Scottish Parliament in Edinburgh, which was a first for both institutions.

Hugh Henry MSP (UK/PES), Convenor of the European Committee and a member of the CoR, welcomed participants by reminding them of the context of the discussion: the forthcoming White Paper on governance from the European Commission. "There is a lot of criticism of EU institutions - and indeed national governments - for being too distant," he said. "The best way of addressing this is to make sure that decisions are taken as close as possible to the citizens."

Manfred Dammeyer (D/PES), President of the CoR Institutional Affairs Commission and First Vice-President of the Committee of the Regions, said there was a window of opportunity to influence the future shape of Europe. "In the run up to the 2004 IGC, both the competence and the architecture of the European Union are being reconsidered," he said. "We should question any attempt to sideline the regions in this process. We need to maximise our influence by agreeing our goals with national parliaments and others who can directly affect the IGC."

Christine May (UK/PES) highlighted the need to reconnect politics to people and their everyday needs. She makes the case: "When turnout for local and European elections in Britain is less than thirty per cent, it is clear that we need to work to make the institutions relevant to them. The citizen needs to be centre stage."

Lord Tope (UK/ELDR), rapporteur of a recent CoR opinion on new forms of governance, believed it was vital "to avoid looking at European governance as a series of vertical tiers, with the EU at the top, local government at the bottom and the citizen some way below that. We should approach the question as a series of overlapping and inter-linking spheres of responsibility, where each level is equally important. Through a discussion of equals we can address the issues."

Luc Van Den Brande (B/EPP) noted that there was a 'democratic deficit' within member states as well as within the EU.

"Subsidiarity needs to go further than the capital cities. More autonomy for regions should be part of any process for a federated Europe. But one model will not fit every situation: each country will need to find its own structures."

A full transcript of the meeting is available from the Scottish Parliament website at: ["http://www.scottish.parliament.uk"](http://www.scottish.parliament.uk)

**Claude Guillemain, Union des Bretons  
de Belgique**

## Live on the Internet

*- New Forms of Governance  
in the EU*

For the first time, the entire proceedings of a CoR Commission meeting are to be broadcast live on the Internet. At 14.00 on Tuesday 22nd May 2001, a joint meeting of the CoR Institutional Affairs Commission and the European Committee of the Scottish Parliament on New Forms of Governance in the EU will take place in the chamber of the Scottish Parliament in Edinburgh. Thanks to the pioneering technology used by the Scottish Parliament anyone with a suitably equipped PC and Internet access will be able to watch proceeding live at:

["http://www.scottishparliamentlive.com/"](http://www.scottishparliamentlive.com/)

The above site gives details of the technical requirements for receiving the webcast.



cànan nàiseanta - a national tongue

CLi gu:

- ionnsachadh is inbhe nàiseanta na Gàidhlig a bhrosnachadh
- fiosrachadh air Gàidhlig is cùisean Gàidhlig a sgaoileadh
- beachd luchd ionnsachaidh is luchd labhairt neo-dhualchasach na Gàidhlig a chur an cèill



CLi to:

- promote the learning and national status of Gaelic
- disseminate information on Gaelic and Gaelic affairs
- act as the voice of Gaelic learners and non-traditional speakers

mention **Càrn** and get a **FREE** bilingual magazine  
& details of all learning materials, classes & courses  
- wherever you are

CLi, 62 Àrd Shràid, Inbhir Ghòrdain IV18 0DH, Alba  
[www.gaelic.net/cli](http://www.gaelic.net/cli) [cli@gaelic.net](mailto:cli@gaelic.net) +44 (0) 1349 854848



**Independent Scots read the  
'Scots Independent'**

**Contact**

**51 Cowane Street  
Stirling FK8 1JW**

**Alba/Scotland**

**Telephone  
Stirling 01786 473523**

## Dear Friends of the Celtic League

A friend of mine, a journalist on TVG, i. e. the Galician TV, is working on a project to be broadcast on TVG. The name of his programme is "Terras de Merlin" which means "Lands of Merlin" in Galician. It will be a documentary series about the Celtic countries. He would begin the recordings during this summer. The spirit of his programme will be energetic, travelling, modern but also traditional. It will deal with differences and similarities between the eight Celtic countries - including Galicia and Asturias - but it will not be only cultural but also anthropological and ethnological. It will be a programme where we could find topics such as folklore, gastronomy, history, current news, landscapes, humour, anecdotal facts or events, etc... In a few words, things, facts or persons being worth while.

So, if you could give ideas, propositions, contacts, etc... these would be very welcome. Please do not hesitate to contact me at:

[jose.calvete@wanadoo.fr](mailto:jose.calvete@wanadoo.fr)

Or by postal means at :

José CALVETE, 10 Allée Stoecklin, 68  
240 KAYSERSBERG, France.

*Celtic yours,  
José CALVETE.*



# Breizh

## Un amzer nevez evit Bro Skos

*Krog mat eo an Devolution e Bro Skos hemañ. Evit an eil gwech ar bloaz-mañ en deus Forum Bretagne kaset di un strollad tud da c'houzout hiroc'h diwar-benn hon kendirvi keltiek goude ar voterez evit an Devolution.*



Forum Breizh delegation meets with Michael Russell, SNP. Courtesy Armor-Magazine.

### Anaoudegezh ha nerzh

A wiskoaz eo chomet Bro Skos ur vro. Met nevez 'zo he deus adpakat he Breujoù goude tri c'hantved dindan choug Bro Saoz (Unvaniezh a oa bet etre Parlamant Bro Skoz hag hini Londrez e 1707). Evit ar referendum diwar-benn an Devolution, o deus 74.8% eus ar skozis votet evit ar breujoù. Diazezet eo ar volontez-se war menozhioù broadel kreñv. Ret eo gouzout o deus a skoziz anaoudegezh mat eus o istor, ha chomet e oant mestr war o skolioù, o justis, o religion daoust d'an emglev gant Bro Saoz.

War-se eo bet lakaet ar gaoz etre kannaded Bro Skos ha Forum Breizh e-pad un devezh studi er "Scottish Parliament" ha dreist holl gant M. Russel e-karg eus an deskadurezh, ar sevenadur hag hag ar yezh er strollad SNP. Pouezhus kenañ eo evitan ar gaelic evit personelezh Bro Skos daoust ma ne vez komzet kasi nemet war inizi Hebrides hag en Highlands. Hiriv an deiz ez eus nemet 1.5 % eus tud ar vro oc'h implij ar yezh.

Prest eo ar SNP da ginnig un danvez-lezenn evit ledannat plas ar yezh er skolioù hag ar mediaoù. Evit ar poent e vez diveur skoseg war BBC Bro Skos bemdez.

Dre an darempredoù-se en deus gellet Forum Bretagne studiañ mont en dro ar Breujoù e Bro Skoz, ur skouer vat evit Breizh.

### Bro Skos digabestr a vo gwelloc'h

Warlec'h eo aet strollad Forum Bretagne betek Inverness evit AGM ar SNP. Alex Salmond (PZDT aSNP) en doa dibabet leuskel e blas ar bloaz-mañ araok kuitaat avat, en deus lakaet sklaer ar pal evit an dazont: Frankiz evit Bro Skos araok 30 vloaz. Gwir eo en deus kaset e strollad eus 14% da 38 % eus ar mouezhioù, ha se dindan 10 vloaz John Swinney eo, en deus kemeret penn ar SNP. E bal gentañ a zo dizalc'h Bro Skos, un hent a gemero gant evezh ha tamm ha tamm. Ar youl en deus da lakaat war sav ur referendum evit goulenn digant ar skoziz ar gwir d'ober un emglev gant Londrez diwar "Dizalc'h Bro Skoz en Europa".

An degemer gant Breujoù Skoz hag ar SNP a zo bet eus ar c'hentañ. Fiziañs en deus Forum Bretagne da vont pelloc'h gant ar Skoziz en amzer da zont.

### Difenn ar Glad

War un dachenn all, eo bet degemeret Forum Bretagne gant an *National Trust for Scotland* e ker Edinburgh. Ar gevredigezh-mañ, savet er bloavezh 1931 he deus ar youl da saveteiñ ha da lakaat war wel "Herez Bro Skos". Ar pal 'zo evezhiañ ar glad war dachenn an tiez, an arzoù, an istor hag an endro. Hiriv an deiz he deus ar gevredigezh 250 000 ezel, 114 savadur, 19 kastell, 25 jardin ha 4 lec'h istorel. Dindan 50 vloaz eo tremenet eus netra da 2 vilion a weladennerien. Plijus-kenañ eo bet evit Forum Bretagne an tri dervezh tremenet e Bro Skoz. Gwelet en deus ar strollad pegen efedus eo ar strolladoù politikel ha sevenadurel e Bro-Skoz. E 2001 e vo savet raktresoù asambles.

Yann JESTIN

### Summary

*Forum Brittany, a centre right movement, is working hard to help the Breton people to understand and follow the pacific track towards devolution as based on the Scottish model. That is why a delegation went to the SNP AGM and also to the Scottish Parliament in Edinburgh.*

## MEBYON KERNOW - THE PARTY FOR CORNWALL 1951-2001

N'eo ket anavezet mat marteze ar strollad broadel kerneveuriat *Mebyon Kernow* e Breizh. E 1951, d'ar 6 a viz Genver 1951 evit bezañ resisoc'h e voe krouet *Mebyon Kernow* (Mibien Kernev Veur) / *The Party for Cornwall*. Ar strollad politikel evit Kernev Veur a voe krouet gant 13 den e Rysrudh (Redruth e Saozneg). Diwezhatoc'h 4 anezho a vo degemmeret avel Bardh Meur Kernow (Barzh Meur Kernev Veur).

Kreskiñ al liammoù etrekeltiek, harpañ yezh ha sevenadur Kernev Veur, kenerzhiañ ar meno a vez Kernev Veur ur vro geltiek a zo bet atav e-mesk palioù ar strollad-se. Met labouret o deus *Mebyon Kernow* evit kaout ur *Skol Veur* e *Kernev Veur* hag ur *Vodadeg Vroadel evit Kernev Veur (Senedh Kernow)* ivez. Se a seblante soñjoù e 1951 met bremañ gant skouerioù Bodadegoù Broadel Bro-Skos ha Kembre, se a hañval gwirvoudel. Ha war ar marc'had mui a 25,000 den o deus lakaet o anv war ur c'houlennadeg evit ur *Vodadeg Vroadel evit Kernev Veur* ! Siwazh hir eo bet an hent betek-henn ha hir e vo c'hoazh ! Ne seblant ket Gouarnamant Londrez bezañ re a-du gant ar meno-se !

(Continued on page 7)



## Mebyon Kernow

**Mebyon Kernow** a grogas gant embregadennoù avel pegsunioù "Kernow" war ar c'hirri-tan ha stourmas evit banniel braodel Kernev Veur ar "Gwynn ha Du", banniel Sen Pyran, patrom sant Kernev Veur !

Daoust da vezañ ar stourm a-enep strolladoù Londrez ez eas war gresk disoc'hoù **Mebyon Kernow** e votadegoù. Bremañ e kaver dilennidi **Mebyon Kernow** e meur a guzul e Kernev Veur. Bez'e vo votadegoù c'hoazh ha kreñvoc'h eo **Mebyon Kernow** ! Tri ezel diazezhour o deus roet lañs da "Galow an 50ves Pennbloedh" (Galv an 50vet deiz-ha-bloaz) evit dastum arc'hant evit votadegoù ar bloaz-mañ.

Ma fell deoc'h gouzout muioc'h diwar-benn **Mebyon Kernow** :

### Mebyon Kernow

- *The Party for Cornwall*

Lanhainsworth

Bre Frodan / Fraddon Hill

Frodan / Fraddon

Sen Kolomm / St Colomb

KERNOW / CORNWALL

TR9 6PQ

[www.mebyon-kernow.eu.org/](http://www.mebyon-kernow.eu.org/)

## Summary :

*Mebyon Kernow - The Party for Cornwall is perhaps not well-known in Brittany. It was founded in 1951 by 13 persons, 4 of them later became Grand Bards of the Cornish Gorsedh. Mebyon Kernow has always worked for a Cornish University and a Cornish Assembly (Senedh Kernow). These demands seemed at that time merely dreams, but with the example of devolved government in Scotland and Wales, it now seems that awareness for a Cornish Assembly has increased among Cornish people - as is proved by the recent petition which was signed by more than 25,000 people. Three founder members have launched a "call of the 50th anniversary for collecting money for the elections".*

José CALVETE

## POLIZER'S WRITINGS CENSORED

In May 1942, Georges Politzer, a philosopher and a member of the French Communist Party, was executed in the Mont-Valérien, near Paris. He had been arrested by Pétain's police and given to the German Nazis. In May 2001, his writings are forbidden in the French prison of Fleury Mérogis (Essonne). The Breton political prisoner Gérard Bernard (member of the left-wing movement for free Brittany **Emgann**) wants to read Georges Politzer's writings. The guards of the prison have refused.

Please, send letters of solidarity to: Monsieur Gérard Bernard, Breton Political Prisoner, 289703 V D314 D4,

M.A.H. de Fleury-Mérogis, 7, avenue des Peupliers, 91705 SAINTE-GENEVIEVE-DES-BOIS, (France)

Spokesman Klaod An Duigou

## US SUPPORT FOR BRETON PRISONERS

The current issue of the Celtic League American Branch journal "Six Nations, One Soul" carries a solidarity call for Breton political prisoners currently being held in France. It particularly highlights the case of Alain Sole who attempted suicide in late March after becoming frustrated and depressed by the lack of proper medical treatment.

Co-ordinator of American Branch Breton activities Alexei Kondratiev quotes extensively from reports by Skoazell Vreizh and also Coordination Anti-Repressive de Bretagne (C.A.R.B.), the Breton prisoners organisation.

Several Celtic League branches have joined the protests for better treatment for Breton political detainees in France. It is particularly heartening that this chorus of support has now crossed the Atlantic.

The Celtic league must sustain and if possible step up our campaign to highlight the situation of Breton detainees. Also, we should not forget others (e.g. Basques and Corsicans) detained by France for campaigning for self-determination.

## Local elections ... nothing new?

Local elections engendered only a few modifications in Brittany, however behind the scenes things are changing. First of all, the socialist government gave space to local democracy. Therefore, PLM (Paris, Lyon, Marseille) were the only national challenge. At this level the socialist lobby did well in Paris and Lyon. Otherwise they did not gain as many local town halls that they were expecting to.

On the other hand, the right wing was not expecting that much. In Brittany they gained ST Brieg and Kemper. The main surprise came from the strong drop of the Communist Party down to 5%. French people start to understand that the Wall is down!!! Things are starting to change at the beginning of this century. So, the main increase came from the Green Party, gaining a lot of votes up to 15%.

At the regional level the UDB gained 1% at an average 4%. They needed one extra percent to exist at the Euro-level. In Naoned and the towns in its proximities

several UDB candidates doubled the average rate of 4% far above what the TMO opinion polls predicted...

On the right side, the main leader J-Y Cozan from the Independents de Bretagne succeeded in his comeback at



Christian Troadec of Galv - Karaez

the departmental assembly. Yann Jestin from Forum Bretagne was elected in Lesneven. Further more, on the right side POBL did not have a formal candidate, nor did Adsav on the extreme right. At the end of the day the right wing had a strong leader, plus a few politicians were elected. On the left side UDB (88) and Frankiz-Breizh (6) gained nearly 100 seats. Also in Brittany the Green Party gained a lot of seats.

The most welcome surprise came from Karaez-city which was gained by Christian Troadec (Galv-Karaez) against the Jacobin socialist and the Jacobin Gaullist (RPR). In some way, it was just like in Euskadi where the politicians from Madrid failed.

As we can notice there is a real energy inside the pacifists' movements of the left side. The right wing has a charismatic leader with J-Y.Cozan. Right now, we do not know if he might be able to federate the Independents de Bretagne, POBL and the new "Parti Breton" in Forum Bretagne! We will have to wait and see.

Gi Keltik.



# Diwan Says "Yes" to Minister's Offer

It was billed as a historic day and in the end, the decision taken by the Diwan Breton schools movement at its AGM in Lesneven on Sunday, April 29th, 2001 turned out to be of the ground-breaking type that Brittany has not seen for quite some time. By a massive 80% of delegates present, the assembly voted to accept a series of proposals setting the course for Diwan's integration into the French state school system, a move that may mark a turnaround in the way public policy on regional languages in France is implemented.

The proposals, and Diwan's subsequent agreement with their contents, are the fruit of two long years of negotiations between members of Diwan and the French Ministry of Education. The call for state funding of Diwan, a network of 30-odd primary and nursery schools and 5 secondary schools in which subjects are taught through the medium of Breton, was perhaps most recently triggered by the controversy surrounding the funding of Diwan's 'lycée' in Karaez, central Brittany. In 1999 the regional prefect for Brittany, the government's administrative representative, unleashed an Atlantic storm of condemnation when he pointed out that the Regional Council of Brittany had overstepped the constitutional legal mark in its funding of Diwan's high school. The subsequent marches of protestation in May and June 1999 were thus an invitation for Lionel Jospin to clarify his government's position on regional languages in France, which he did in a letter encouraging his Education Minister to find a solution for the state funding of minority language schools but, as he put it, "à législation constante", in other words without tinkering with the division between private and state education, which is still a political flash point because of the religious dimension to most private schools, or with the Republic's Constitution, especially article 2, which states that French is the language of the Republic. Diwan took up the gauntlet of negotiating an agreement for its entry into the state system with a Ministry renowned for its behemoth-like manoeuvrability and a minister at the time, Claude Allègre, almost equally renowned for his clanger-dropping soundbites. Nothing budged for almost a year under Allègre. However, a government reshuffle in April 2000 brought Jack Lang, famed for his exploits as Mitterand's Culture Minister, to the Ministry of Education. One of his first decisions in the early days back in the minister's chair was to personally meet the



*Andre Lincoln, President of Diwan*

members of Diwan and put the negotiations back on the fast track. Jack Lang's continued interest in finding the best possible grounds for an agreement with Diwan along with his public declarations in favour of opening the education system up to the regional languages, - even at the cost of ruffling the feathers of many teaching trade unions, the traditional bedrock of support for the French Socialists - have undoubtedly played an important role in bringing about the necessary changes in position both within and without the spheres of minority language activism.

What exactly has Diwan signed up to? As yet, of course, nothing has been officially signed but the AGM did give the go-ahead to Diwan's president, Andrew Lincoln, to sign an agreement on the basis of the documents that have already been drawn up. These consist of a ministerial order (*arrêté*) implementing bilingual education in the regional languages in primary and secondary schools; a statutory order (*décret*) setting up a committee for the regional languages (including members from the administrative entity of Loire-Atlantique for the Breton-language committee); three circulars (a kind of ministerial declaration of intent) defining the teaching of regional languages, of which the first gives the general principles of any teaching of or through the medium of regional languages, the second defines bilingual teaching by means of a parity of hours between French and the regional language, while the third defines bilingual teaching through immersion, the medium chosen by Diwan. As well as these, the agreement provides for an annual covenant between Diwan and the Ministry, guaranteeing funding (FF300,000 for this year) and paid manpower (administrative educational posts financed by the Ministry)

to help the future revamped Diwan continue to promote education by immersion in the Breton language. The remaining nuts and bolts to the agreement come through an additional covenant to the six-yearly regional plan to be drawn up between the French state and Brittany. Here Diwan has had to play it by ear as talks have only just officially begun between the state, the region and the Breton-language education movements like Diwan on the contents of such a document. However, it is in this text that the real sincerity of all parties will be gauged since it will strive, along the model of a similar pre-existing covenant between the state and the Alsace region, to state the exact number of teachers to be trained each year in a special bilingual teacher training college to be expressly set up for this purpose while also laying out the steps for a long-term language planning policy to ensure the development of Breton-language schools in the region. Numbers of trained teachers (as the Irish Gaelic schools well know) and the opening of new schools are indeed points on which any self-respecting activist would wish to keep a beady eye. Diwan will be no exception in this area.

What will the implementation of this agreement mean for Diwan? In the first instance, the heavy burden, both financially and in terms of human effort, of opening and managing its nursery and primary schools will no longer fall upon Diwan. Each existing Diwan school will be able to ask its local authority (town council for the primary school, county council for the *skolaj* and regional council for the *lise*) to take over its management and finance the maintenance of buildings, pay for canteen facilities, etc. Teachers will become salaried by the state whereas before many were paid directly by Diwan. For Diwan's secondary schools - an increasing number of which will be set up in the future to cater for the numbers of children moving up from the primary sector - it will mean better buildings, better equipment, especially for the teaching of science, better deals for families whose children need to be boarders for a few nights or for the whole of the school week and, if the numbers of schoolchildren keep growing, an increasing choice of subjects and courses taught through the medium of Breton, all of which can only add to the general vitality of and public interest in the language.

No one, however, would admit that Diwan and the Breton language has found the answer to all its past woes. The struggle will probably go on, as it does in so-called better-allocated sister Celtic countries, to demand the opening of Breton-language schools and fair play to the language. One malevolent minister for education could

*(Continued on page 8)*



### Diwan Says 'Yes' to Minister's Offer

even renege on much of what has been agreed. Yet, as one observing things through Welsh eyes with my own personal battles of the past, the newfound confidence which the changing climate towards the minority languages of France could bring – or has already brought? – is a chance worth taking in the struggle of the Bretons to reappropriate their language and their culture. Diwan's "yes" does mean taking a leap into a room whose contours are not always clearly lit. Yet, the choice is there: fighting to keep one's hand on the light-switch or fumbling about in the near darkness on the outside. Watch this space...

Carys LEWIS-LE DISEZ  
In charge of secondary education  
Diwan Executive Council

#### Footnote :

Since this article was written, another step along the road was taken when Jack Lang, Minister of Education, and Diwan signed the Agreement in Roazhan on Monday, 28th May.

## UNITED EUROPE and DISUNITED KINGDOM

Brest University and its Breton and Celtic Research Unit (CRBC) organised the very first meeting about Devolution in February 2000. One year after the book, *"Les enjeux de la Dévolution"* (18.3 Euro)+ postal fee), was put on sale in the very best bookshops, as well as at Brest-University (CEMA).

This congress had two guest speakers, two vice-presidents: G. REID (SNP) representing Scotland and J. DAVIDSON representing Wales. Moreover, I would like to mention some teachers such as:

- ❖ Karine Cabrol (Grenoble-Fr.): "La politique européenne du SNP et du Plaid Cymru"
- ❖ Alex Wright (Dundee): "Europe: a driver for Autonomy";
- ❖ Thierry Sellin (Brest): "Gouvernance jacobine à l'épreuve de la rationalité subsidiariste";
- ❖ Paul Brennan (Paris): "Devolution: North-Ireland";
- ❖ Andrew Lincoln (Brest) + (Diwan's President): "L'émergence de la question anglaise"; Matthew Graves (AIX): "The centre cannot hold"...

Unfortunately the French teachers did not speak English. Anyway, if you are involved in politics this book is still a MUST two years after Devolution in Great Britain and a few years before Brittany's Devolution...

Den O'Kratzee

# Europe! Breton national ... French citizen

by Yann Fouéré

**Editions Brittia, Celtic chadenn,  
10bis rue Massignon, 22590 PORDIC, BREIZH.**

Yann Fouéré, Breton militant since the early thirties, co-founder with Alan Heusaff of the Celtic League, initiator of the M.O.B., Movement for the Organization of Brittany, founder of the magazine 'L'Avenir de la Bretagne', honorary chairman of the POBL: Party for the Organization of a Free Brittany, Yann has never ceased to fight, with pen and in the field, to have Brittany obtain the same legitimate rights accruing to other legitimate communities in Europe, such as Catalonia, Flandres, Bavaria or Scotland.

This book is in the same line as his other books, from *Europe of a hundred flags*, currently translated in several languages, to *These rights that others have*.

Yann Fouéré knows well, including from inside, the structures and the ways of the last centralised state in Western Europe, he knows very well its limits, its sclerosis and its ideological dead ends.

Yann Fouéré has no problem showing that the self-proclaimed "birthplace of Human Rights" shows, in fact, a caricatural image of Democracy, the perfect opposite of a country such as Switzerland, where the citizen, through the procedure of referendum and laws voted at popular request, is really in charge of his own political affairs.

Yann Fouéré refers to the great political thinker, the socialist Pierre-Joseph Proudhon and comments that in France: "the state is self-directed thanks to a thousand major civil-servants, irresponsible and nearly irremovable".

Following his criticism of this European exception Yann Fouéré points out that: "in most modern states, 50% to 70% of fiscal resources accrue to local governments, in France it is only 10% (CF: 1999)." Evidently some people will say that it does not matter since we enjoy freedom and equality in this blessed country!

Yann Fouéré argues that these values, in France, are purely theoretical and abstract and he also denounces the police state that France really is spying on its citizens and less interested in insuring their safety than in guaranteeing its own survival.

"There are very few countries, with the obvious exception of dictatorships, where



Yann Fouréré, writer, long-time  
campaigner for Breton rights.

there exists a state police similar to the French Renseignements Généraux, or state surveillance." Dismantling piece by piece the "French myth" of a "France cradle of the Human Rights", Yann Fouéré demonstrates that the pathology of abstraction has given birth, under cover of state protection, to a truly totalitarian system.

As a solution to this *Jacobin decease*, Yann Fouéré offers logically to decline the word *liberties* in the plural and without capital letter, moreover, he proposes that the people and their communities recover the sovereignty the state took away from them, this state which has become, as Nietzsche once stated, "...the coldest of the cold monsters!"

This is a book that must be read and reread without restraint.

Reviewed by Thierry Jigourel





# Cymru



## CYNNAL CYFARFODYDD EFFEITHIOL

### Ceir cyfarfod llwyddiannus pan:

- mae'r pwrpas yn eglur i bawb ymlaen llaw;
- fydd pawb yn bresennol wedi darparu ymlaen llaw/yn barod i waith;
- fydd pob eitem ar yr agenda a'r amser trafod i bob eitem heb eu gweld fel 'pryd ar glyd';
- gyfyngir y sawl fo'n bresennol yn neilltuo i'r rheiny gânt eu heffeithio gan y materion dan sylw;
- fo'r holl wybodaeth i law;
- fo amcanion y cyfarfod yn amlwg ac i gael eu gwredu;
- wneir y penderfyniadau priodol a dechreuir gweithredu arnynt;

### Fel arall bydd cyfarfodydd yn methu pan:

- gânt eu gweld i fod yn ddibwrpas;
- wnânt bethau syml yn gymhleth;
- fyddont yn parhau'n rhy hir;
- fyddont yn llwyfan i'r siaradus glebran;
- oedant benderfyniadau a thramgwyddo rhag gwaith;

### Sut i lwyddo â'ch cyfarfodydd chwi

#### a. Cyn y Cyfarfod:

- gofyn pam cael y cyfarfod o gwbl?
- ai dyma'r dull priodol i wireddu'r amcanion?

#### Sefydlwch amcan y cyfarfod:

- beth ydych yn ceisio ei wneud?
- beth sydd i'w benderfynu?
- pa waith ddylid ei ysgogi?

#### Darparwch agenda gan

- neilltuo'r eitemau perthnasol a dyls, y rhain yn unig gânt eu trafod;
- drefnu'r eitemau'n briodol, y pwysicaf gyntaf, y mwyaf dibwys yn olaf;
- locio neu gorlannu materion tebyg i'w gilydd ynghyd;
- ddangos amser trafod pob eitem;
- dim ond aelodau i fod yn bresennol yn y cyfarfod;

#### Y Man Cyfarfod:

- gosod allan yr ystafell – oes yno ddigon o awyr iach, goleuni, ydi'r lle'n ddigon cyfforddus?
- oes digon o gyfarpar ar gael?
- oes modd rhag-ganfod unrhyw darfu, sôn cefndir a.y.y.b.;

### b. Yn eich Cyfarfod chi:

- datganed pwrpas y cyfarfod;
- rhestred pawb fo'n bresennol a chanfod a yw'r absenolion hwythau wedi ymddiheuro 'mlaenllaw fel y dylasant wneuthur;

### GWAITH Y CADEIRYDD:

- gosod y llwyfan ar gyfer pob eitem newydd ac yna agor y drafodaeth – gwahodd cyfraniadau neilltuo gan aelodau;
- cadw trefn ar y trafod – peidio ofni ei ddychwel i'w le os aiff ar goll;
- crynhoi pob cam o'r drafodaeth os aiff honno'n gymleth – i loywi'ch deall eich hun a phawb arall yn bresennol;
- cadw i'r amser;
- crynhoi'r penderfyniadau a wneir a'r canlyniadau;
- cytuno pwy sydd i wneuthur beth erbyn pa bryd a chael ganddo atebiad "Gwnaf, fe wnaf i hynny";
- crynhoi beth a wireddir ar ddiwedd y cyfarfod;
- cytuno amcan, dyddiad, amser a lle'r cyfarfod nesaf;

### c. Wedi'ch Cyfarfod:

- anfon cofnodion i'r sawl a fu yn y cyfarfod a'r rheiny fu'n absennol;
- tynnu sylw i'r sawl a enwyd i fod yn gyfrifol am waith a'r amserlen gwaith berthnasol yng nhgofnodiad pob penderfyniad;
- dangos yn eglur ddyddiad, amser a man cyfarfod y cyfarfod nesaf;
- arolygu'r gwaith wedyn;

### SUT MAE CEISIO GWNEUD CYFARFODYDD POBL ERAILL YN LLWYDDIANNUS

#### a. Cyn y Cyfarfod:

- ? Oes rhaid imi fynd iddo?
- darlenned yr agenda a'r taflenni;
- sicrhewch eich bod yn llawn ddeall pwrpas y cyfarfod;
- sylwch yn neilltuo pa eitemau sydd yn ymwneud yn uniongyrchol â chwi, oes

modd i chwi beidio presenoli'ch hunan ond am drafodion am y rhain yn unig?

- ystyriwch yr holl bethau fydd yn ymwneud â chwi sydd debycaf o gael eu codi;
- cynlluniwch eich cyfraniad i'r drafodaeth ymlaen llaw – nodiadau ar glawr a chadw'n *aide memoire*;
- ewch â phob gwybodaeth ddilys gyda chwi i'r cyfarfod;

### b. Yn ystod y Cyfarfod:

- ystyriwch yr holl bethau fydd yn ymwneud â chwi sydd debycaf o gael eu codi;
- cyrhaeddwch mewn pryd;
- peidiwch â bod ofn bod yn dawel gan wrando;
- siaradwch:
- er mwyn ateb galwad i siarad
- i geisio gwell dealltwriaeth
- pan fo gennych gyfraniad defnyddiol i'r drafodaeth;
- anogwch drafodaeth ddiwastraff er mwyn helpu'r Cadeirydd os bydd y mater yn llusgo ar ddisberod;
- nodwch y penderfyniadau a wneir a'r gweithgarwch posibl sydd eisiau ei wneud, yn enwedig gennych chwi;

### c. Wedi'r Cyfarfod:

- ystyriwch yr holl bethau fydd yn ymwneud â chwi sydd debycaf o gael eu codi;
- llawn-ddarllenwch y cofnodion
- rhowch sylw neilltuo i'r eitemau hynny sydd angen i chwi weithredu arnynt;
- gwnewch Gynllun Gwaith sy'n dangos:
- yr hyn ddylech ei wneud – **beth?**
- yr amserlen gwaith iddo – **erbyn pryd?**
- arolygwch eich gwaith yn erbyn y cynllun gwaith;

Gobeithiaf fod hyn uchod wedi bod yn ganllaw i'r dibrofiad, achos yn aml ganddynt hwy y ceir synnwyr cyffredin ar waith. Hynny a dyfalbarhad yw'r cwbl sydd ei angen bob amser.

John Griffith Jones  
Y Bala

### Summary:

*Meetings are a way of life for those of us engaged in the national struggles of the Celtic nations. The above outlines ways in which meetings can be made to function more efficiently by saving time, reducing the likelihood of boring participants to the extent that they are put off coming again and outlining a framework within which the subsequent action can be seen to be achieved.*





## Plaid Stays Static in State General Election

The calling of a general election in the British/English state, to re-elect the parliament in London, for June 7th, marked the end of the first Labour parliament after many years of Tory rule for which Wales never voted. In Wales's struggle to survive as a nation the effect of the four years of Labour rule has been very mixed, with the granting of our elected Assembly giving Wales some degree of self-determination and more national self-respect, on the positive side. On the other hand, the policies of Labour have caused a further increase in English immigration into Welsh Wales threatening more than ever to end Welsh as a community language with speakers becoming a Diaspora in their own country. Labour have rejected calls for allowing local authorities to control rights of residence/sale of property with the same ferocity (in terms of 'racism' and 'freedom of movement') as did the Tories from a different ideological approach ("Britain is one nation" etc.). Labour also broke their stated intention to introduce a new Welsh Language Act to give official status to Welsh and proper rights to Welsh speakers. The Welsh-speaking Labour members have merely served the role of apologists for the government's policies addressing the Welsh-language media.

We approached the 1997 general election with the priority of removing the Tories from office, with some nationalists tactically voting for the 'devolutionist' parties, Labour and the Lib. Dems., in

some marginal constituencies. But in 2001, with no real danger of the Tories returning to power and the three unionist parties having shown themselves to be totally hostile to the cause of Wales, there was no reason for nationalists to support any party other than Plaid Cymru who, for all the current compromising and

### Taro'n ôl dros Gymru!



*I. W. Jones, Plaid Cymru Leader*

### Fighting Back For Wales!

weakness of its leadership, was the only one putting forward some candidates who would continue the struggle.

The end of the parliament saw Dafydd Wigley, Plaid's longest serving MP, finally stepping down as MP for Caernarfon, in order to concentrate on representing the same seat in the Assembly. The former Plaid leader had been member for Caernarfon since the first 1974 election and has tirelessly campaigned for Wales.

**RapT**

## CYMRU ELECTION

### *The election result in brief*

Plaid Cymru took 14.2% of the vote in Wales, a good increase on the previous state election in 1997, but, as expected, less than their percentage in the 1999 Assembly election, moving up from 4th to 3rd place. Their vote increased in the English-speaking areas, especially the South, but declined slightly in rural Welsh-speaking Wales, reflecting the recent large inflow of English into these areas. Plaid held their seats in Meirionnydd Nant Conwy (Elfyn Llwyd), Ceredigion (Simon Thomas) and Caernarfon (Hywel Williams replacing Dafydd Wigley). Plaid's Adam Price gained Caerfyrddin/Carmarthen East & Dinefwr from Labour but Plaid lost Ynys Môn to Labour, so the number of MP's remains at four.

Overall, a slightly disappointing result, and the strategy of leader I.W.Jones will need to be questioned.

## ASSEMBLY HOSTILITY TO LANGUAGE

A survey has found that only 1% of the staff working at the National Assembly, excluding translators, can speak Welsh. This surprisingly low figure is difficult to explain by the location of the Assembly in an anglicised area (about 8% speak Welsh in Cardiff) or any other factor, but it is consistent with the hostility to the language known to exist among the managers in some departments. The degradation of the language on signs inside the Assembly building, where the Welsh is not only under the English but is in italics and more difficult to read, has been carried out without any democratically mandated instruction. Given the current fashion of labelling steps taken to safeguard or promote Welsh as 'racist', it may be asked whether there is a covert policy of 'positive discrimination' in favour of those whose application forms state that they do not know Welsh (there is a language question on the form) in recruitment. In the two years following the referendum in 1997 there was an explosion of adults wanting to learn Welsh in Cardiff, in anticipation of an elevated status for the language and for the increased chance of gaining employment in the Assembly it might offer. It has been noticed that this demand for Welsh courses has dropped noticeably, and it is reasonable to connect this to the emerging unWelshness of the Assembly.

## MARY CROFTON

**1919-2001**

It is with great sadness we report the death of Mary Crofton, a long-standing member of the Troops Out Movement, and a founder member of Mudiad Milwyr Ma's Cymru. Mary, a Socialist and Republican had wide humanitarian and international sympathies. Her indefatigable work for peace and justice in a united Ireland is well known. In Wales we owe her much for her support for our national movements and her example of tenacity and courage.

Mary! Ddynes mwyn, dewr ei bron! May our dedication and work be worthy of your memory.

**Pedr Lewis**



## BANKS CAMPAIGN CONTINUES

The series of rallies throughout Wales to draw attention to the deficiencies of the language policies of financial institutions, organised by Cymdeithas yr Iaith as part of the campaign for a New Language Act, concluded with rallies in Abertawe/Swansea and Bangor in April. The rally in Abertawe targeted three banks/building societies with defective language policies – the Principality (patchy), the Halifax (superficial) and the Woolwich (hostile – no Welsh at all in the branch visited). English-only literature was removed from the branches visited, to be used as evidence for the need for a New Language Act in an event later this year, and the windows of the Woolwich were covered with posters and stickers. The rally in Bangor targeted the HSBC bank. HSBC, formerly known as the Midland, is acknowledged to be the bank that makes the widest use of Welsh in its services and targeting it seemed to surprise the media. However it is only the best of a bad bunch. HSBC is far from able to provide a complete service in Welsh. Significantly, like all other banks, its Internet banking facility is in English only. Further, HSBC have recently introduced a new policy of putting the English above the Welsh on bilingual signs and posters. This misguided policy means that the message, in effect, is given to everyone in English because this is read first. With Welsh first, those who understand Welsh are given the message in Welsh, while those who do not can read the translation. A recommendation on the correct sequence of the languages is one of the many demands which need to be included in the New Language Act, which is the only way a proper Welsh service can be made available from commercial organisations.

Robat ap Tomos

## Trefechan 40th anniversary approaches

Ceredigion County Council has agreed to put a plaque on Trefechan Bridge in Aberystwyth on February 2nd 2002 to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the first protest held by Cymdeithas yr Iaith in 1962 when the newly-formed organisation blocked the traffic on the bridge. This marked the start of their long campaign to restore Welsh, which has transformed the position of Welsh in Wales over the last 40 years. Cymdeithas will be organising further events on the day.

# Éire SKOAZELL BREIZH

Cuireadh tús le Skoazell Breizh sa bhliain 1969, tar éis do stát na Fraince mórchuid daoine a ghabháil ar fud na Briotáine. Tharla an mhórghabháil seo tar éis don FLB (Comhar Fuascailte na Briotáine) éirí gníomhach agus bearta éagsúla a dhéanamh. De bharr na ngabhálacha, bunaíodh eagraíocht nua chun teacht i gcabhair ar na daoine a gabhadh. Thug an eagraíocht nua faoi roinnt mhaith imeachtaí chun cuidiú leis na príosúnaigh pholaitiúla seo agus cuireadh airgead ar fáil chun cabhrú leo díol as na costais dlí a cuireadh orthu chun iad féin a chosaint.

Bhí an eagraíocht nua gníomhach i gcúig roinn na Briotáine - Cote d'Armor, Finistère, Ille et Villaine, Loire-Atlantique agus Morbihan - agus mheall sí tacaíocht chuici féin go forleathan. Coiste Tacaíochta na mBriotanach Polaitiúla Daortha a bhí mar theideal ar an eagraíocht i dtosach. Ansin tugadh Coiste Tacaíochta Theaghlaigh na bPríosúnach Polaitiúil Briotanach uirthi agus ansin Skoazell Breizh (Cabhair na Briotáine). Bhí an eagraíocht dírithe go háirithe ar dhaoine a raibh cásanna á dtógaint ina n-aghaidh os comhair na Cúirte Sábháilteachta Stáit.

Níor mheas na daoine cróga a chuir tús leis an eagraíocht nua seo go mbeadh sí fós gníomhach tríocha bliain ina dhiaidh sin. Ach sin é díreach mar a thit sé amach. Tá Skoazell Breizh tar éis lámh thábhachtach chúnta a thabhairt do Bhriotánaigh a raibh agus a bhfuil cothrom na Féinne á lorg acu. Ar na daoine gur cuidíodh leo ó shin, bhí stocairí neamhspleáchais an FLB-ARBS, an ARB (Arm Réabhlóideach na Briotáine), lucht cosanta na Briotáinise, feachtasóirí na gcomharthaí bóithre Briotáinise, daoine a thug dídean do theifigh Bhascacha, srl.

Is é ról bunúsach Skoazell Breizh ná cúnamh a thabhairt do dhlíodóirí cosanta chun a gcuid oibre a dhéanamh, síntiús a chur gach mí chuig príosúnaigh, agus cabhair a thabhairt do theaghlaigh daoine atá i bpríosún nó atá á gcúiseamh. Tugtar cabhair, idir shíceolaíoch agus airgeadais, do na príosúnaigh agus do na teaghlaigh. Is tacaíocht thábhachtach í seo, tráth a bhfuil na cimir agus a dteaghlach faoi bhrú mór. Tá feachtais éagsúla ar siúl ag Skoazell Breizh faoi láthair - achainithe sínithe, bearta dírithe ar na meáin chumarsáide, feachtais feasachta - chun go mbogfar na príosúnaigh thar n-ais chun na Briotáine.

Tá seacht bpríosúnach polaitiúil ann faoi láthair (agus sé dhuine dhéag á gceistiú) agus iad go léir i gcarcair i gceantar Phárais. Is faoi choimeád sealadach atáid. Tá curtha i leith an tseachtair gur leagadar pléascáin. Ní aithníonn daoine a chúisítear sna cúirteanna stáit seo ceart stát na Fraince iad a chur ar a dtíriail in aon chor agus dar leo gur príosúnaigh pholaitiúla iad. Éilíonn siad go léir go saorfar iad nó, ar a laghad, go gcuirfear thar n-ais i bpríosún ina dtír féin iad chun gur fusa dá dteaghlach cuairt a thabhairt orthu.

Is faoi alt 14 de dhlí frithsceimhlitheoireachta na mbreithiúna atá na daoine seo go léir á ngabháil agus tá póilíní speisialta polaitiúla ann a dhíríonn ar na cásanna seo. Tá cumhachtaí móra ag na daoine sin chun a gcuid fiosrúcháin a reachtáil agus, le dhá bhliain anuas, gabhadh céad caoga duine faoin dlí antoiseach seo.

Aithníonn na meáin chumarsáide sa Bhriotáin agus sa Fhrainc Skoazell Breizh mar sciath cosanta na bpríosúnach polaitiúil. Is eol do chách gur dream iad a sheasaíonn leis na príosúnaigh agus a dteaghlach in am an ghatair. Tá Skoazell Breizh bródúil as an obair atá déanta acu le tríocha bliain anuas agus tá sé i gceist acu leanúint ar aghaidh an fhad is gá.

Am tábhachtach é seo i stair na Briotáine. Mar a léiríonn an t-alt faoi Diwan ar an eagrán seo de CARN, tá lucht na teanga ag eagrú leo i réimsí go leor agus an fheasacht teangan agus náisiúin ag forbairt i réimsí nach raibh borradh iontu le fada an lá. Is i réimse na gceart daonna atá an cath sa Bhriotáin le buachan anois. Cearta daoine a aithníonn na náisiúntacht Bhriotánach, cearta daoine a labhrann Briotáinis, cearta daoine a roghnaíonn an Bhriotáinis mar theanga teaghlaigh, cearta daoine ar mian leo go múinfi stair agus cultúr a dtíre féin dá leanaí. Tá obair chiúin thiomanta Skoazell Breizh ag cosaint cearta an dreama is leochailí díobhsan - daoine atá i gcarcair ag an stát.

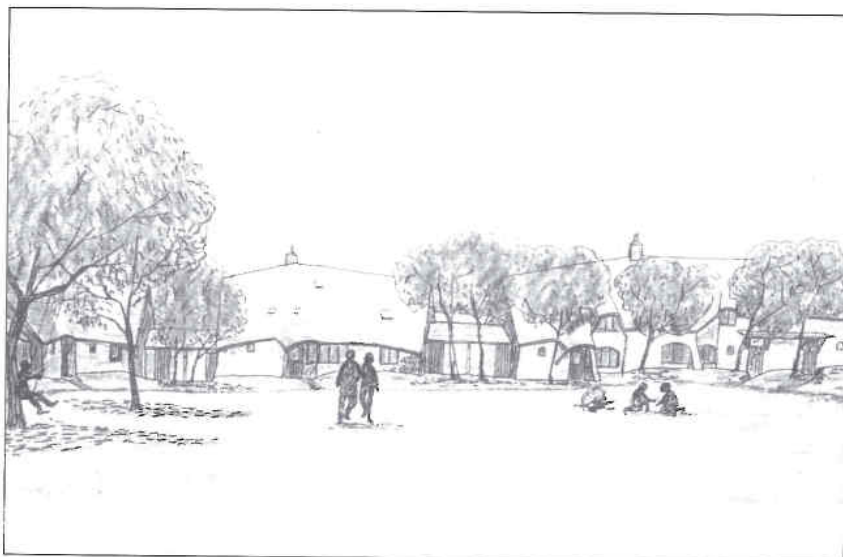
Micheál Mac Raghnaill.

### Summary

*This article outlines the history and work of Skoazell Breizh, (Breton Help) who support Breton Political Prisoners and their families. It might also be of interest to note their Inter-Celtic dimension, they sent aid to the North of Ireland in 1969 after the burning out of Bombay Street in Belfast by Loyalists.*



# GAELTACHT GHLAS NA MÍ



An í an Ghaeilge príomhtheanga an teaghlaigh agatsa? An spéis leat cónaí i sráidbhaile nua lánGhaeilge i mBaile Ghib i gContae na Mí agus an sráidbhaile a fhorbairt?

Tá sé ar intinn againn modhshráidbhaile a fhorbairt ar shuíomh i bpáirc ghlas i mBaile Ghib. Ar an láthair beidh tithe, árasáin, naíonlann, náiscoil, teach tábhairne agus siopaí. Tá súil againn, leis, ionad fiontar, áiteanna imeartha s scithe a fhorbairt chomh maith le bia orgánach a sholáthar.

Tá an suíomh gar do bhunscoil lánGhaeilge agus beidh seirbhís bus ar fáil go dtí meánscoil lánGhaeilge. Tá eaglais Chaitliceach agus eaglais de chuid Eaglais na hÉireann in aice láimhe.

Glacfar le prionsabail leagain amach foirgnimh atá báúil leis an timpeallacht. Tá sé daidhm leis an tionscadal seo freisin spiorad pobail a chothú agus a chur chun cinn.

Cúigear / cúig theaghlach atá á lorg againn a bheidh ina bpobal bunaidh chun an sráidbhaile a fhorbairt.

Má tá spéis agatsa ann, cuir glaoch ar Thomás ag 086-8111521 idir 5.30i.n. agus 9.30 i.n.

*A call to Irish speakers to join in founding a new Gaeltacht in Gibbstown, Co. Meath.*

## LANGUAGE NEWS

- ❑ A new bilingual café, Lárionad Caife, (Central Café) opened in Cork in May. It is reported to be doing well with a high level of Irish usage by customers.
- ❑ The new cross border Irish Language body, Foras na Gaeilge, confirmed funding of €4.5 m to a range of Irish language organisations and projects. Amongst those were Gael Linn (£511,000 and £40,000 projects), Comhadháil Násúnta na Gaeilge (£465,000) and An Comhchiste Réamscolaíochta (Pre-school) (£625,000).
- ❑ Gealscoileanna received a grant this year from the Foras of £250,000 about double their previous year's allocation. This means that the organisation can employ more organisers to promote the growth of Gealscoileanna and to consolidate the development of Irish Language communities around these schools in some regions of the country.
- ❑ BEO (Live) on the Internet Oideas Gael launched its new Irish Language Internet magazine in May. They sent word of the launch to 20,000 e-mail addresses accumulated by the organisation over the years. The magazine has contributors from professional journalists and writers on current affairs, politics and the arts. The first edition was well received. View it at: [www.beo.ie](http://www.beo.ie)
- ❑ The long-awaited establishment (under Section 31 of the Education Act 1998) of the support structure for Irish medium education (Comhlacht um Oideacha Gaeilge) took place in May. It is charged with planning and co-ordination of the provision of textbooks and other teaching aids for teaching through Irish and the same range for the teaching of Irish as a subject. It also has the responsibility to advise the Minister on the promotion of Irish medium education, education in Gaeltacht schools and to provide support services for such. Breandán Mac Cormaic of Gaelscoileanna who promoted the idea for such a body over many years was appointed Chairman. The body will be composed of ministerial appointments and elected representatives of parents, teachers unions and management boards.
- ❑ Insulting signage has appeared in recent years in many towns around the country. These street signs, ostensibly bilingual, look like anti Irish bureaucrats' revenge on the language. The Irish language version, beneath the English, is insulting to say the least, being about a quarter of the size of the English version and absolutely illegible without a ladder or telescope! The latest place where this has occurred is Ballinasloe, Co. Galway where town councillors have complained.
- ❑ A document published by Gael-Linn, "A Policy for the Gaeltacht Today" proposes the establishment of two new bodies: a Gaeltacht Arts Institute and a Gaeltacht Planning Authority. The Arts Institute would work with schools and youth bodies to provide increased access for young people to the culture of the Gaeltacht. It would also stimulate areas such as education, summer schools, grant schemes for Gaeltacht households and employment. The Planning Authority would monitor and assess development plans by local authorities within Gaeltacht regions. It would also scrutinise the effect on the Irish language of planning and development decisions and ensure the use of Irish on public notices and signs.



# Major Victory in Nice Referendum Campaign – Respect the NO Decision!

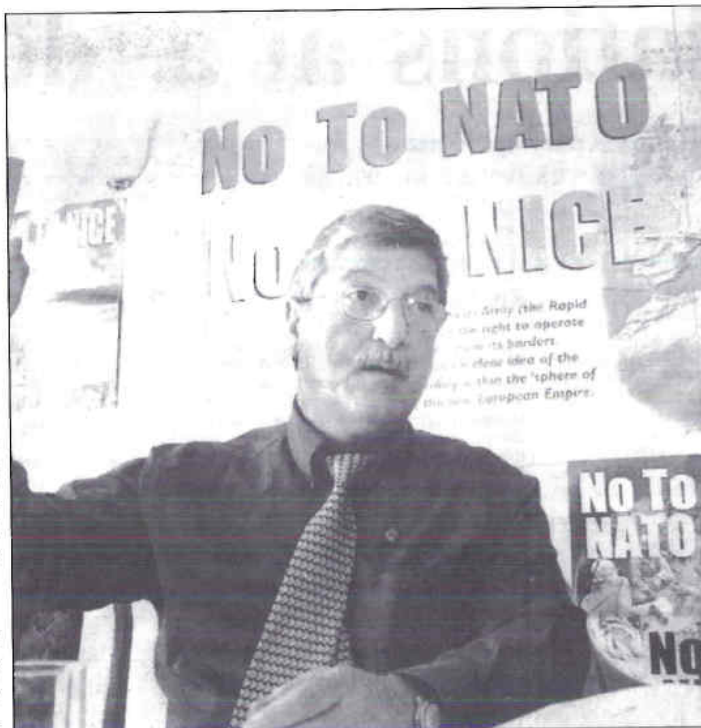
The proposal to amend the Irish Constitution to allow ratification by Ireland of the Nice Treaty was defeated in the 7th June poll by a substantial 54% to 46% (with a turnout of 35 %).

All the major political parties, the trade union congress (with one honourable exception, the ATGWU), farming and business bodies, the media all advocated A Yes vote, the Catholic Church even weighted in towards the end.

A broad coalition opposed it ranging from the Green Party, Peace and Neutrality Alliance, Sinn Féin, Republican Sinn Féin, Anthony Coughlan's National Platform, Afri, and Celtic League to pro life groups. The principle reasons for opposition were that Nice is not primarily about EU enlargement (which can in any case continue under the provisions of the Amsterdam Treaty) it is about dividing Europe, shifting voting power to the Big States in making EU laws, centralising more decisions in Brussels, and militarising the EU.

□ Nice is about shifting power in the EU from the Small States to the Big States. Nice divides Europe into first-class and second-class Members, breaking up the EU partnership of equals. It provides the necessary legal path to making possible German Chancellor Schröder's plan to turn the EU Commission into a European Government, with harmonised company taxes - an end to the basis of the 'Celtic Tiger' economy - and a Constitution that would give the EU the final say on our human rights. Nice is about abolishing the national veto in 30 areas and centralising more power in Brussels. It trebles the votes of the Big States in making EU laws, while only doubling the votes of the Small States. This happens automatically in January 2005, even if not a single new Member has joined the EU by then. This means less democracy. If a Member State is opposed to an EU law, even if its people, Parliament, Government and Minister on the EU Council are against it, it still becomes law.

□ The EU Parliament does not initiate EU laws. It is the EU Commission which proposes new EU laws, and the Council of Ministers which makes them, mostly by weighted majority voting. Nice abolishes the national veto in 30 new areas, including the appointment of EU Commissioners and the Commission President, EU Structural



*Roger Cole, Chairman of the Peace and Neutrality Alliance, at a press conference during the Referendum campaign*

Funds, some areas of foreign policy and trade, the funding of EU political parties, the rules of the EU Budget, the salaries and employment conditions of MEPs - although not the taxes on their pay! This reduces our national democracy further, giving more power to unaccountable civil servants and politicians in Brussels

□ Nice would change the way that the President of the EU Commission and the Commissioners are chosen. At present individual Commissioners are proposed by each country, keeping a vital national link to the Commission. They then have to be approved by the EU countries unanimously. Nice replaces this with majority voting for both President and Commissioners. That means that a national Prime Minister

can no longer ensure that his or her preferred nominee is appointed an EU Commissioner. Nice also allows the Commission President to shuffle his Commissioners like a Prime Minister does his Cabinet. When member states reach 27 the smaller countries only have a rotating nomination for Commissioner.

□ With Nice, the EU takes over the military structures of the Western European Union (WEU) military alliance, a subgroup of NATO, and assumes direct military functions itself. Nice inserts a ready-made military structure into the treaties for the first time. The Political Committee becomes the Political and Security Committee, and is given political control of EU military operations. There are no provisions for involving national parliaments or even the Euro-Parliament in their control. Nice declares the EU's speedy militarisation to be a Union objective. The seven annexes to the Presidency report referred to in the Treaty, detail the permanent military and security structures envisaged from now on. Nice does not lay down that the military activity of the Rapid Reaction Force must have a UN mandate. In negotiating Nice the Irish Government did not obtain a special Protocol to preserve our independence in foreign and security policy, which is the basis for Irish neutrality.

The result was a major upset for the Irish political establishment who were less than gracious in defeat. Their first target was the Referendum Commission who were accused of being too impartial in giving arguments For and Against. Surely there can only be one really valid 70% argument (Yes, of course)!

However they rallied quickly. Contrary to normal treaty law where rejection of ratification should lead to the proposal falling or renegotiation. EU leaders confirmed there would be no such approach - Nice would stand. The other countries would proceed with the ratification process in their parliaments (none would dare hold a referendum of course as they know they would not achieve support). Ireland would be told to vote again on the same Nice Treaty Provisions when all others had ratified.

Government tactics, having opted for no debate and failed to push NICE through, is now to set up a Forum (similar to the New Ireland Forum) to debate the future of Europe and Nice extensively. Of course





this will be comprised and administered by the same partnership of the yes lobby but we are told the No campaigners will get a hearing. They may in the meantime get some concession on the militarisation issue (which would only be a promise of inclusion in some future Treaty), and will in any case it seems attempt to present the same NICE Treaty in another Referendum towards the end of next year.

The Irish rejection of Nice was a blow in support of democracy in the EU, for present stateless nations within it and for any future entrants. The decision of the Irish people should be respected, Nice scrapped, a proper debate on the type of Europe its population wants initiated and proposals, which respect democracy and safeguards the position of the smaller nations developed.

C. Ó Luain

## Irish Language Supreme Court Victory

A case pursued by a Tallaght (Co. Dublin) Irish speaker, Séamus Ó Beoláin led to a very significant victory in the final judgement in the Supreme Court in April. The Court ruled that there is a Constitutional obligation on the State to provide Irish language versions of every Act of the Oireachtas at the time the President signs Bills in the law.

The judgement lays down how the provision of Article 25.4.4 of the Constitution is to be implemented in relation to Bills. It furthermore stated that the State has a legal obligation to provide the Regulations of the District Court in Irish.

The case began in September 1997, when Séamus Ó Beoláin was charged in Dublin District Court under the drink driving laws. He requested that the Acts pertaining to his case (Road Traffic Acts 1994 and 19995 and the Regulations of the District Court 1996) be available to him in Irish. However, no translations were available and the District Court ruled against Ó Beoláin and he appealed the case to the High Court. In the High Court the judge ruled that while the State had an obligation to provide Irish translations of Bills it was understood this be done in 'a reasonable period'. This interpretation was fur-

ther challenged leading to the Supreme Court hearing. In their judgement (2:1) the Supreme Court castigated the State for long delays in providing Irish versions of the Bills since 1980 and their lack of provision of adequate resources for this. They further indicated that they believed without Ó Beoláin's case these Acts might never have been translated.

Irish Language organisations welcomed this 'historic judgement' and said it confirmed the position of the Irish language as the first official language of the State and met the demands of the Irish Language community that laws be published in Irish at the same time as in English. They must now ensure that resources are provided

for this – it is understood that some improvement has already taken place in this regard.

Séamus Ó Beoláin is to be congratulated for pursuing his case.

### Irish Language Resurgence - In England!

The strong support for the Irish language in Britain is continuing according to a recent report in the newspaper for the Irish in Britain, The Irish Post. The paper reports on a recent Irish language course held at the village of Hope in the Cotswolds and attended by 80 Irish speakers. The three-day course included language lectures, music and also outdoor activities such as scenic walks.

Hope village, the paper reports, is steeped in Celtic traditions and boasts ancient carvings and church statues that mimic the style of the Celts. Later in the year Conradh na Gaeilge are organising other language events at venues in Essex and Shropshire. No doubt the stimulus for this is the strong Irish expatriate community in Britain but it also indicates a general reawakening of interest in the Celtic languages and culture. The Derbyshire event received good media coverage and obviously impressed those who attended, one of whom is quoted as being "amazed by the interest". There are obvious pointers here for those actively promoting all the Celtic languages.



Séamus Ó Beoláin



# Sinn Féin Gains in Westminster and Local Elections

Prior to the June 7th Westminster elections Sinn Féin held two of the North's eighteen Westminster seats. They doubled their representation in the recent election and now have four. First newcomer declared was Pat

South Tyrone where Michelle Gildernew (an assembly member for the area since 1998) was elected by the slim margin of 53 votes in a poll of 51,974 over the UUP James Cooper (a result which the Ulster Unionist Party



*New Sinn Féin MPs, Pat Doherty and Michelle Gildernew.*

Doherty (Sinn Féin Chairman) in West Tyrone. This seat, with a nationalist majority was won by a Unionist, Thompson, UUP, in the last election due to a split nationalist vote. This time the SDLP fielded Brid Rodgers, the Northern Assembly Agricultural Minister, who was roundly beaten by 6,000 votes.

The other Sinn Féin gain was in Fermanagh

claimed at the time they would challenge legally). Ms. Gildernew's grandmother and pregnant mother were amongst a group who occupied a house in Caledon, Co. Tyrone in 1968 in a protest at its allocation to a single Protestant woman over homeless Catholic families. This incident was one of the key points in the development of the Northern

Ireland Civil Right's Association, which highlighted discrimination in housing.

She is the first woman MP in the North for 32 years, since Ms. Bernadette Devlin (now McAliskey). She is the first Sinn Féin MP since Countess Markiewicz in 1918 and Sinn Féin pointed out that she has emulated hunger striker Bobby Sands by winning Fermanagh –South Tyrone 20 years after his victory.

In the Local elections in the North held on June 11th Sinn Féin also made significant gains. It increased its number of local representatives from 74 to 108, rising above the hundred seats for the first time. The SDLP dropped slightly from 120 to 117. On the Unionist side, as in the Westminster election, major gains were made by Ian Paisley's DUP (from 91 to 131). The UUP came down from 185 to 154).

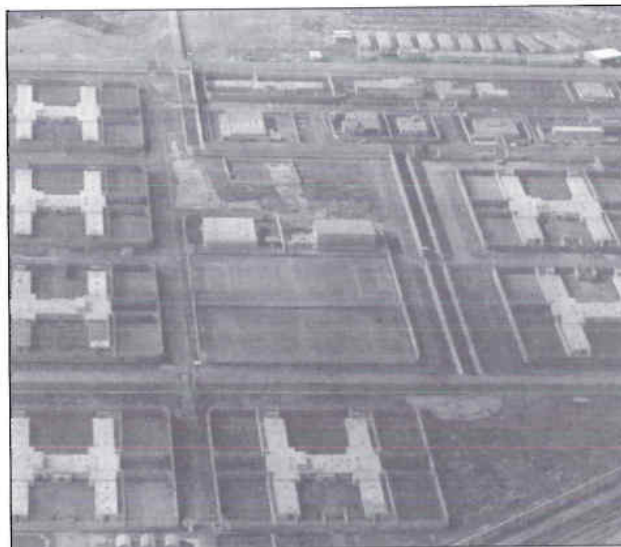
Sinn Féin is now the largest party on the Belfast City Council. It aims to provide the first Sinn Féin Mayor of Belfast but need SDLP and Alliance Party support for this. In Derry the SDLP held their 14 seats but Sinn Féin increased to 10, a gain of 2. Most of Sinn Féin's other gains were west of the Bann. Features of Sinn Féin's gains were its party electoral machine and its gaining of support amongst new younger voters.

With the elections over attention has focussed again on David Trimble's promise to resign if IRA decommissioning has not commenced by July and the difficulties his party's performance poses for him. However, nothing will happen on decommissioning unless the policing and demilitarisation issues are resolved.

## H BLOCK HUNGER STRIKERS REMEMBERED

The twentieth anniversary of the death of the ten H block hunger strikers, **Bobby Sands, MP, Francis Hughes, Raymond McCreesh, Patsy O'Hara, Joe McDonnell, Martin Hurson, Kevin Lynch, Kieran Doherty, TD, Tom McElwee and Michael Devine**

was commemorated by a whole series of events in the Republic and the North. Meetings, murals, talks, songs, accounts from relatives, commemorations, drama and poetry in many places honoured the men whose sacrifice changed the course of the struggle in the North and brought their memory to another generation.



*Aerial view of the infamous H Block Cells.*

## HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATED

In early May the European Court of Human Rights ruled that 11 people killed by the British Army, the RUC and loyalists had their human rights violated. The Court ordered the British government to pay £10,000 compensation to the relatives of each of the victims. The cases involved nine men shot dead in the Loughall ambush by the SAS in 1987, two unarmed men shot dead by the RUC and a Sinn Féin activist shot dead by loyalist paramilitaries. The finding hinged on the failure to conduct proper investigations into the deaths.





# Kernow



## TOWLENN AN BIBEL KERNEWEK

An Bibel veu treyllys dhe bub yeth Keltek y'n termyn eus passyes. Nyns esa saw Kernewek na'n jeva y dreylyans y honan a'n Bibel. Anfeus meur o henna rag an yeth; mar pe gwrys martesen ny varwsa an yeth. Y kevir, heb dowt, trelyansow a dhevynew a'n Bibel a'n 17ves kansblydhen, mes soweth pur verr yns ! Henry Jenner a dreylyas ynwedh devynnow berr dhe Gernewek. "Mark 1-4" a veu skrifys y'n gis Kernewek Diwedhes, mes "Yowann 5.1-14" a veu assay a-varr gans Jenner dhe skrifa y'n gis Kernewek Kres, hag ogas dhe Gernewek Unys. Ray Edwards a dreylyas ynwedh 12 lyver a'n Testament Nowydh dyllys yn 1984.

Y feu ervirys yn 1997, dell hevel, trelya oll lyvrow an Testament Nowydh dhe Gernewek Kemmyn hag Unys erbynn an vlydhen 2004, aswonys gans meur a dus avel kansves penn-bloedh dasserghyans an yeth Kernewek, mar kemmerir dyllans Dornlyver Jenner dyllys yn 1904 ha henwys "Handbook of the Cornish Language" avel an dalleth.

Yma 14 den owth oberi war an dowlenn ma. Gwynn agan bys, Kernewegoryon, yma Keith Syed owth hembronk an para ma. Obereth skolheygieth yw ha kales dres eghenn. Keith Syed yw gradhesik yn Greka hag Ebrew. Yma kaletterow pals, yntredha ha martesen an gwettha oll yw fowt geryow yn Kernewek rag an geryow Biblek arben- nik, nag esa edhommm anedha kyns y'n yeth dasvywys. Res yw dismygi kansow a eryow nowydh po styryow nowydh dhe eryow koth. Niver a eryow re beu dismygys, ow keheveli an geryow orth an geryow y'n yethow Keltek arall, dres oll Kembrek ha Bretonek, hag yn fordhow erell.

An dowlenn yw resys yn-dann skoës Kesva an Taves Kernewek ha Konsel Ekumenek Epskop Truru rag Devosow y'n Yeth Kernewek. A-dhia mis Genver 2001, yma dhe Brojekt an Bibel Kernewek y wias- va y honan :

<http://www.bibel.kernewek.btinternet.co.uk>

Mars usi genowgh an kesroesweyth, dewgh dh'y weles mar pleg. Ynni, hwi a yll gweles rol a lyvrow re beu dyllys, ha'n re yn- dann bareusyans ha fatell yllir prena an lyvrow. Yma trigva e-bost an Projekt y'n wiasva ynwedh. Gans an dowlenn ma, y's tevydh an yeth Kernewek hy Bibel hy honan ynwedh avel an yethow Keltek arall !

### Summary :

*The Bible has been translated into all the Celtic languages except Cornish, though some short extracts had already been translated from the 17th century onwards. A translation of the Bible into the vernacular could have saved the language. It was decided in 1997 to translate the whole New Testament into Kernewek Kemmyn and Unys to be available in 2004 for the centenary of the Revival of the Cornish Language, which is said to have begun in 1904 with the publication of Henry Jenner's book "Handbook of the Cornish Language". The Project is lead by Keith Syed a graduate in Greek and Hebrew. It is obviously a hard task as many Cornish words are lacking, but new words have been proposed on the basis of Breton and Welsh cognates, etc... The project has now its own website from January 2001 where we can even buy books.*

José CALVETE

## CORNISH LANGUAGE EXCLUSION WILL BE SCRUTINISED

The Council of Europe has agreed to consider concerns expressed by the Celtic League over the failure of the United Kingdom to include the Cornish language when it ratified the European Charter for Minority languages.

The Celtic League had said that the position of the British government in respect of the Cornish language and the treaty was "totally unacceptable".

In a reply from the Directorate of Co-operation for Local and Regional Democracy the Director Phillip Blair said:

*'The Secretary General has asked me to acknowledge receipt of your letter, dated 8 April 2001, concerning the fact that the Cornish language has not been recognised in the United Kingdom's instrument of ratification of the European charter for regional and Minority Languages.*

*As you may know, the Charter has its own monitoring mechanism, consisting of an independent Committee of Experts. This Committee is responsible for monitoring the application of the Charter in each Party to the treaty and reporting to the Council of Ministers.*

*The initial periodical report of the United Kingdom will be due on 1 July 2002. At that time the Committee of Experts will initiate its monitoring procedure for the United Kingdom. As the Committee also receives and examines comments or information submitted by organisations legally established within a State Party, I will make sure that your letter is brought to its attention.'*

## CORNISH SPY STATION STEALS EU SECRETS

There is an element of déjà vu about the revelations likely to unfold about the United States using British listening stations to snoop on pan European Commercial data.

In 1999 it was revealed that the British government had for years scrutinised data passing via Britain and Ireland and in fact built specialised facilities in the north-west of England to tap into the commercial communications system. When the news came out it was confirmed that the facility was no longer used and had become redundant.

The reason for the redundancy became apparent when the strange goings on at Morwenstow near Bude in Cornwall were revealed in the media. Locals in the area have apparently been aware for some

## BUREAU SUPPORT FOR STATUS OF CORNISH

The European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages (EBLUL) is to step up pressure on the British government to include the Cornish language as part of its ratification of the Charter for Regional and Minority Languages

At its meeting in Bolzano on 4/5 May the Council of the EBLUL agreed the following motion:

- welcomes the recent announcement by the UK Government to ratify the European Charter for Regional or Minority languages;

- notes the absence of any reference in the Charter to the Cornish language, pending a consultation exercise being undertaken within the Government Departments;

- urges the UK Government to undertake a speedy conclusion on the current consultation process and to indicate the expected time scale for according the Cornish language status within the Charter."

The motion will be submitted to the British Government - DETR and the Foreign and Commonwealth Office Ministers.

*The EBLUL action follows action already taken by the Celtic League.*



time of one of the worst-kept secrets of British Intelligence, i.e. that the Frankenstein's Laboratory of satellite dishes and aerials is part of the United Kingdom Government Communications Headquarters (GCHQ) network, which has its main facility at Cheltenham. What is less well known is that apparently the United States National Security Agency shares the snooping base at Morwenstow. This is part of a global network of facilities, code-named Echelon, which spies on commercial communications to give businesses a competitive advantage. The Echelon snoop's club is said to include the US, U.K., Canada, Australia and New Zealand and as one of its main targets are the States of the European Union the revelations are certain to cause outrage amongst Britains' EU partners. The European Parliament is already concerned at US commercial espionage and there are major multi-million pound contracts said to have been compromised by Echelon.

Meanwhile, the Irish government, still smarting over the revelations that for two decades the United Kingdom illegally tapped their phones, now know why the tap stopped. The spies simply moved to cyberspace!

Bernard Moffatt

## CORNISH NATIONALIST RESULTS

Mebyon Kernow (MK) - *The Cornish Nationalist Party* - flew the flag for Nationalism by fielding several candidates in the Westminster election. All polled well, but came nowhere near unsettling the stitch-up of Cornish/Westminster politics by the three main English parties. The real future for the Cornish Nationalist political movement lies in obtaining the same sort of devolved status as exists in Scotland and Wales. Unfortunately at the present time there appears to be a drift towards a more Regionalist approach.

Whilst this may create some short-term gains by encouraging decentralisation it is only via a distinct devolved Cornish Assembly that National identity can be asserted fully and a determined organisation like MK realise its true potential.

The three Westminster contenders were: South-East Cornwall: Ken George who gained 1,209 votes / Truro and St. Austell: Conan Jenkin who gained 1,137 votes / Falmouth - Camborne: Hilda Wasley gained 853 votes



## CROO SHENNAGHYS

Va'n chied lioar (Lioar Queig!) ayns strane dy wheig lioar yn mychione shennaghys Vannin er ny chur magh er y gherid, currit ayns clou liorish Ollooscoill Lerpoyll. Ta'n lioar shoh enmyssit 'Y Lhing Jeianagh, 1830 gys 1999'. Ta laue vooar ec Laare Studeyrys Manninagh syn obbyr. Ga dy vel y Laare dy h-oikol fo smaght tree mainshtyryn (Rheynn Ynsee Vannin, Eiraght Ashoonagh Vannin as Ollooscoill Lerpoyll), she Ollooscoill Lerpoyll ta jeeaghyn dy ve stiurey yn Laare. Shoh obbyr scanshoil ta er ny ghoaill ayns laue ayns shoh - studeyrys mooar jeh shennaghys Vannin as eh cur onnor da obbyr A W Moore son cur magh e lioar-shennaghys mysh keead blein er dy henney. Neayr's va daa lioar Moore currit magh, ta lioar-shennaghys Kinvig er ve feer scanshoil, agh nish ta lioar yn Moore as Kinvig slane ass daayt. Ta shin ayns feme jeh lioar shennaghys noa - as shen ny ta goll er croo nish.

Tra t'ou screeu ayns Gaelg, ta 'shennaghys noa' sheaney ny smoo myr dy beagh oo croo shennaghys na t'eh sheaney my t'ou screeu ayns Baarle, er aght ennagh. Ayns Baarle, she lioar ta 'a new history' cheet er. Ayns Gaelg, bare dhyt screeu 'lioar-shennaghys noa'. As, dy jarroo, adsyn ta screeu lioar shennaghys, t'ad croo shennaghys noa, ga nagh vel ad (kinjagh) laccal jannoo shen. Cha nod slane obbiaghtoilaght (objectivity) ve ayn.

Jeeagh er y chaggey mooar eddyr fir-shennaghys mychione Deherree ny h-Ewnyn. Goll erash dys y chied lioar jeh'n studeyrys mooar mychione Mannin, she lioar feer vie t'ayn, ta 469 duillagyn er lhiurid. Ghow Manninee dy lioar ayns screeu ee, marish sleih elley as enney mie oc er Mannin. Agh cha noddym geddyn rey rish imnea ennagh mychione y lioar. She yn Olloo John Belchem jeh Ollooscoill Lerpoyll screeu meer vooar jeh'n lioar-shennaghys shoh, erskyn ooliley yn veer mychione yn aght haink yn 'eash jeianagh' gys Mannin. Ta John Belchem screeu dy mie as gyn ourys she fer-shennaghys erbaghtal t'ayn. Agh cha nel eh ny Vanninagh. T'eh screeu boayl ennagh sy lioar noa mychione sleih cheet gys Mannin 'veih'n twoaie'. Vel eh cheet er sleih veih Loghlin, t'ou gindys. Cha nel - ta shoh mychione sleih cheet veih twoaie Hostyn. Ayns buill elley sy lioar, t'eh ry akin dy vel aigney yn Olloo Belchem (as aigney fer-

screeu ny ghaa elley sy lioar) soiet ayns Sostyn. Foddee nagh vodmayd jerkal rish red erbee elley. Tra va A W Moore ayn, oddagh ancheirdee (amateyrin) aghtal jannoo ram reddyn liorish graih. Nish, mannagh vel oo ayns y voayl kiart ec y tra kiart lesh ny qualleeaghtyn kiart, jarrood eh. Veagh shin feer aighoil ny laghyn t'ayn jiu dy 'eddyn oayllee-shennaghys Manninagh lesh eaghtyras dy lioar dy chur blass Manninagh da lioar-shennaghys mychione Mannin syn aght cheddin as ta jeant ec John Belchem as eh cur e vlass hene da'n lioar noa shoh. S'cooin lhiam dy dug yn olloo shoh leaght mychione yn jarroo-enney (identity) Manninagh ayns Thie Tashtee Vannin blein ny ghaa er dy henney. Ta mee toiggal nish dy row y stoo va ry chlashtyn sy leaght y stoo cheddin as t'ayn y lioar noa ta screut ec yn olloo.

Ta ram jeh mychione yn aght ren A W Moore as 'ashooneyryn cultooril' elley croo jarroo-enney Manninagh, myr ta John Belchem fakin ny cooishyn shoh. Strooys hene dy row jarroo-enney Manninagh ayn keeadyn dy vleeantyn roish my row Moore as e chumraagyn ayn, agh ta mee toiggal ny ta'n olloo cheet er. Caghlaraa raa creeney Yernagh, cha nel jarroo-enney ayn gollrish yn jarroo-enney ayd hene. Sy lioar noa (myr dooyrt eh sy leaght shen), ta Belchem screeu dy ren A W Moore leodaghey yn ayn Loghlinagh jeh eiraght Vannin as dy ren eh mooadaghey yn ayn Celtiagh as eh gobbraghey 'dy chroo' jarroo-enney Manninagh. Lurg y leaght shen, hirr John Belchem feyshtyn veih'n lught-eaishtagh sy Thie Tashtee. Va'n lught-eaishtagh Manninagh dy lioar dy hannaghtyn ny host arrymagh. Fy yerrey, dooyrt mee nagh row feysht kiart aym, agh heill mee dy row eh beggan quaght dy ghra dy row possan feer niartal syn Ellan mysh keead blein er dy henney va cur Celtiaghys er e hoshiaght erskyn Loghlinaghys. S'feer eh dy row Manninee pooaral ennagh jannoo nyn gooid share dy aavioghey Celtiaghys, agh, choud's va mee toiggal eh, va John Belchem smooinghtyn dy row Moore as cumraagyn echey feer speideilagh as adsyn cur er Manninee dy chur arrym da Celtiaghys.

S'doillee shen y chredjal. Gyn ourys erbee, va speideilys dy lioar ec Moore as eh doostey ashoonaghys Manninagh. Agh

(Continued on page 19)



## Croo Shennaghys

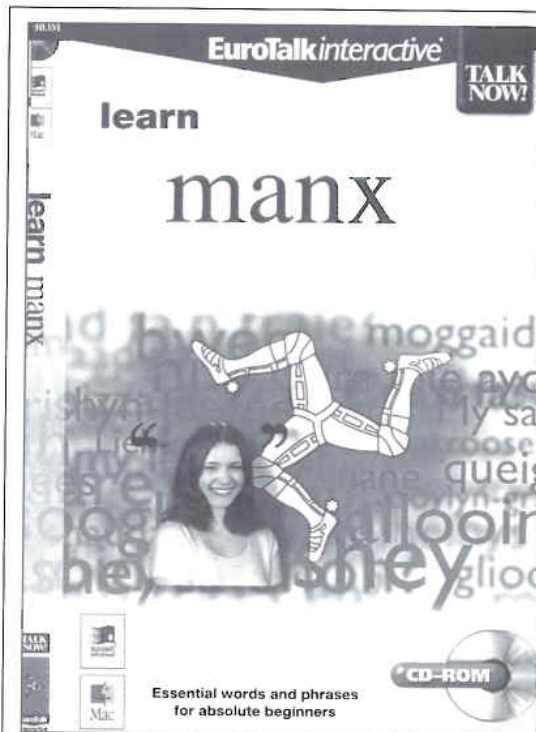
stroos hene dy row Loghlinaghys reill aignaghyn ny Manninee. V'ad ynsit dy ghoail moyrn ass yn eiraght Loghlinagh, cha nee ass yn eiraght Cheltiagh. As shen yn agh ta ymmodde Manninee smooinghyn foastagh, ga dy vel Celtiaghys cheet dy ve ny stroshey ec y tra a t'ayn. Y colught shen ta creck uryssaght, cha nel eh goail ymmyd jeh jalloo jeh Celtiagh dy chreck e pholaseeyn 'Manninagh', t'eh goail ymmyd jeh jalloo jeh Wiggynagh. Ta shin foast clashtyn mychione Wiggynnee ymmodde keayrtyn, erskyn oolley ec tra Tinvaal. As shen myr v'eh keead blein er dy henney. Va ny Celtiee coontit dy ve bolvaneagh, almoragh as dyn ymmyd. Va ny Loghlinee coontit dy ve aghtal, tush-tagh as brecoil. Ny laghyn t'ayn jiu, ta shin gra kynneaghys rish shen. As cha nel shin er ngeddyn rey rish ny fallsoonyssyn nieuagh shen hie er croo mysh shey feed blein er dy henney - fallsoonyssyn ren greesaghey ny Natseeyn loghtyn barbaragh y yannoo. Ta foast sleih ayn ta credjal dy vel sleih lesh sooillyn gorrym as folt fynn ny share na sleih elley. Er lhiamsh nagh ren A W Moore mooadaghey role ny Celtiee aynshennaghys Vannin. Cha row eh agh troggal y role shen seose ass y laagh as glenney eh.

Haink lioar mychione shennaghys Nerin magh bunnys ec y tra cheddin as y lioar mychione Mannin. Shoh 'Images, Icons and the Irish Nationalist Imagination 1870 - 1925', er ny chur magh ec Four Courts Press. Screu yn Olloo Eagleton voish Manchuin e vaght mychione y lioar shoh sy Times Higher as screu eh reddyn feer chreeney mychione shennaghys Yernagh as shennaghys oolley cooidjagh. T'eh gra dy vel fir-shennaghys Yernagh nyn yee-feayn-skealleydee profesoonagh (professional demythologisers) ec y tra a t'ayn, goail aggle roish skeecalyn ennaghtagh as jallooyn cleynagh. (Ta aastudeyrys jeant er shennaghys Nerin, prowal dy ghra dy nee boghtynid va ram jeh'n chennaghys screut ec 'ashooneyryn Yernagh'.) Ta Eagleton gra dy vel lught yn aastudeyrys (revisionists) er ve ro gharroo as ad prowal dy scarrey rieughid rish feayn-skealleydaght: 'There is no point replacing the Celtic twilight with a supercilious deriding of what ordinary people have found precious...' Cha nel 'gannidys sonnaasagh' sy lioar noa mychione Mannin, agh s'treih lhiam nagh vel tooilley Manninaghys ayn.

## Summary

The first volume of a five-volume new history of the Isle of Man has been published. While this event is to be welcomed, it has to be remembered that writing history (like any human activity) can never be objective.

Brian Stowell



## Learn Manx

**EuroTalkinteractive** has produced **Learn Manx** as part of its **Talk Now!** series.

Talk Now! is designed for people who want to learn a language quickly. Ideal for absolute beginners the CD is:

- ☐ comprehensive: topics include first word, phrases, etc.
- ☐ interactive: immediate response to every choice you make
- ☐ Compare your pronunciation with fluent speakers
- ☐ Test your knowledge: easy and hard quizzes, memory games.

**Talk Now! Is addictive, fun and makes learning easy.**

## System Requirements

Windows: 95/98/NT/2000

Mac OS System 7 or above

Computer: Colour display, Sound card 16 Mb RAM, CD-ROM or DVD-ROM drive, microphone

## For more information:

EuroTalk Ltd. 315 - 317 New Kings Road, London SW6 4RF, England  
[www.eurotalk.co.uk](http://www.eurotalk.co.uk)

## MANX GOVT. RUNNING SCARED ON POPULATION DEBATE

Reports that the government expects an increase of just over 4,000 in the population of the Isle of Man seem aimed at deflecting criticism when official population statistics are published in the Island following the recent census. There is already some scepticism that the census will reflect an accurate figure, given that there is now a significant transient work force servicing the current Manx economic boom. It would seem the government believe that if they 'talk down' future population growth this will defuse any tension caused by what the official statistics reveal.

Most Islanders in recent years have felt the impact of population growth. A spin-off from economic buoyancy, it has also caused problems. One of the areas of serious concern is housing. The government is belatedly moving to address this and head off any repeat of the potentially volatile reaction in the 1980s which led to arson attacks on new properties by disaffected nationalists. The government has also moved in recent years to address cultural implications caused by population growth and there is a major investment in promotion of Manx institutions, language, culture and heritage.

This is all well and good but the government seems to be running scared of the real debate about the optimum level of population that the island can comfortably sustain. The one growing area of consensus between both indigenous Manx and incomers is that unrestricted population growth will destroy the current good quality of life which all who live on the Island enjoy. Instead of predicting another 4-5,000 people over the next decade, and offering this as a sop to critics, the government should be actively debating methods of stabilising the population.

Bernard Moffatt





# Celtica



## THE WAY FORWARD FOR BRITTANY

*Reflections inspired by Kristian Hamon's book entitled:*  
**"BRETON NATIONALISTS  
DURING THE OCCUPATION"**

This new book, which was published in January 2001 in the 16 x 21-cm format, is made up of 270 pages including 5 pages of bibliography and sources, 8 index pages and 26 full pages with photographs of groups and documents. It was published by "An Here" ("The Harvest" in Breton), a publishing company created in 1983 specialising in publishing entertaining and educational books in Breton aimed particularly at young Breton-speakers attending or having attended Diwan schools and other French and bilingual private or public school sections.

In this field, the publisher is primarily known for his very comprehensive Breton language dictionary, which is in touch with contemporary life but is the object of criticisms for its quotations, which have a tendency to reflect a strong anti-French Breton national sentiment. In other words, this book is in no way to be associated with the numerous books produced by the media-led anti-Breton campaign, which has been imposed on us over the last two years.

The author, Kristian Hamon, has based his work on unpublished archives, reports from the Police Force and the French Special Branch, courtroom testimonies, etc. We could well doubt the credibility of some but the main facts are undeniable. Apart from a few words or sentences he could have spared us, the author provides quite a realistic insight into this tragic period. Moreover, he shows absolutely no complacency as to the relations between some Breton nationalists with the German occupiers under the Vichy police.

There are a number of books on the same subject, among others "Mouvement Breton" and "Le Séparatisme en Bretagne" by Michel Nicolas, "les Nationalistes Bretons" by Bertrand Frélaud, "Debeauvais et les Siens" by Anna Youenou, "Breiz Atao" by Lovier Mordrel, "La Bretagne dans la Guerre" by Hervé Le Boterf, "La Révolution Permanente", « Complot pour une République Bretonne », « Au Village des

Condamnés à Mort, « Le Rêve Fou des Soldats de Breiz Atao » by Ronan Caouissin, alias Ronan Caerleon, and in Breton « Istor an Emsav » and « Dornlevr Brezel » by Youenn Olier, etc. and numerous articles in the 60s in "Ar Vro", a nationalist magazine. These books tell, analyse, try to justify or on the contrary condemn the Breton nationalists' attitude, from the most moderate to the most radical. Let us also mention Désiré Camus's testimony in "On nous appelait Terroristes", meaning "They called us Terrorists"), a Breton man who is proud of his origins but who has no Breton political conscience, who chose to fight in the French Resistance against the German occupiers and was confronted with his comrades in the Bezen Perrot, an armed group of about 80 members who became active after Abbot Yann-Vari Perrot, an old Breton autonomist militant, was assassinated in December

1943, a crime which was committed by a group of Breton communists involved in the resistance, who said they had received orders from London and could produce evidence to that end.

As compared to the book written by Kristian Hamon, the books written by Ronan Couissin, who was involved in the Breton Movement at the time, do not give any reply to the questions the post-war and present generations may ask on the influence, the nature and the different degrees of collaboration with Germany. They remind us of their love for Brittany, of the contempt shown by French politicians towards Breton claims, specially linguistic claims, and only provide an idealised version of the facts, avoiding the grey areas, which today is no longer of any interest and even hinders the true analysis of this fundamental period of the EMSAV (the Breton Movement).

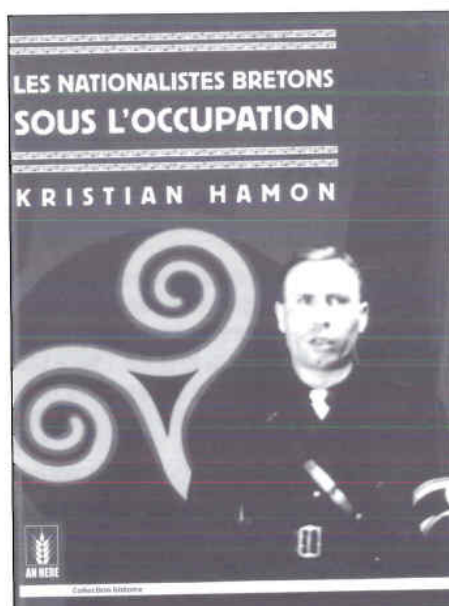
Today's young Breton men and women who are interested in the question of Breton identity are entitled to know the truth on this period in order to develop the Breton politics of the new millennium and to get rid of the conditioning imposed by the grip of both the French Jacobin State and the Breton Nationalists from 1930 to 1945, of which several leaders were very influenced by National-Socialism. It has to be admitted that they are condemned with much more severity than the thousands of civil servants or ordinary French citizens who took part in the deportation of Jewish families, etc.

## THE TWO TYPES OF CONDITIONING

French Jacobin nationalism is so ever-present and so skilfully blended with the development of universal democratic and republican principles that it does not come across as a nationalist ideology, especially among progressive Breton circles, with the exception of "Emsav".

Other national minorities in the hexagon have the same problem; you only have to compare the national identity of the Basques and the Catalans in the hexagon to their Spanish counterparts, even Corsica with its insularity has difficulty breaking out of this process. The French Revolutionaries had to invent another "higher order" ideology, that of the Nation-State one and indivisible, denying all other human realities, even associative, to replace the divine right unity of the Kingdom of France which was forged by the sword, the upper clergy and pre-arranged political marriages! Most French people are unaware that at one stage there was a question of deporting the Alsatians to Auvergne and the people from the Auvergne to Alsace!

On the other hand, the generation of post-war Breton militants underwent an even more subtle form of conditioning, that of the unspoken and of freely analysing the doings and political orientation of their elders, a



*The front cover features the symbol of the PNB and Yann Goulet, leader of the Bagadou Stourm (see ref. in article)*



## The Way Forward for Brittany

taboo subject, with the constant risk of breaking the sacred union and being accused of treason. The most incriminating alliances and actions with German occupiers considered as treason by the Breton population had to remain secret like a family jewel. This plus a certain conservatism led to the birth of the U.D.B. in 1964, which violently opposed the M.O.B. from which it came and was created principally by the survivors to the post-war repression.

These two factors have hindered the development of a Breton national political movement which would be federative and credible in the Breton people's eyes, such as the S.N.P. and the Plaid Cymru, a weakness that led to a tenacious and efficient struggle from a cultural standpoint but which cannot give any result without a clear political project. This situation explains the massive campaign launched against the Breton Movement using the most efficient weapon, that is to say by reducing the Breton Nationalists of the Second World War period to a small group of racist, warlike and nazi militants, to whom any claims related to the Breton identity was secondary. The end game is simple, it is to stop by any possible way the cultural claim, which is getting an increasing support from the people, to develop into a more global therefore more political claim.

In order to be fair and provide a sensible answer to the people, it is important to accept to consider the context between the two world wars and to put oneself in the place of Breton Nationalists on the one hand, and that of the Breton militants involved in the "French Resistance" on the other hand. This federalist, pacifist and profoundly European Breton nationalism at the outset was becoming more and more radical. This evolution is based on the total refusal of the French State to acknowledge the Breton claims however moderate and lead the most extreme militants to conclude that one has to choose between being Breton or French and whether or not they are an extremely small minority, to follow the example of the 1916 Easter rising in Ireland, considering democratic legitimacy as of secondary importance. Then in the thirties, under the influence of leaders such as Olier Mordrel, a nationalism started to develop, which was increasingly based on a racist and elitist concept. It was also the discovery, through some Alsatisians, of German intellectuals, not necessarily followers of Hitler, who started to show their interest in Celtic languages and a federal Europe of "the real people" with a strong dose of illusions on the Reich realities.

The Breton population is very far from this analysis. Since the end of the 19th century, it has been the victim of true brainwashing meant to develop a sharp French national sentiment, with a large touch of colonialism with the help of the non-religious and republican school system, but also of the catholic schools and the army ... "4 years of military service to learn that the Republic, the language, the French State and democracy are one and the same thing!" All citizens also have to be prepared for the re-conquest of Alsace! The consecration of this French nationalism which is unthinkable for young people today finds its summit in the way the Bretons used their cult for the Dead (Died for France), after the butchery of the First World

and pre-Celtic Bretons and Armoricians who were more or less Romanised. However, its unity has no reason to be envious of a lot of nations. Its treaty of union with France following the military defeat in 1488 and the marriage of Anne de Bretagne was narrowly ratified, with the assistance of Breton noblemen who were already receiving some income from the King of France... This treaty guaranteed us an autonomy which the Kings of France did not respect and which the Republic suppressed. Yet, Breton republicans respected the boundaries of historical Brittany through its division into departments.

That is to say that despite the troops of the King of France or the infernal columns of the

Republic, the German army appeared to the vast majority of the Bretons who were kept in the dark about their own history, as the first invader in Brittany since the loss of our independence.... We can even say that unconsciously and despite the ever-presence of the French feeling, the sense of belonging to Brittany played a part in the development of Resistance in Brittany. There were never any racist feelings against the French people, but only a serious mistrust towards the imperialism of its masters. The majority of Bretons, including those who saw themselves as were "Breton first" felt as victims of a profound injustice and a certain

contempt, but this was not sufficient for the population to see the German army as something other than an occupier.

As its needs increased, nazi Germany increased its demands, which put Breton nationalists who were more or less collaborators in an embarrassing position, in particular with the creation of the "S.T.O.", the compulsory work service which sent young Bretons to Germany to force them to work. In 1916, the Irish were not faced with this problem and Germany was not nazi. We have to understand what it was like for the young people who refused to go to Germany and thus became outlaws and victims of the nazi repression. All they could do was to join the Maquis and the Resistance like the militants involved in trade unionism who refused to surrender to the victor's demands. The development of military actions by those involved in the Resistance brought on an even more severe repression from the Germans.

After the assassination of Abbot Yann-Vari Perrot in 1943 by Resistants came the action taken by Bezen Perrot and the confrontation "between Bretons" became inevitable. The Bezen Perrot numbered about 80 people and originated from the "Special Service" and from the ex-Kadervenn



PNB Poster... for speaking Breton.

War (a proportion of about 2 Bretons for 1 French died).

The legacy of the First World War was decisive both in the attitude of the population as that of the Nationalists, not only revolted by the behaviour of the French State but also increasingly convinced that each war on the French side would strengthen the links, as well as total integration and assimilation with a unitary state totally closed to any federalist idea. Their biggest mistake, apart from the choice of their allies, was to underestimate the work required for a better political awareness before taking the risk of a civil war between the Bretons, thus inflicting a wound which would be hard to heal within a strong social cohesion in spite of our legendary parochialism.

Compared to Ireland, it is important to remember that Brittany is not an island and is under the dominant influence of the catholic church like France. It has not originated either from a mere withdrawal to the West due to an invader as in Wales, but was the result of the sharing, between the Franks and the Bretons, of Romanised Gaul they had come to defend. The part of "Armorique" which has become Brittany was never completely re-celtised linguistically. Our people originated from this merging between Celtic

(Continued on page 22)



## The Way Forward for Brittany

(Combat Line)" which was considered as the embryo of a Breton national army. These members had to wear the German uniform against their will. They formed a defence group on the side of Breton nationalists who were threatened because of their political options in favour of the Vichy regime or of the Germans or simply as nationalists and were used as extra soldiers for the German army in exchange for an increasingly hypothetical autonomy. The Bezen Perrot's actions never received the support of the whole Breton movement; on the contrary, it divided it.

The Breton nationalist militants of the 30s and 40s in all their political shades paradoxically combined the greatest clear-sightedness to a certain blindness, which is hard to understand for the following generations who are over-informed about nazi crimes and genocides. In the last analysis, they were truly the sons of a period, who, whether they were on the right or the left, were showered with the pacifist speeches of the 20s, paraded everywhere in Europe wearing uniforms behind their respective flag... Some hard-line Bretons joined the Resistance on an individual basis or tried, without any success, to have contacts with the "Free French of London".

In his book, Kristian Hamon however forgets an important fact: the constitution of a group of anti-nazi Resistants in the Saint-Nazaire region, which was composed of members of the Bagadou Stourm, these armed self-defence PNB (Breton Nationalist Party) groups who were trained and led by Yann Goulet. Some of its members died in deportation in Germany. The only thing the survivors got was the victors' contempt! Then we were to witness simultaneously nationalist militants fall under the nazi bullets and the militants of a small totally pro-nazi group called "Brezona" cover the walls of St. Nazaire shipyards with pro Nazi slogans. If the Vichy government walked one step forward to some kind of regionalisation, it made sure that the Lower-Loire department of historical Brittany was separated so that the most industrialised part was taken away from Brittany, thus breaking any chance of a development leading to a great autonomy or independence, and eventually preventing any appeal to international hearings on the grounds of the 1532 treaty. Some Breton nationalist militants of that time found the after-war generation apathetic; it is fair to say that if they left them an important cultural creation heritage, they also left them a political heritage which was quite hard to manage, not, I want to insist on this point, in relation to the French but in relation to the actual Breton people themselves!

Years 2000 ... Few changes in France but quite a few changes in Europe and in the world. It is really puzzling to see nowadays a small extreme-right Breton nationalist group,

the "ADSAV" wanting to use in the exact same way some racist theories from another time and to target immigrants as a theme for their first great poster campaign, thus putting themselves on the same level as the French extreme-right parties MNR and the National Front. If our history and our cultural heritage are related to the formation of an ethnic community, our future lies in the creation of a Breton citizenship.

Fortunately, the great majority of modern Breton militants know that through their daily struggle here on the spot, they participate in a struggle for a more humanist society on the planetary scale. It is now time for all sincere nationalists, separatists, federalists or regionalists to be united on the main points. There cannot be any independence without a compulsory passage through autonomy and we are very far from it. To gain their confidence, the people expect us to undertake not to force their hand. They thirst for democracy and have the right to choose their degree of autonomy; it is a road with various stages. An independent Brittany which would not be democratic in the middle of a 21st century Europe is unthinkable! A Brittany which would miraculously be independent but whose citizens, because they wouldn't have a real political conscience would elect a majority like the one we have at present, or would even give their votes to band-waggoners would be the worst catastrophe.

The result of local and canton elections brings us back to reality after the flights of lyricism created by some opinion polls. Yet, some signs of hope are appearing in Karaez and Gwengamp.

Kristian Hamon's book was written for the large public. It is placed in the first rows of Breton bookshelves in supermarkets; yet, without a good knowledge of our history, an average reader cannot have a proper opinion. I will then conclude by formulating two wishes: the first one is that this book allows not a duty of memory but a real work of memory and that it is published again with a brief summary on the history of Brittany, insisting on the period from 1850 to 1930 which paradoxically saw this province "known as being alien" become a fervent home for French nationalism!

Then let us turn the page and build the future! Let the most virulent among us renounce any action which could be perceived by our people as self-directed violence. Let us choose active non-violence and the way to devolution on the Scottish model, and we'll end up struggling for and with our people and we'll win. Let us remember that the more we are in the minority, the more extreme and unrealistic we are, and the more divided we become.... And that the more united and the stronger we are, the more realistic and pragmatic and worth following we become.

Jakez DEROUET

## 'ERIKA'S SPILL - NO LESSONS LEARNED!

Earlier this year the Helsinki Commission, an inter-governmental environmental organisation that protects the Baltic Sea, warned that the risk of oil spills was increasing. Within two months of this warning a serious spill threatened coasts in southern Denmark. Despite all the warnings of the past two decades Europe has still not contained the menace posed by serious oil tanker accident and spillage.

Major incidents, such as the Braer off Shetland, the Sea Empress off S. Wales and the more recent Erika disaster off Brittany have illustrated the need for decisive and co-ordinated action to address the problem. The position however is that there are still many factors which can cause these disasters. Whilst the recent Baltic incident is said not to have involved safety breaches the two vessel collision which caused the spill should surely have been avoided. More worryingly, recalling the Erika tragedy, there are still too many outdated oil tankers with poorly trained crews regularly plying European coastal waters. Despite the catastrophic consequences of the Erika spill no lessons seem to have been learned.

The late Alan Heusaff, former General Secretary of the Celtic League, presented a resolution to the AGM of the Celtic League which read: *This AGM, alarmed by the repetition of catastrophic oil-spills from tankers, which have caused widespread destruction of marine life and ; so severely affected the economic life of coastal areas of at least five of the six Celtic countries in the past twenty years. Urges the governments responsible for the protection of the marine environment in these countries, as well as the European Union, to adopt strictly binding measures to avoid such accidents, in particular enforcing double hulling for tankers; prohibiting them from sailing through narrow sea channels or within given distance from shore; use of pilots familiar with approaches to storage facilities.* Had he still been alive Alan Heusaff would have been appalled when the Erika tragedy occurred with its devastating consequences for the environment and people on a large area of the coast of Southern Brittany.

(Continued on page 23)



### Erika's Spill - No Lessons Learned

He would also have been appalled that, despite warnings by the Celtic League and other organisations, very little substantial progress has been made by European institutions and the International Maritime Organisation to rid the sea of the rust-buckets with inexperienced crews that daily sail into European ports. The Celtic League can only continue to warn that another incident is inevitable. Next time it may not be the Baltic Sea. All the coastlines of the Atlantic Arc are threatened.

Bernard Moffatt

## European Languages Bureau - Dublin Office Downgraded

Celtic League General Secretary, Bernard Moffatt, wrote again to the EBLUL Director, Tom Moring, querying the reported closure of the Dublin office of the European Bureau of Lesser Used Languages and also to the Taoiseach, Bertie Ahern, asking whether any action has been taken by the Irish government on this matter.

Mr. Moring's reply stated simply that an office would be maintained in both Dublin and Brussels. A reply is still awaited from Bertie Ahern.

However, the reality is that the Dublin office, which had four employees, will close at its present location for the summer and when it opens again (which is promised for the autumn) it will employ only one person (not one of the four previously employed). The work and financial support will be confined to activities carried out within Ireland, principally the Partnership for Diversity.

This has been carried out on the instructions of the European Commission, the main financing body for EBLUL. When it was set up EBLUL had only one head office and in Dublin. Then some years ago the Brussels office opened, now it is the head office with eight staff and the Dublin office is reduced to one-person status on internal support only!

Of course cost efficiencies are quoted but these could have equally been achieved in reverse. It does raise the overall question of the adequacy of funding and the need to support efforts to improve this. But it also raises the question of Eurocratic centralisation and the type of Europe that is being pursued at all costs. Clearly not one that will give any recognition to smaller nations and minority languages that are really threatened!

# THE CONFESSION OF THE FRENCH GENERAL AUSSARESSES

The confession of this French general regarding torture and mass killing during the war in former French Algeria, between 1954 and 1962, puts the French state face to face with its historical responsibilities.

How could the self-proclaimed *guardian of Human Rights*, make rules of these criminal methods to put down the Algerian people?

How come the civilian and military authorities in charge then, in Paris and Algiers, were never questioned and eventually prosecuted with respect to these crimes?

The member states of the European Union and of the United Nations Organisation have a right to ask these questions from a country, which has so often criticized other countries for their lapses, real or assumed, in this field.

The POBL, Party for the Organization of a Free Brittany, believes that, today, following the confession of General Aussaresses, the French state, so quick to call others to

task, but too often refusing to admit its own responsibilities, at long last, must acknowledge its criminal past in Algeria.

Moreover, the POBL feels that the French state would be more credible, when it fights for Human Rights if it curtailed the statute of limitation on war crimes committed by its own armed forces during military actions in its former colonies.

The POBL also points out that it would be consistent with the current international rule of law if an International Court of Justice was instituted to try all French political and military personnel, still alive, who had a direct responsibility in all the actions contrary to the international agreements in respect of Human Rights, on the behaviour of armed forces and the protection of civilian populations in cases of military conflicts, which were ratified by a majority of nations, including by French state, since the end of World War II.

## BRETON PRISONER'S RIGHTS ABUSED

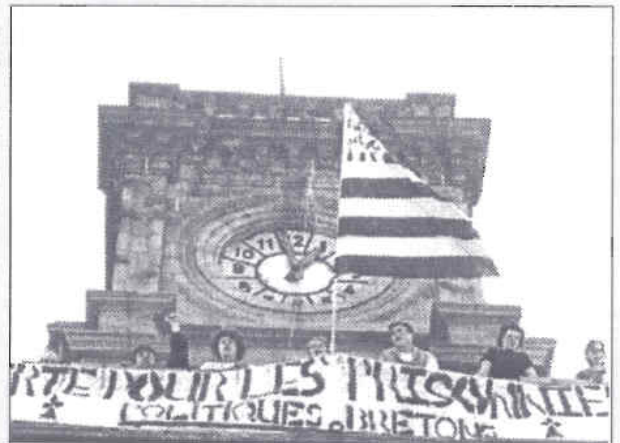
Concern is growing for the well being of one of the Breton prisoners, Alain Sole, currently jailed in Fresnes. Alain Sole is one of a number of detainees who have been protesting about prison conditions. In his case the absence of correct medical support has also been an issue.

Sole suffers from chronic diabetes. It appears that following a serious bout of illness he was denied follow-up medical treatment. Conditions became so bad that in March he made an attempt to take his own life.

The Celtic League have written to the French government and to the European body which monitors the treatment of prisoners (the CPT) calling for the release of those Breton prisoners, such as Alain, who were not getting suitable medical treatment. We have also campaigned for the detainees to be moved from Prisons around Paris to Brittany, which would facilitate visits and support, by their families.

So far the French authorities have refused to respond positively to expressions of concern from external bodies such as the Celtic League and Breton prisoners support groups. They have also exhibited a mean spirited attitude. For example, in an astonishing display of narrow-mindedness Easter cards sent by a member of the Manx branch of the Celtic League, Mairead Kerwin, to a number of prisoners were returned

France has a considerable number of political detainees, including those imprisoned for supporting the National liberation struggles in Brittany, the Basque country and Corsica. The French seem to believe that by adopting a hard line on the prisoner's issue the wave of protests will collapse. The authorities are playing a dangerous game with the lives of prisoners like Alain Sole!



Occupation of Morlaix Town Hall by members of CARB (Breton Anti Repression Co-ordination) in support of Breton political prisoners.



## Ar Bed Keltiek

On line books, records, Celtic art,  
Kemper: 33 (0) 2 98 95 42 82  
Brest: 33 (0) 2 98 44 05 38  
<http://www.arbedkeltiek.com>  
e-bost: [arfur@wanadoo.fr](mailto:arfur@wanadoo.fr)

Ar Bed Keltiek, 2 Str. Ar Roue  
Gralon, 29000 Kemper, Breizh.  
When phoning from abroad,  
omit the (0) in the prefix.

## CELTIC LEAGUE AGM 2001

This year's AGM will be held in  
Rhosllanerchrugog, near Wreccsam,  
in Wales on the weekend August  
4th/5th. The venue for the meeting is  
the Miner's Institute in Rhos.

There is plenty of Hotel, B&B type  
accommodation in the Wreccsam  
area.

Contact:  
**Robat ap Tomos,**  
Cymru branch secretary.  
E-mail: [CellCaerdydd@i12.com](mailto:CellCaerdydd@i12.com)

## Membership and Subscriptions

All those who agree with the constitu-  
tion and aims of the Celtic League are eli-  
gible for membership. The membership  
fee (including *Carn*) and subscription  
rates are IRE£12; Stg£12; 120FF; US\$25.00  
(US funds, cheques drawn on a US bank).  
Europe Stg.£15 (airmail); outside Europe  
Stg.£18.00 (airmail).

For information about the Celtic  
League contact secretaries:

**ALBA** **Risnidh Mag Aoidh**, 16/1  
McCleod Street, Gorgie, Edinburgh,  
EH11 2NQ.

E-mail: [louiseandrichie@hotmail.com](mailto:louiseandrichie@hotmail.com)

**BREIZH** **Jakez Derouet**, 14 Hent  
Kemper, 29700 Pluguen/Pluguffan,  
Brittany.

**CYMRU** **Robat ap Tomos**, 11 Heol  
Gordon, Y Rhath, Caerdydd, CF2 3AJ.

**ÉIRE** c/o 33 Céide na Grianóige, Ráth  
Cúil, Co. Átha Cliath.

**KERNOW** **Sue Bowen**, Venten Llynnow,  
Trevalgar, Bos Castle, TL35 ORG,  
Kernow

**MANNIN** **Cristl Jerry**, 6 Glenfaba Road,  
Peel. Tel: UK (0) 1624 843869.

**ENGLAND BRANCH** **Florence Kenna**,  
72 Compton Street, London, EC1V  
0BN.

**USA** **Margaret Sexton**, c/o P.O. Box  
20153, Dag Hammarskjöld Postal  
Centre, New York, NY 10017.

**INTERNATIONAL BRANCH** **Mark  
Lockerby**, 20 King Williams's Way,  
Janet's Corner, Castletown, Isle of Man.

**CEAP BREATAINN** **G. May**, Margaree  
Harbour, Nova Scotia BOE 2B0.

The **General Secretary** and **P.R.O.** of the  
Celtic League is **Bernard Moffatt**, 11  
Hilltop View, Farmhill, Braddan,  
Mannin.

Tel - UK (0) 1624 627128

The **Editor** is **Ms P. Bridson**, 33 Céide na  
Grianóige, Ráth Cúil, Co. Átha Cliath,  
Éire.

E-mail: [patriciabridson@eircom.net](mailto:patriciabridson@eircom.net)

Articles for *Carn* may be sent on disk  
preferably in Microsoft Word/Works or  
Word Perfect along with hard copy, faxed  
to + 353 1 - 458 9795 or e-mailed to the  
Editor.

Our next deadline for material for *Carn* is  
**1st August 2001**. Articles sent for publi-  
cation in *Carn* must relate to our aims. All  
materials copyright © *Carn* unless other-  
wise stated. The views expressed in *Carn*  
are not necessarily those of the editor nor  
of the Celtic League.

**Printers: Elo Press, Rialto, Dublin 8.**

ISSN 0257-7860

## International Branch Internet Site

<http://homepages.enterprise.net/mlockerby>  
e-mail International Branch Secretary  
[mlockerby@enterprise.net](mailto:mlockerby@enterprise.net)

## Celtic League Press Releases

Those who would like Celtic  
League press releases via Electronic  
Mail can subscribe (free of charge)  
to the mailing list at:

[http://groups.yahoo.com/group/celtic\\_league](http://groups.yahoo.com/group/celtic_league)

## Celtic League Internet Site

<http://www.manxman.co.im/cleague/>

E-mail General Secretary:

[b.moffatt@advsys.co.im](mailto:b.moffatt@advsys.co.im)

E-mail Assistant G.S.

[mkermode@mcb.net](mailto:mkermode@mcb.net)

## American Branch Internet Site

[www.celticleague.org](http://www.celticleague.org)

# IRISH DEMOCRAT

For news, analysis, reviews, features, and an independent voice

Published continuously  
since 1939, the *Irish  
Democrat* is the bi-monthly  
journal of the **Connolly  
Association** which  
campaigns for a united and  
independent Ireland and  
the rights of the Irish in  
Britain. Regular  
contributors include the  
respected Celtic historian  
**Peter Berresford Ellis** whose  
regular column *Anon* is  
*Anall* has been a feature of  
the paper for over ten years.

### Annual Subscription Rates (six issues)

£5.50 Britain	I enclose a cheque
£10.00 Solidarity subscription	(payable to "Connolly
£8.00 Europe (airmail)	Publications Ltd")
£11.00 USA/Canada (airmail)	/postal order for
£12.00 Australia (airmail)	£ _____

Please send me a **free** trial copy ☐ (tick box)

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Send to: Connolly Publications Ltd,  
244 Gray's Inn Road, London WC1X 8JR