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A LINK BETWEEN THE CELTIC NATIONS

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**60
PAGE
SPECIAL ISSUE**



**REBUILDING THE
CELTIC LANGUAGES**

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

**CELTIC LANGUAGES &
COMMUNITIES THREATENED**

**EDUCATIONAL & CULTURAL
NEWS**

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CELTIC LEAGUE



EDITORIAL

- PROGRESS & THREATS

The fundamental aim of Celtic League is to assist the struggle of the Celtic Nations to win or secure the political, cultural, social and economic freedom they need for their survival and development as distinct communities. The primary movers here are, of course, the national political, language and cultural movements in each country and the League operates in an independent support mode across a broad range of issues with the focus on fostering co-operation and solidarity between the Celtic Nations and of working towards our aim of the establishment of organised relations between the Celtic Nations (without, it hardly needs to be said, any involvement of the present colonial powers). This work is carried out in a multitude of ways, from the publication of this periodical, CARN, and the campaigning work of the General Secretary and other members of the General Council, to the branch and member activity and the well-developed sites and publicity on the Internet.

Since the League was founded many political changes have occurred, most notably the foundation and expansion of the EU and the very welcome, long fought for, Scottish Parliament and Welsh Assembly – the latter are from the League's perspective only intermediate stages. Progress has also been made recently in Kernow on cultural matters and in Mannin but unfortunately real problems exist in Mannin on the overall thrust of policies of the Manx parliament and in Kernow despite

the huge level of demand (50,000 + signatures) there is no sign of concession from Westminster towards a Cornish Assembly. In Breizh the situation is deplorable. The centralist French state has declared that Breton medium schools cannot be integrated in the French state school system as the French language is the *only* language of the Republic and as for any movement towards autonomy.....!



*The Celtic Knot,
Symbol of the
Celtic League
and of
Celtic Unity*

With the defeat of the Nice Referendum campaign in Ireland there is now in place a two tier, two speed Europe and most of its citizens are not going to be directly consulted about further developments or the proposed European Constitution which are being hatched by centralist orientated politicians. European Parliament President, Pat Cox, (an Irishman) took the incongruous opportunity at the opening of an information office of EBLUL in Dublin (a much reduced status to what existed previously) to tell his compatriots that their aspirations for increased status for Irish in the EU were simply not on!

The Celtic League has for many years built up contacts with other small nations and national minorities. We should use these to work towards a different kind of Europe than the bureaucratic centralist one now on offer. Opportunities should be taken in changed circumstances to build alliances and to ensure that the English and French policies of neutralising and assimilating their Celtic neighbours are not simply superseded by Pan European economic and political centralism which surely undermine them and their chances of surviving as distinct communities.

This special issue of CARN reports on many of the developments mentioned above and others besides. It has been unfortunately delayed due to various difficulties but is virtually a triple issue and has allowed some matters to be dealt with in greater length. A broad range of matters are reported some of which are of grave concern, such as the continued threats to and erosion of Celtic languages communities.

After the fundamental aim of the League given above the next one listed is that of

“working towards the restoration of the Celtic Languages, which are essential characteristics of the nationality of each Celtic country, as ordinary means of communications”.

In this context CARN is happy to present and publicise as a special supplement in this issue draft proposals which should be finalised soon in the publication of Diarmuid O'Neill's book *Rebuilding the Celtic Languages: Reversing Language Shift in the Celtic Countries*.

Cathal Ó Luain

CELTIC CALENDAR

The production of the Celtic Calendar is a significant long-standing contribution by the CL American Branch to raising Inter-Celtic consciousness.

Beginning the New Year on the 1st November, the calendar is illustrated with scenes from Celtic mythology and folklore, richly done in original black and white drawings by noted artist Mike Kaluta. Each month is named in one of the Celtic languages, with a traditional, sometimes pithy, proverb. And for Celtic history buffs, there are now over 10,000 daily entries noting important anniversaries of people and events from the histories of the six Celtic nations.

This special calendar is available post paid from: Celtic League Calendar, 2973 Valentine Avenue, Bronx, NY 10458. Price: USA \$10. Others - Canada \$13, Celtic nations \$13, elsewhere \$14, money order or cheques drawn on a US bank.

For more information and a peek at the new Calendar visit the American Branch website at: www.celticleague.org

CELTIC CALENDAR 2003



AN HISTORICAL AND MYTHOLOGICAL CALENDAR REPRESENTING THE CELTIC YEAR: NOVEMBER 1, 2002 TO OCTOBER 31, 2003

BROAD REMIT AT CELTIC LEAGUE AGM 2002

The Celtic League campaigns cover a broad range of issues, more often than not the focus of that work stems from resolutions adopted at AGMs.

Over the years the Celtic League has campaigned on a range of issues enjoying considerable success in its support of the Celtic Languages and Culture, Military Monitoring, the treatment of Celtic Prisoners, support for other nationalist minorities and also its campaigns to expose environmental problems caused by both military and commercial sources.

Campaign work is co-ordinated by the General Secretary and PRO, Bernard Moffatt, and all correspondence and press releases emanating from central are posted on the Celtic League news groups' site at http://groups.yahoo.com/group/celtic_league

The 2002 AGM passed a number of resolutions; some reported here - many covering ongoing issues that affect the Celtic countries, whilst a few deal with new subject areas.

RETURN CULTURAL TREASURES CALL

Cultural Looting has no Legitimacy

As a first step to implementation the League will, over the next two years, try to quantify the extent of the problem and identify key artefacts of cultural and historical significance to the various Celtic countries.

Following the AGM decision the Celtic League wrote to senior political leaders in several of the Celtic countries urging that action is taken to compile an inventory of artefacts of cultural and historical significance which have been removed by Foreign institutions over the centuries. The League also stress that there should be government efforts, in all the Celtic countries, to recover such items

This AGM calls on the respective National Parliament & Assemblies to pursue a policy whereby historical artefacts and items of cultural significance removed from the Celtic countries are returned.

The Celtic League has long campaigned for the return of a number of artefacts from various Celtic countries mainly held by institutions in England and Europe. Items the League believes should be returned are the Gold Cape of Mold (to Wales). The Lewis Chessmen (to Scotland) and the Chronicles of the Kings of Man and the Isles (to the Isle of Man).

The League argue that whilst the issue of some items, such as those mentioned above, held by the British Library and British Museum, are well publicised there should be a checklist of other items which could be returned.

In correspondence sent to An Taoiseach, First Minister of Scotland, Chief Minister of the Isle of Man and First Secretary of Wales the General Secretary made the following points:

'Whilst the Celtic League has campaigned for the return of certain high profile artefacts, it became apparent during discussion on the issue that a wide range of articles has been removed from the Celtic countries. Whilst institutions such as the British Museum and its offshoot the British Library may be significant culprits other institutions globally may also have acquired, in dubious circumstances, artefacts of importance from a historical and cultural standpoint to the Celtic Nations.

We are aware that the question of ownership of these objects can often be contentious and the institution, which retains it, can often question the items provenance. However, it is clear that in many instances the ownership, particularly by institutions in the UK, of objects was determined at a time when it was effectively a colonial power and important historical finds were invariably deposited in London.

Can I ask what steps if any have been taken in your country to compile a checklist of items which have been removed to institutions in other States and what efforts if any are being made to recover them?'

LACK LUSTRE RESPONSE FROM CELTIC GOVERNMENTS

In a reply from Alba the Minister for Culture, Mike Watson MSP, told the Celtic League that the Scottish Executive has no policy of seeking inward restitution of Scottish material held outside Scotland, Mr. Watson writes:

"The Scottish Executive has no policy of seeking inward restitution of Scottish material held outside Scotland, and we have no plans to do so. National Museums in Scotland regard access to the assets they hold in trust as one of their prime responsibilities. Like other national museums and galleries, and much of the international museums community, National Museums of Scotland take the approach that access to cultural assets should not depend on who owns them. National Museums of Scotland seek to develop knowledge of, and access to, relevant material elsewhere through international scholarship, loans and virtual access through ICT, rather than by restitution".

It seems curious that the Executive is not encouraging the return to Scottish ownership of important historical items. Such a policy would not restrict access but simply reverse the process whereby items of Scottish provenance held outside the country are returned on loan.

There is a parallel however with attitudes elsewhere. The Welsh Assembly Government responded indicating that they are providing extra funding so that Museums in Wales can borrow items back from institutions such as the British Museum.

Meanwhile the Manx government have been more circumspect saying that they would always welcome the opportunity to add important items to the Manx National Collections.

Responding to the League Chief Minister, Richard Corkill, said:



Chief Minister, Richard Corkill

"I have been advised that Manx National Heritage (MNH) is aware of a number of items of heritage interest to the Isle of Man, both cultural artefacts and archival and artistic material, which are in the possession

of other bona-fide institutional collections, and some which are in private collections.

However, MNH is not aware of any such items which have been obtained "in dubious circumstances" or which, in a legal sense of misappropriation would provide a case for the items to be "handed back to the Manx people", other than through some new form of negotiated agreement.

Where MNH is aware of such items in public collections (and also in some private collections), it attempts to retain good relations with the administrators or owners of those collections in order to offer the possibility of loans of relevant items to MNH at various times, (as has been the case with the *Chronicles of Mann* from the British

additions would appear only to be possible through negotiation and agreement with current owners".

Great emphasis is made in the Chief Minister's response of the difficulty surrounding ownership where there appears not to have been in a legal sense "misappropriation" of items when they left the Island. However, as we have pointed out in parallel correspondence to the Welsh Assembly it was unfortunately the practice in the days when the United Kingdom was the Imperial power to remove any significant finds to institutions in the UK.

To accept in this day and age that a practice of 'cultural looting' has any legitimacy is unacceptable. The League also accept the

extremely valid point made in the final paragraph of the Chief Minister's letter in which he alludes to the value of having "international publicity in having items of Manx cultural significance on public view in other collections off the Island". The Celtic League is certainly not suggesting that the Island should seek to recover items of historical significance for restricted access only within the Isle of Man.

However to date

the responses from the National governments have been somewhat lack lustre and they all seem to have a cultural inferiority complex when it comes to seeking the return of items looted over the centuries and now in the dubious ownership of bodies such as the British Museum and British Library.

The Celtic League believes that National pride and political will should supersede any inclination of institution administrators to maintain some kind of academic status quo.



Scotland's Lewis Chessmen

Library) or, in the case of manuscripts or archives (for example in the UK's Public Record Office), to obtain copies of the items for permanent reference on the Island.

I would add that although there is some advantage of international publicity in having items of Manx cultural significance on public view in other collections off the Island, MNH would always welcome the opportunity to add important items to the Manx National Collections for permanent reference here on the Island. However, such

MUSEUMS 'GANG UP' TO RETAIN STOLEN TREASURES

The Celtic League has described a decision in December 2002 by some of the world's leading museums to sign a statement saying that they will never return ancient artefacts to their country of origin as "a bid to defend the indefensible".

The heads of 18 institutions in the US and Europe have made the declaration in the face of efforts by many countries to recover artefacts stolen, particularly during the colonial period.

Commenting to the UK media the Secretary General of the Celtic League said that this latest move to obstruct the return of artefacts to their rightful owners shows how desperate the institutions are to postpone the inevitable. He said:

"These artefacts belong to the countries they came from. The argument used to be that there was nowhere to house the artefacts in their home countries and that the security of more valuable items might be compromised but this is a fatuous argument".

Pointedly, the British Museum has distanced itself from the latest joint statement by the International cartel of museums. A spokesperson is reported as saying that because of ongoing pressure to return the Elgin marbles they did not wish to "attract further controversy".

ACT NOW ON TANKER THREAT PRODI TOLD!

The Celtic League have told the Romano Prodi, President of the European Community, that had five simple steps, repeatedly articulated to the EU over the past decades by the Celtic League, been taken the Prestige disaster may have been avoided.

Dear President Prodi,

I write to express the concern of the Celtic League about events surrounding the oil-spill catastrophe, which is impacting on the North Western coast of the Iberian Peninsula.

As an organisation we believe the coastal communities of Western Europe and the British Isles have been badly let down by European and international agencies who should have been able to anticipate the inevitability of the disasters which have occurred.

In 1996 the Celtic League AGM in Brittany expressed its alarm at the dangers posed to European coasts by unregulated tanker trade. We adopted a resolution calling for action, the text of which I set out below:

"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 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 all tankers, prohibiting them from sailing through narrow sea channels or within given distances from shore, use of pilots familiar with the approached to storage facilities."

The text of this resolution was communicated at the time to the European Union, the International Maritime Organisation (IMO) and also National governments embracing the Celtic countries by both myself as Secretary General of the Celtic League and also by (the late) Alan Heusaff, International branch Secretary at the time, and mover of the resolution.

Mr. Heusaff, a Breton, predicted that if no action was taken disasters such as that which have since occurred were inevitable.

The Celtic League was spurred to address the issue again following our AGM in 2000

when after the Erika disaster we again communicated the text of an adopted resolution as follows:

"The AGM of the Celtic League: Recalling concerns of previous AGMs of the Celtic League about the risks posed to the Celtic coastlines by oil tanker spillage and being aware of the devastating impact of the most recent Erika spillage off Brittany, calls for the establishment of a European Marine Environment & Coastguard Agency".

Again, despite communicating this resolution and publicising the same little was done and subsequently in 2002 the Celtic League Annual Meeting again re-echoed the concerns and on this occasion (for EU purposes) communicating our concerns to Environment Commissioner Wallstrom.

We are facing perhaps one of the greatest environmental and ecological disasters in modern times to affect a European coastal community. This time the people of the Galician region of northwest Spain are bearing the brunt of this tragedy. We urge the European Commission to respond more pro-actively to this disaster. 'Paper transfers' of funds are not sufficient.

Practical steps need to be taken as a matter of urgency to contain any further pollution. Economic support needs to be provided immediately to those people in the communities directly affected, some of whom we understand are still awaiting compensation from a similar disaster almost a decade ago.

In respect of this last point can the Commission explain why European citizens affected by that oil-spill involving the oil tanker Aegean Sea off La Coruna are still awaiting proper compensation?

Finally, urgent action, if necessary unilateral action, needs to be taken by the EU to meet the objectives set out in our 1995 resolution. Coastal communities need the protection of:

- (1) the enforcement of double hulling for all tankers.
- (2) the siting of strategic towing and anti-pollution equipment at danger points.
- (3) the strict control and where possible diversion of tankers from narrow channels or choke-points.
- (4) the introduction with immediate effect of port checks and controls on all suspected tankers, specifically those vessels with single hulls.
- (5) urgent EU action with the IMO to address the certification, training and qualification of officers and crews on all vessels carrying hazardous cargoes both especially oil and gas tankers.

We trust the Commission and Parliament of the European Union will address these issues forthwith.

ERIKA TYPE OIL-SPILL WOULD BE CATASTROPHIC

Lessons from environmental catastrophes such as the Erika oil-spill off the Breton coast and the equally catastrophic and damaging pollution caused by the Sea Empress off Wales and the Braer off North Scotland have not been learned. Delegates considered a proposal from Breton delegates calling for a harmonisation of European Union resources aimed at dealing with such disasters.

During debate the consequences of an Erika type oil spill in the relatively confined area of the Irish Sea were considered and it was generally concluded that resources put in place by the British and Irish governments would be severely stretched to cope.

The Breton delegates said that one need-

This AGM: calls for the establishment of a European Coastal Environment Protection Agency. Such an agency would provide the coordination and resource needed to combat the continuing threats posed to our coastlines by environmental hazards.

ed to live with the effects and long-term consequences of a spillage of the type caused by the Erika foundering to totally understand it. The long-term impact for the marine environment was still difficult to ascertain.

After a vigorous debate it was agreed that a resolution calling for European co-ordination be adopted and the Secretary General and National Secretaries were asked to lobby National governments and the European Union over the issue.



The Prestige oil tanker split in two before sinking off the North West Iberian Peninsula causing what ecologists believe will be one of the world's worst oil spills.

IMO SLAMMED OVER TANKER SPILL

The International Maritime Organisation has been criticised for doing too little too late to avoid the catastrophic consequences of oil tanker spills such as that which has devastated the coast of north west Spain.

Writing to Mr. William O'Neil, Secretary General of the International Maritime Organisation in late November 2002 the Celtic League General Secretary states:

'I write with reference to the unfolding tragedy off the North West Iberian peninsula caused by the foundering of the oil tanker Prestige.

I enclose correspondence forwarded to EU President, Romano Prodi, which sets out our concern that steps were not taken to avert this type of incident, which was predicted.

The Celtic League highlighted the dangers posed by oil tankers with single hulls and we also articulated additional concerns about the lack of regulation of oil tanker traffic. I think it is fair to say that some of our concerns were echoed by other environmental and professional seafaring bodies.

I note a statement from the IMO issued immediately after the Prestige incident in which you say: "in situations such as this, the prime concerns of the IMO have been for the safety of human life and the protection of the marine environment". You go on to say, "Despite the adverse conditions, no human life has been lost in this incident and the search and rescue authorities of Spain deserve much credit for dealing with this matter promptly and effectively and in

accordance with the provisions of IMO instruments".

We would share your view about the efficiency of the Spanish search and rescue operation. However, it ill behoves the IMO to claim any credit whatsoever given the inertia of your organisation in the face of a continuing catalogue of such incidents over the past two decades. The fact is that had the IMO been more effective this incident and others would not have occurred.

You say that your prime concern is the protection of life and the marine environment. We cannot at this stage say with any certainty that the impact of a spill of this size will not ultimately give cause to health concerns and thereby threaten life. What we can say with certainty is that the marine environment and wild life generally are and will continue to be devastated.

There is an element of *deja vu* about this for the Celtic League. Over two decades ago we communicated with the IMO and member governments about threats posed to the life and well being of fishermen. On that occasion also it was years before your organisation got its act together and effectively addressed matters.

On this occasion the IMO (and others) have let down coastal communities along the North West of Iberia. Ultimately the extent of the pollution caused and the longevity of marine damage may be much more extensive. When will bodies such as the IMO get their act together or is it the fact that you are simply bureaucracies incapable of effective reform.

I am well aware of the structure and constitution of the IMO and I am also well aware that for bodies such as the IMO to be effective they must have the active support and cooperation of their member States.

However, I would suggest that if part of the defence advanced by the IMO is that member States are not ensuring the necessary legislative and moral integrity for IMO resolutions and conventions to be effective that in itself calls into question the credibility of the organisation.

How many more coastal communities have to suffer?"

OIL-SPILL UPDATE

The Irish government has indicated that it will make enquiries into the problems caused by unregulated tanker traffic. A letter from Eamon Confrey, Private Secretary to the Minister, has indicated that they are addressing the issue.

The Celtic League had written to the Minister for the Marine, Dermot Ahern, urging action following the Prestige oil-spill off Galicia. We pointed out that the

Prestige spill has the potential to pollute coasts around the Celtic countries because of the sheer volume of oil involved. We also pointed out that the potential danger to areas such as the Irish Sea caused by dangerous tanker traffic could cause an even worse ecological disaster.

The Irish government has previously indicated support for a European initiative to address the issue and we are hopeful that they will again press at both EU and International level for agreement on measures to tackle this problem.

Meanwhile Enrique Pastor de Gana, the Spanish Ambassador to Ireland, has thanked the League for forwarding detail of the initiatives taken following the Prestige incident.

This AGM: recalling the concerns of the Celtic League articulated at the 1989 AGM, held in Abergwaun, about the long term implications of the European Union Common Fisheries policy calls upon the European Commission to take steps to protect those communities within the Celtic countries that have traditionally derived their living from the fishing industry.

FISHERIES MADNESS FROM BRUSSELS

The European Commission Fisheries Directorate admitted to the Celtic League that the Common Fisheries Policy has had a potentially negative socio-economic impact on fisheries dependent areas.

The Commission was responding to correspondence from the Celtic League sent after the AGM adopted a resolution calling into question the long-term implications of the European Union Common Fisheries Policy.

Just a month after the Celtic League wrote to the European Commission expressing concern about the damage that EU Fishery policy was doing to traditional fishing communities in the Celtic countries a further disastrous initiative was announced.

EU scientific advisers stated that stocks of cod around Britain's shore were at an all-time low and in imminent danger of "collapse" unless urgent action is taken.

The scientists went on to recommend that a blanket ban should be applied to cod fishing, perhaps for years to come. The move was greeted with horror by fishing industry leaders and provoked outrage in fishing communities.

It is clear that such a move might be the final nail in the coffin not just for what survives of the once large inshore fishing industry, but also spell unemployment and disintegration to fishing communities already reeling from early cuts in quotas and de-commissioning of vessels. It is clear however that Europe's bureaucrats are not listening either to the fishing communities or to pressure groups.

The EU's latest proposals include opening up the Irish Box, a large defined area of the west, and northwest coasts of Ireland to unrestricted access for Spanish boats. At present Ireland has about 4% of the quota in her waters with over 80% allocated to Spanish and French boats. To allow them unrestricted access to the Irish box would spell the end of any prospects for Irish fishing. The EU deal concluded in late Dec. was said by Irish fisherman to be disastrous with restrictions on days at sea for whitefish vessels from Galway to Donegal. Irish fishermen called on the Irish Government to arrest any additional Spanish boats (above the present permitted 40) which entered the Irish box in January and said there were 200 Spanish boats preparing to enter. They predicted trouble at the Irish ports if Spanish ships tried to land catches.

It is past time that the Irish and British governments stood up to this European madness and signalled its determination to defend jobs and a traditional way of life.



Fishermen's representatives lobbying the Irish Government in late December 2002.

BASQUE-SPAIN CONFLICT NEEDS DIPLOMATIC SOLUTION

The prediction of the Celtic League, at its 2002 AGM, that the current hard-line attitude of the Spanish government towards the Basque separatist movement would lead to more violence has been tragically borne out by recent events.

There have been several bombing attacks in Spain attributed to ETA and the response of Spanish Premier Aznar has been to heap further criticism on the Basque political movement Batasuna.

It is appalling that this situation is being allowed to deteriorate by the European Union, a body that has no hesitation in involving itself in conflict resolution outside the borders of the EU.

The Celtic League has written to the President of the European Commission, Romano Prodi, President European Commission (see below) and urged action by the EU to end the conflict. Spain, despite its protestations, is prolonging the conflict. The steadily mounting toll of dead and injured could be stopped if Spain would engage in the sort of conflict resolution that the British and Irish governments put in place in the North of Ireland.

One thing is very clear; the continued occupation by Spain of the Basque country and the denial of the right of self-determination to the Basque people is simply fuelling a conflict that Spain cannot win.

It is hypocritical of Aznar to cry 'crocodile tears' for those who have been killed or injured when sensitive diplomacy by his own government could end the unfolding tragedy.

'Dear Mr. Prodi,

At the forty-first annual meeting (AGM) of the Celtic League in the Isle of Man delegates from the six Celtic countries were bitterly critical of the failure of the European Union to undertake any initiative in respect of the ongoing conflict in the Basque country.

The Celtic League had hoped that the experience of EU member States such as the United Kingdom and Irish governments in attempting to resolve the conflict in the North of Ireland would have been used as a template for a parallel initiative in the Basque country. With neither the Spanish or French governments reacting positively and engaging in a dialogue, which would end the conflict, we had hoped the

European Union would have applied all parties to resolving the dispute.

This AGM:

Expresses its concern at the continuing failure of the Spanish government to engage in a constructive peace process aimed at ending violence and achieving self-determination for the Basque people.

Notes with concern the decision of the Spanish authorities to continue to harass and frustrate the organisation of democratic bodies in the Basque country including both the Basque Nationalist Party (Batasuna) and the Basque Youth movement.

It is somewhat paradoxical that the EU should be engaged in providing advice and support internationally in areas of conflict and yet are incapable or unwilling to respond to conflict in its members States.

The League meeting adopted a resolution criticising the Spanish government in particular for its failure to positively address conflict resolution and specifically its actions that seem set to inflame the conflict.

The Celtic League trust that the European Commission will give consideration to our concerns and initiate steps to promote conflict resolution in the Basque country.'

SPAIN FEARS 'FREE STATE' OPTION FOR BASQUES

Spain's meddling in the Basque country has once again come unstuck with an overwhelming two thirds of the countries people indicating support for a plan by Basque premier, Jose Ibarretxe, to hold a referendum calling for a new constitutional status (A Free State) within a year.

The move by Ibarretxe is designed to offer an alternative to the hard-line stance by the Madrid government in the face of increased military actions by ETA.

The leader of the moderate PNV nationalist party is attempting to kick-start a peace process, which might encourage more radical nationalists to call a cease-fire and embrace more fully the constitutional role.

Despite opposition from Madrid it seems that an overwhelming body of people in the Basque 'Region' favour the referendum and believe Madrid should abide by its outcome. Even the radical political party, Batasuna, whose members are currently being persecuted by the Spanish government and which faces a ban supports the referendum road.

The Celtic League has repeatedly called on Spain and the EU to allow the Basque people to decide their own future and this referendum could initiate that process. However, we are deeply sceptical that the Spanish government will respect the democratic wish of the Basque people and the coming months will probably see provocative actions by Spain in an attempt to derail the new consensus for peace.

CATALANS STRIKE OUT IN CYBERSPACE

Further signs of the tensions amongst minorities in Spain and the hunger for independence has come in the most surprising way.

The regional government in Barcelona has changed the address of its website from .es for Spain to .net. The move is symbolic and visitors to the former web address will find it still works. However, the move is a small sign of the desire for even greater autonomy in the 'regions' of Spain.

Officials have decided to dump the national domain in favour of .net as it sounded more international. The new web address is www.gencat.net. However, according to a BBC report the Catalans could not adopt the more appropriate cat prefix as the 'region' is not a country and national suffixes are restricted to just two letters.

We can only hope that ultimately the Catalans will realise the aspirations for independence fully not simply in cyberspace.

Footnote: the Catalan move is similar to that made by the Isle of Man government when it adopted the *im* suffix - obviously therefore Mann is clearly a National entity - BBC take note!

DOES 'FLOOD' PORTEND OTHER SCANDALS?

The Irish corruption scandal claimed yet another casualty. The director of elections for Fianna Fail and prominent political figure for over two decades P.J. Mara resigned in late 2002. It seems that the stream of revelations from the Flood enquiry, into public life in Ireland, could have terminal implications for other prominent figures.

The Flood tribunal and other enquiries have already spilled over to several other jurisdictions and a clear pattern has emerged which places the offshore tax-havens centre stage in the corrupt machinations of Irish public life for the past two decades.

There is hardly a section of the Flood report in which reference is not made to the Isle of Man and despite claims in recent years about the Isle of Man's 'new' squeaky clean image it is worryingly clear that for many years this was not so. Nor was it the case that concerned voices were not raised.

Despite the lack of public comment we are aware that regulators are actively scrutinising (or so they would have us believe) the deliberations of the Tribunal.

However, just what the result of that monitoring has revealed about the nature of the darker side of Hiberno-Manx financial culture is unclear.

This AGM: Endorses a campaign by the Celtic League to monitor and expose political and commercial corruption in the Celtic countries.

The Celtic League has repeatedly raised concerns over the years about the nature of financial business between the Isle of Man and Ireland. Always these concerns fell on deaf ears. After discussion of the issue at the AGM it was agreed there was a need to develop a strategy similar to that which we adopted in the late seventies over another issue. The Celtic League is prepared to devote resources and effort to scrutinise and if necessary expose both political corruption and also commercial wrongdoing. The meeting approved a resolution to that end.

The Celtic League has written to Treasury Minister, Alan Bell, asking him to try and lift some of the Celtic Mist that surrounds the involvement of Manx-based businesses and individuals in activities, which are causing major concern to our neighbour.

AHERN LUDLOW MURDER RESPONSE DISAPPOINTING

The League has, for sometime, supported calls by the family of Mr. Ludlow, for a full independent public enquiry into his murder in 1976.

The Secretary General, Bernard Moffatt, told the AGM that there were substantial allegations that a loyalist murder gang, which may have had links to British Security Services in the North of Ireland, committed the murder. The issue is one of a number of unresolved killings and bombings thought to be linked to the British Intelligence Services. He went on to express a view that there seemed in some instances to be almost a conspiracy to frustrate those organisations, mainly relatives groups, in Ireland anxious to learn the truth about the activities of the British Intelligence Services and their surrogates from the Loyalist paramilitary groups who killed, bombed and maimed in the 1970s. It was almost as if casting a light on the darker side of these British Special Operations in Ireland was now an embarrassment to be set aside.

The CL wrote to Mr. Ahern following consideration of the issue. A response from David Feeney Private Secretary to the Taoiseach says:

This AGM: Whilst welcoming the decision of Attorney General Rory Brady to instruct the Coroner for County Louth, Mr. Ronan Maguire BL to hold an inquest into the death of Seamus Ludlow, the Celtic League reiterates its support for the Ludlow family's request for a full and independent public enquiry.

"In reply the Taoiseach has asked me to say that earlier this year the Government asked former Supreme Court Judge, Henry Barron who is also examining the Dublin, Monaghan and Dundalk bombings to carry out an examination of the murder of Seamus Ludlow and the circumstances surrounding it. Judge Barron is due to report in the near future and the government is committed to publishing his report. It is intended that the report will be considered by the Oireachtas which will recommend as to what if any form of public examination will be required".

The reply is extremely disappointing. Experience tells us that selective examination of matters of this nature, however eminent the Justice involved, lack the 'cauterising' ability of a full public enquiry to unearth the truth.

FRANCE 'ODD MAN OUT' IN THE NEW EUROPE

The Celtic League AGM 2002 endorsed a resolution put forward by the Breton Branch, which calls on the French government to allow for the integration of Diwan Schools into the public education system. The resolution read:

This AGM calls upon the French Government to change the second article of the Constitution to ensure that the DIWAN's schools will be integrated into the French state school system.

A campaign in support of this motion was mounted involving the General Secretary, Bernard Moffatt, and all national Branches. In a further negative gesture at the end of last year the French Council of State (Conseil d'État) annulled all decrees and legal texts aimed at the integration of Breton Diwan Schools into the public education system. Children who attend Diwan schools are taught through the medium of the Breton language, using the 'immersion' method.

However, the Council of State, reinforcing earlier diktats, say that this is not in line with the French constitution which states that the 'language of education is French.'

The Diwan organisation has already expressed its outrage at this latest intervention and reiterated its call for the commitments given by former Education Minister, Jack Lang, to be honoured.

The almost hysterical opposition of the Conseil d'État to the integration of Breton schools into the public education system exposes how tenuous is the commitment of the French government to the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages signed by President Chirac in 1999.

France never a great friend of linguistic minorities, particularly those within its present frontiers, is fast becoming the major obstacle to the acceptance and development of linguistic diversity in the New Europe.

France is increasingly exposed as the 'odd man out' in the New Europe. As other States develop greater cultural diversity France through its Conseil d'État clings to a concept of 'cultural hegemony' which belongs to another age.

OTHER RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED

- This AGM: Welcomes the progress made towards the establishment of designated National Parks in Scotland and endorse the proposals set out in the Cairngorms National Park Draft Designation Order.
- This AGM: Mindful of the long term impact of military exercise areas and firing ranges deplores the decision of the United Kingdom Ministry of Defence to allow United States Forces to utilise the Cape Wrath area off Northern Scotland for military exercises.
- This AGM of the Celtic League reiterates its call upon the British and French governments to set up devolved governments for both Cornwall and Brittany respectively, based on the model of devolved government in Scotland.
- This AGM of the Celtic League calls on the French State, which signed and ratified the basic UN and EU treaties, in the field of Human rights, to respect international laws providing protection to political prisoners.
- This AGM condemns the Irish Government for its refusal to acknowledge the outcome of the NICE referendum vote and its decision to have another referendum on exactly the same Treaty. We call on the Irish people to reject this attack on democracy and on their Constitution and to vote NO TO THE NICE RERUN.
- This AGM calls on the Irish Government to scrap the Official Languages Bill (Equality) 2002 which is

weak and ineffectual as a so-called instrument to guarantee Irish Language Rights and which places far too much reliance on the use of Ministerial Powers. New and effective legislation should be introduced as a matter of urgency.

- This AGM expresses its concern at the reported plans by the British government to develop third generation nuclear power stations on the site of existing plants and reaffirms its total opposition to the siting of nuclear installations on the perimeters of the Irish Sea.
- This AGM:
 - (a) expresses its concern at the detention and ill treatment of a number of persons from South Armagh at Crossmaglen Police station on April 18th, 2002.
 - (b) Calls on the British and Irish government to thoroughly examine the circumstances surrounding the arrests with a view to ensuring that any security forces personnel found to have acted improperly are disciplined.
- This AGM bearing in mind that the Census of 2001 included the Cornish as an indigenous national minority within Britain, asks the Westminster government what progress is being made in implementing the Framework Convention for the Protection of Minorities in providing support for the teaching of Cornish history, geography and language in Cornish schools, including the provision of cultural activities.

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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:

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LANGUAGE & culture

CANAIN NA H-ALBA

Iomadach bliadhna air ais nuair a bha Gàidhlig aig na h-eoin, bha an sgrìobhadair ann am Budapest, ceanna-bhaile den Ungair.

Bha e air na làithean-saora aige. colla-deug. Cha robh e daor idi'r.-deich not air fhichead, ach phàigheadh gach duine am faradh aige fhèin. Le sin, ged a bha am biadh sar mhath bha sinn a' dèanamh cadal air leabaidhean-ìochdrach no mat-tresses an seòmair-clas ann an sgoit air-choireigin.

Mata, latha de na làithean agus an sgrìobhadair a' gabhail sràid nuair a thuig e gun do dhì-chuimhnich e rudeigin. Dh'fheumadh e tilleadh don sgoil far an robh e 'na chadal. Thill e thairis air an drochaid agus tre'n tunail, agus, leis a sin bha e aig doras na sgoile.....

Ach cò bha anns an seòmair-clas ach boireannach aois deich bliadhna air fhichead no rudeigin mar sin. Bha leabhraichean no jotters 'na laimh. Chunnac i gun robh feileadh-beag air an sgrìobhadair.

"S e bean-teagaisg a tha annam den chlas seo," arsa ise gu coibhneil sa Bheurla, "thill mi airson tuilleadh leabhraichean fhaighinn, a cheartachadh aig an taigh."

Bha an duine òg a' sgrùdadh nan dealbh air ballachan na seòmair gu luath.

"Am faca tu cail 'na tha air na bal-lachan sin, agus an seòmair-clas seo? Bheil diofar eatorra agus an fheadhainn sna bun-sgoiltean Albannach?" arsa ise.

"Chan eil diofar ann ta idir," arsa esan.

"Bheil thu cinnteach?" arsa an tidsair.

"Gu dearbh,tha."

"Am faca tu a' chàin orra? Nach eil iad san Ungaireis?" arsa ise.

Uill, chaidh na faclan sin aice troimh an sgrìobhadair coltach ri peileir no biodag! A reir an Tiomnadh Nuadh dh'fhosgaileadh na sùilean aig Pol mar gun robh e dall gus an seo nuair a bha e air an rathad gu Damascus. Mata, dh'fhosgail na sùilean aig an sgrìobhadair mar an ceudna anns an seòmair-clas seo ann am

Budapest. Thuig esan an sin gun robh dùthchas nan Ungaireach a' tòiseachadh anns an t-seòmair-clas far an robh teagaisg uile gu leir tre na h-Ungaireis, eadhon a h-uile càin choimheach mar Gearmailteis, Fraingis no Beurla no eile.

Nuair a bha na h-Ungairich fo smachd na h-Ostair, no Austria, bha teagaisg uile gu leir tre Gheannailteis. Carson? Sna làithean ud bha na h-Ungairich ceannsaichte leis an Ostair agus mar sin bha an teagaisg tre na Gearmailteis. Bha sin feadh na h-impireachd Ostaireach. Bha e mar seo sna h-impireachdan Eorpach air feadh na h-Africa no air feadh na h-Aisia no ann an aite sam bith eile. Mar eisem-plair, bha Seneagal fo smachd na Frainge agus bha teagaisg agus a h-uile eile san Fhraingeis.

Mar an ceudna, an seo ann an Alba, rinn an Riaghaltas am an Lomainn an aon rud a thaobh ar càin Albannach le Achd an Fhoghlaim 1872. Dhùin iad a h-uile sgoil far an robh teagaisg tre na Gàidhlig agus cha robh e ceadaichte ach teagaisg tre na Beurla chruaidh Shasannach a-mhàin- Direach mar a tha e air feadh a' mhòrchuid na h-Alba fhathast

Air an aobhar sin, bithidh sinn a' strig a bheil a h-uile sgoil a' teagaisg tre na Gàidhlig bhon a tha i na càin Albannach a bha an seo iomadh linn roimh'n a' chàin chruaidh Shasannach! Leis a sin bhitheamaid sinn coltach ris a h-Lite duthaich Eorpach eile. Chan eil tir ann an Roim Eorpa far a bheil teagaisg am tre na Beurla.

Carson a bheil sgoilean a' teagaisg troim'n na Beurla, bhon a tha sinn ceannsaichte le Sasann, mar eisimpleir cheannsaich An Spainn A' Phortagail sa bhliadhna 1580 agus a nuair a fhuair A'Phortagail an neo-eisimeileachd aice air ais air a'chiad latha den Dùbhlachd 1640 cha robh ach aon sgoil ann an Lisbon far an robh teagaisg tre na Portagail. An diugh chan eil ach aon sgoil Ghàidhlig ann an Glaschu agus aon ann an Dun

Èideann (aig Tollcross). Ach bithidh sinn buadhach a dh'aindeoin gach cnap-starra.

A thaobh nan meadhanan tha sinn a' dèanamh beagan adhartais. Tha www.gaelicscotland a' brosnachadh turasachd agus a' nochdadh ar càin, ar dualais agus ar sloinntearachd agus tha www.bbc.co.uk/alba daonnan a' dol am feabhas. Bithidh BBC Radio nan Gaidheal (FM 103-105) a' craobh-sgaoladh air feadh Siorrachdan Pheairt is Aonghais. Chuala sinn gum bi ar Radio ri fhaotainn air cable is saideal no satellite Sky a tha ri fhaighinn air feadh Alba agus a' mhòrchuid na Roinn Eorpa. Chuala sinn cuideachd gum bheil feadhainn air lorg Radio againne sna crìochan Alba.

Cha bhidh Alba neo-eisimeileach le Parlamaid Albannach uite-cumhachdach a-mhàin, feumaidh sinn a bhidh teagaisg tre na Gàidhlig a-mhàin. Leis a sin, bithidh sinn coltach ri tirean eile Eorpach. Dè thuirt Ceann-suidhe Comunn Gàidhealach, Peadar Mac an t-saoir ach, "Na mo bharail-sa, ma bhios cail ri tairgse, feumaidh sinn gabhail greim air agus feantainn air nas mo!"

Gilleasbuig MacMuirich Gilleasbuig Lachlainn 'Ileasbuig

Summary

The writer recalls the shock when he realised that the language of teaching in Hungary was through Hungarian and not English. That recalled to him in the European conquered colonies only the imperial language was tolerated. All others were stamped on as when the London parliament passed the Education Act 1872 which closed all Gàidhlig medium schools and gave the English language the monopoly as the language of teaching. It reminded him how Spain conquered Portugal in 1580 and by the time the Portuguese won back their independence on 1 December 1640 there was only one school left in Lisbon where Portuguese was the only language of teaching. Today we have only one Gàidhlig school in Glasgow and only one in Edinburgh. Two web sites are available of most interest, the updated www.bbc.uk/alba and the new www.gaelicscotland.co.uk. BBC Radio nan Gaidheal (FM 103-105) can now be got on satellite Sky and cable anywhere. There is a lobby keen to see our Radio extended to the Scottish Borders. Three sources are available for self-learning with book and audio cassette—Routledge's "Colloquial Gaelic/Gàidhlig" Hugo's "Gaelic/Gàidhlig in Three Months" and "Teach Yourself Gaelic/Gàidhlig".

Teatr Penn ar Bed



"Termaji" (Lioubomir Simovitch) Courtesy Louis Blonce

Pe vare eo bet savet ar strollad?

Savet eo bet ar strollad er bloavezh 1973-74. Harpet omp bet dioustu gant Gerard Pigeon (e penn "Bleun Brug" d'ar poent se.) ha gant Chanig ar Gall dreist-holl, hag a oa o labourad evid ar radio ha desket war ar vicher eun tamm dija. Evit ar pezh a zell ouz al leurennia, E oa Alan Kervenn, evid ar pezh a zell euz an argand e reas Franch Broudig e seiz gwella evid diskoacha eun tamm sikour gant ar CRBC peogwir e oa o labourad eno.

Pal ar strollad d'ar poent se a oa dija klask ober teatr en eun doare dishenvel euz ar pezh a veze gwellet er bloavezhioù se. (Strollad Maria Prat dreist-holl). Anad deoc'h ne ouezemp ket kalz a dra diwar benn ar c'hoariva med eun dra oa zur : e brezhoneg eo e faote deomp c'hoari ha n'eo ket e galleg. Abalamour da ze on-oa dibabet kaout tud a oueze brezhoneg mad da zigenta. Buan awalc'h on eus komprennet penaoz ne oa ket ar c'hoariva eun afer a yezh nemedken hag azaleg neuze on eus klasket deski an doare da c'hoari, beza aez war al leurenn, distaga, c'hoari gant ar re all hag ar pezh pouezusa : lakaad ar re all da c'hoari geneoc'h. Eur mell kudenn eo bet a viskoaz rag seul daol ma tegoueze eur c'homedian nevez "barz ar strollad e veze al labour da adober. En desped da ze, eo bet chomet pemp ahanomp e diabarz ar strollad abaoe ar penn kenta : Andrew Morvan, Naig Daoufarz, Sylvie Vigouroux ha dreist-holl Jakez Andrew hag a gas ar strollad en dro.

Hag al leurennia ?

Goude sikour Alan Kervenn on eus bet tud da gaoud leurennierien a vicher. Int-I o deus laketa ahanomp d'ober eur c'hammad braz war-raog. Gwillou Kergourlez, (skrivagner ha komedian hag a barrez Elliant) a oe o labourad er "c'h-Comedie de l'Ouest". Eur gwall zikour eo bet deomp ha c'hoariet on eus bet daou euz e beziou : "Bitekile" (An hanter-kantved ostaliri war hent ar Baradoz.) ha "Dahud" (Mojenn Ker-Iz). Me gav din, en eus bet kalz levezon warnomp, dreist-holl war an doare peziou on eus dibabet warlec'h hag evel-just ar mod da c'hoari, da lared eo : klasel awalc'h a benn ar fin.

Abaoe seiz vloaz zo bennag e vez Bernard Lotti oh ober war dro. Hen a zo e penn "Le theatre de l'Instant" barz Brest, anavezad a ra mad tre komedianed ar strollad ha gouzoud a ra ar pezh omp gouest da ober.

Modernoc'h eo an doare neus da labourad; ar pezh a gont evitan eo al lusk hag al liammou etre ar senennou. N'eo ket brezhonneg hag en desped da ze e kas e labour en eun doare resiz ha skler. Skoazellet e vez evid peb pezh gant Jean-Yves Gourvez evid labour-yezh ar gomedianed, rag hervez ar yezh implijet emzalc'h ar memestra komedian a vez dishenvel. E Brezhoneg e ficher neubeutoc'h ar c'horf ha dreist-holl an daouarn : choariet a vez muioc'h euz an diabarz. An daramprejou-tost a vez diez tre da renta e brezhoneg war al leurenn padal e raer ar pezh a garer e galleg.

Marteze eo abalamour eo chomet ar yezh stag euz eun doare-beza "mod-koz" eun tamm ha n'eo ket eun doare-beza "mod-ker" evel evid ar galleg. Boud zo traou e-giz e donder kalon an den ha ne heller ket diverka!!!

An arvestourien?

Tro d'ar penn kenta eh implijomp eur yezh standard awalc'h, kerne peurvia. Ar pezh a c'hoarvez eo, e kemer peb komedian e berz hag e tistag anezan hervez doare e vro. Estreged ar pouez mouez e chench ar ger-mam-ger med nebeud awalc'h. Anad deoc'h ne vez ket ken ingal ar brezhoneg evel ma vefe toud ar gomedianed euz ar memez kornbro e-giz "strollad Kallag" da skouer. A-hendall al live yezh a vez dishenvel hervez ar peziou. En e farsadennoù Per Jakez Helias a implije war-dro 250 ger dishenvel benneg : eur seurt brezhoneg-diazezh implijet bemdez sanset. Da skouer, eur pezh evel "Termaji" hervez Lioubomir Simovitch a ra tost da 800, lod deuz outo ne vezont ket implijet aliez ouzhpenn-se. Neuze e komprenner e c'houlennomp eur bec'h digand ar re a deu da weled peziou "Teatr Penn ar Bed" rag ar yezh a vez uhel awalc'h hag an dud n'int ket kustum ken da chelaou kemend all a vrezhoneg en eun taol. Setu perag on eus berraet omp feziou. Arabad eo dibaseal eun eurvez hanter, a-hendall e fagan evez an dud. Ar pezh a zo gwir e brezhoneg a zo gwir er yezhoù all ivez. Kaoud sonj : er bloavezhioù 60 e tibabe ar C.D.O. c'hoari peziou a bade war dro diou eurvez hanter, gant lakaad eur pezh bihan en araog : eur re-govad a feson. Gwelloc'h e kavan me kaoud blas ar renebeud evid kaoud hir ma amzer!

Kavet e vez lod euz ar peziou da brena c'hoaz e ti "Brud Nevez" 10, stread Kemper 29200 Brest.

J.M. Synge :
Bryn Williams :
Brendan Behan :
Per-Jakez Helias :
Gwillou Kergourlez :

Remi Derrien :
Dario Fo :
Ariano Suassuna :
Jos Kesselring :
L. Simovitch :

Lapous-de-29-: The playboy of the Western World,
Karantez kriz, Karantez droug :Cariad creulon,
An ostaj : The ostage,
The otherün : (e saozneg nemet ken)
Benn Warc'hoaz vo deiz c'hoaz,
Bitekile (e saozneg hag e Brezhoneg),
Gwrazezh,
O Chezus ! : Mistero buffo,
Testament ar c'hi,
Arsenik ha koz dantelaj,
Termaji...vo c'hoariet choazh

Teatr Penn ar Bed
211, stread Verdun,
29200 Brest

The Celtic Film Festival

For the fourth time The Celtic Film and Television Festival returned to Brittany in 2002. This 23rd edition successfully highlighted radio, news media and film production in the Celtic countries. Galicia too was present as special guest. The Festival was also the occasion to screen, for the first time in Brittany, films like **Bloody Sunday** and **El Bosque Animado**. It was a good platform for Breton productions, which won three international prizes, and for the general public interested in the cinema world, who could discover many aspects of it in the marquee, where Ti Ar Vro, Kemper organised several exhibitions.

A link between Professionals and Students

Ti Ar Vro who were in charge of several activities organised through the "Kemper Keltiek Forum", managed to open the event to the general public and specifically to school children.

A presentation of jobs in the audiovisual industry was organised over two days, including meetings with about twenty professionals coming from all Brittany. Amongst them, script writing through three different workshops.

The Art School of Kemper, which organised an open day during the Festival, was more dedicated to animation films. Jean-Pierre Lemouland (JPL Films), helped by various other animators, commented on the various stages involved in making and animating films. Students also met directors, producers and training staff from Celtic countries as well as video artists from art schools in Brittany. A training session was also

developed to bring in students able to shoot and edit items under the supervision of seasoned professionals. A small team of bilingual journalists, with two web casters from www.bretagne.com, directed the work of the strong student team of the ESRA (Ecole Supérieure de Réalisation Audiovisuelle) and from the Information-communication department of Rennes 2 University.

Exhibitions for Schools and General Public

A debate on the place of the Breton language in the industry, took place with politicians and representatives from broadcasters and professionals. Daoulagad Breizh had commissioned a study on production in the Breton language.

Among the various discussions, the presentations on job and training succeeded in attracting interested school children: the local bilingual schools brought their classes to discover those jobs in a very concrete way and in Breton.

'Opening the event via forums met with a good measure of success, especially with schools: 21 schools and colleges attended and sent over 400 pupils. The dubbing workshops proved extremely popular; especially with Diwan schools' announced Xavier Perrin, who was very satisfied.

Ti Ar Vro Kemper had organised other activities around the film archive and the sound archive, helped by Dastum, the Breton organisation that collects songs and music, and also showed how to access material via multimedia applica-

tions. Demos also covered stocking of items and digitalisation. An Tour Tan, promoter of the cyber fest-noz, offered demonstrations of broadcasting on line. Live music was not forgotten either, with two concerts by the well-known Galician Carlos Nunez and the multi-influence Breton group Meuriad, though we should point out that this latter one was offered by a sponsor to the guests of the Festival, and therefore not opened to the general public.

High Quality Films

Amongst the various activities, the screenings in two cinemas of the town attracted only a small number of people because they were rarely dubbed or subtitled. Over 20 films were shown during the time of the Festival, three of them were nationwide preview screenings. The films were also used to illustrate debates like that on bilingualism. **Bloody Sunday** by Paul Greengrass, which had just been awarded the Golden Bear in Berlin's Festival, and **El Bosque Animado** (The Living Forest), a Galician animated long film, were particularly noticed.

Concerning Brittany, over 45 films applied to participate in the competition, from which the national jury selected 15 productions. Good choices were made as three of them won international prizes. **Brezhoneg**, with Pierrick Guinard, won the prize for Factual Documentary and **Le Dos au mur**, produced by Vivement Lundi, won the Animated Film prize. **Reptile**, from Pascal Stervinou, won the prize, though it was the only one presented by Brittany, in the Fiction category.

Overall, the Festival generally managed to give everybody in Brittany a chance to meet with the Celtic cinema world and all its aspects.

Hoel LOUARN

Coláiste na nGael

Coláiste na nGael held a very successful *International Festival of the Irish Language* in The Hague, Netherlands, in Autumn 2002. Irish speakers from all over Europe descended on The Hague for three days of talks, music and historic walks.

Coláiste na nGael has announced its most comprehensive programme of events for 2003. Coláiste will be visiting Canada, The Netherlands, Conamara and sites all over Britain.

For a free 8-page booklet or further information about any of the above, contact: Christy Evans, Shenfield High School, Alexander Lane, Shenfield, Essex, CM15 8RY.

Tel: 01277 210 131; Fax: 01277 266 422;

Email: shs@shenfield.essex.sch.uk



Dutch organisers, Gearóid Ó hÚcaire and Trealach Kennelly
(Irish speakers who live in the Netherlands)

AN ESEDHIVOS YN ARGENTINA

Yn mis Hedra a dheu, y fydd synsych ha solempnys an esedhvos yn Argentina yn Nans an Chubut yn Patagonia, Argentina deghow. Y fydd 2 esedhvos avel pub blydhen. An kynsa esedhvos a vydd synsych an 13 ha 14 a vis Gwynnigala. Henni yw Esedhvos an Yowynkneth a wra hwarvos y'n dre hennys Gaiman. An nesa esedhvos a vydd synsych an 25 ha 26 a vis Hedra yn Trelew. Yma Gaiman ha Trelew yn Nans an Chubut yn Patagonia yn Argentina deghow. Patagonia ha Nans an Chubut, yn arbennik, yw kolonn Argentina gembrek. Ena, an Gembroyon a drevesigas y'n vlydhen 1865.

Nyns o es rag an drevesigyon Gembrek triga ena, mar bell dhiworth Kembra mes i re gwithas aga gonisogeth ha'ga yeth kembrek bys yn hedhyw ha dres oll, solempnyta mar poesek avel an Esedhvos. Mes hedhyw yma an wonisogeth Kembrek ow krevhe yn Kembra Patagonia.

Pur boesek yw an Esedhvos rag an Gembroyon yn Kembra dre vras, dell ov vy sur mes moy poesek yw martesyn rag Kembroyon Argentina ha goethus y halsa bos an gemmynyeth Kembrek yn Argentina gans gwithyans hy esedhvos.

Lymnans Esedhvos Argentina. Goethus y halsa bos Michael D. Jones a'y drevesigeth tramor : *Kembra dres an moryow*, dell leveris ev, ytho.

Pella derivadow yn Spaynek po Kembrek orth :

Asociacion del Eisteddfod del Chubut/Cymdeithas Eisteddfod Y Wladfa, Secretaria Eisteddfod del Chubut:

Casilla de Correo N° 84, (9100) Trelew, Provincia del Chubut, República Argentina. eisteddfod@infovia.com.ar po yn Spaynek dhiworth: www.almargen.com.ar

Chayr bardhek,
José CALVETE.



Summary

This year the two Patagonian Eisteddfodau took place Gaiman and in Trelew, in the heartland of Welsh-speaking Argentina, i. e. the Chubut Valley in Patagonia (Southern Argentina) where Welsh immigrants settled in 1865. It was not easy for them to settle there but they have kept alive their native language, culture and institutions as important as the Eisteddfod, inherited from their native Wales and today their culture is strengthening in Welsh Patagonia. Michael D. Jones could be proud of his 'Wales beyond the seas' as he called 'Y Wladfa'.

NOWODHOW DA RAG ASWONNVS AN YETHOW KELTEK YN AMERIKA DEGHOW. (RANN 2).

Yn Carn N° 117, my re skrifas yn kever kesusulyans yn Buenos Aires (Argentina), yn mis Me, yn kever an yethow Keltek ordenys gans tus an wasva www.almargen.com.ar ha'n Kesunyans Keltek Argentina.

Amkan an kesusulyans na o ledanhe aswonnvos an yethow Keltek yn Argentina, pow gans kemmyniethow Keltek poesek.

My re dhegemmeras nowodhow da dhiworth agan kowetha yn Argentina a-dhegynsow yn kever an kesusulyans synsych yn mis Me. A-dro dhe 150 den a dheu dhe'n kesusulyans, y'ga mys skiansogyon ha skrifysi a-vri yn Argentina. Y teu ynwedh tus a'n kemmyniethow Keltek Argentina rag aswonngwella aga gwreidyhow Keltek.

Yn berr geryow, an kesusulyans a sewenas yn tien!

Skeusennow an arethoryon/Pictures of the lecturers:

Summary

In Carn N° 117, I wrote about a conference on Celtic languages to be held in Buenos Aires, Argentina. The main goal of this conference was to give the opportunity to the Argentineans to gain a better knowledge of the Celtic languages as the country has a large Celtic community. I have good news about the conference as around 150 people attended it. A great success!



José, Calvete

José CALVETE.

ASTONISHING REPRESSION OF ASTURIAN LANGUAGE!

In an astonishing throwback to the 19th century Spain's highest court the Constitutional Court, ruled that a child can be punished for speaking a non-Spanish language. The court confirmed two previous decisions by a court in the Asturian village of Villaviciosa and a provincial court, which also saw no harm in penalising children for using their own, Asturian, language that is spoken by approx. 450,000 people in the northwestern Iberian Peninsula.

The various court stages had considered a situation in which all children 'caught' speaking Asturian at a school in Villaviciosa were punished by being 'fined' 25 pesetas. The punishments continued until parents denounced them a few years ago and the issue was publicised in a local newspaper.

Andecha Astur say the Constitutional court's decision simply rubber-stamps the Spanish government's linguistic policy, which consists of encouraging the pre-eminence of only one language, Spanish. Andecha Astur has not given up the fight and is considering taking the issue before European institutions.

This discrimination against the Asturian language being directed at school children is cultural repression of a most heinous kind. It is indicative of the immature attitude that still pertains to the languages of National minorities within the old 'Nation States' of Europe.

It is also clearly a breach of the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages and the Celtic League urges all National branches and members of the League to protest about the situation to the Spanish Embassies in London, Dublin and Paris.

Bernard Moffatt

Synergia

I am a Catalan Carn subscriber. For a long time I maintained correspondence with Alan Heusaff who helped and advised me on launching an international magazine called *Synergia*.

Some years ago *Synergia* disappeared as a magazine to become an electronic magazine and now we have changed again to a news agency of nations without state all around the world.

I think it would be interesting to advertise the web address in the Celtic League magazine if it is possible. This advertising would be a help to us reach more people.

Many thanks in advance.

Jordi Vázquez i Mir

<http://stourn.en.eresmas.com>

NOWODHOW PUR DHA RAG AN YETH KERNEWEK

Gras dhe'n wiasva henwys **Nowodhow Kernow** (mires orth erhygel yn hy hever) ni re redyas nowodhow pur dha rag an yeth Kernewek.

Herwydh Matthew Clarke, pennskriker **Nowodhow Kernow**, an 22 a vis Gortheren a vydh an gwella dydh y'n istori Kernewek.

Aswonys vydh an yeth Kernewek gans an Governans Predennek yn-dann **Chartour Europek a Yethow Byghan ha Lyha Kewsys** wosa termyn hir ha kaskyrgh hir ynwedh yn seythun a'n 22.07.2002. Trygh meur y les ha poes yw henna.



Nick Raysford

An 22.07.2002 po an 23.07.2002 y fydh derivas dhiworth Menister an Ranndiryow **Nick Raysford** MP bos an yeth Kernewek gorrys y'n **Chartour Europek a Yethow Byghan ha Lyha Kewsys** yn-dann rann dhiw.

Rann dhiw an Chartour a re aswonys soedhek dhe'n taves heb gul res dhe'n Governans po awtoritys leel spena arghans rag dyski an yeth. Byttegyns, na yll an Governans stankya war avisysans Kernewek na fella ha na yll denvydh leverel nag yw Kernewek taves gwir.

Aswonys vydh an yeth Kernewek avel kembrek, lwerdhonek hag Albanek rag ensampel. Kamm meur war-rag yw rag an yeth.

José CALVETE.

Dhiworth gwasva Nowodhow Kernow

Summary

The Cornish language was recognized by the British government in July last. It will be put under part two of the European Charter for Minority and Lesser Used Languages. This implies an official recognition of the language but the Government or local authorities will not be obliged to spend money in order to promote the learning of the language. Nevertheless it makes the Cornish Language an official language and nobody could say it is not a real language. A great step forwards!

DEVOLUTION MOVE SHOULD FOLLOW LANGUAGE STEP

The Celtic League welcomes the decision by the United Kingdom to extend the European Charter on Minority Languages, a Convention of the Council of Europe, to include Cornish.

The League has consistently called for this status to be accorded and the issue has been the subject of repeated resolutions at the Annual Meeting of the Celtic League in recent years.

In 2000 at the AGM held in the Isle of Man the League adopted the following resolution: "This AGM: Recalling the decision of the 1999 AGM in respect of the failure to recognise the status of Breizh and Kernow under the provisions of the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages.

Endorses the conclusions of "The Cornish National Minority Report" and expresses its support for the campaign to have the United Kingdom government recognise that the Cornish are a national minority for the purposes of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities".

The recognition of Cornish is an endorsement of the effort expended by both the National Cultural and Political movements in Cornwall and the external support provided by bodies such as the League.

However, clearly the main credit in relation to this development must go to all those in Cornwall who applied such time and effort to compiling "The Cornish National Minority Report".

Cultural developments such as this new status for the Language are welcome. Another welcome development would be for the United Kingdom government to recognise Cornish aspirations for devolved status similar to that already applied to Wales and Scotland. Cornwall is part of the family of Celtic Nations. Kernow's National aspirations should be accorded appropriate status.

Bernard Moffatt

AFTER CORNISH MOVE - WHERE NOW FOR MANX?

The status recently agreed for the Cornish Language as part of the UK decision to extend the European Charter provisions may also be an option for the Manx Language.

The Isle of Man is not part of the European Union but the provisions of this Charter, which is a Council of Europe Treaty (No 148), could be extended to the Manx Language.

The Cornish developments have focused Manx Language supporters on the issue and it has been suggested that International Recognition and the protection afforded for the language via a Convention could be facilitated for the Manx Language via the adoption of the Council of Europe Treaty.

The Manx government are yet to make a clear statement on the issue. Enquiries by the Celtic League to the Manx governments Chief Secretary in September last elicited the response that the matter was still with the Isle of Man Attorney General and the implications of the treaty were being 'actively considered'.

A Fresh Start for Gaelic

In early 2001, a Ministerial Advisory Group on Gaelic (MAGOG) was appointed to advise the Scottish Executive on the future development of the language (Carn 113). This group of language planning experts released its report *Cothrom Ùr don Ghàidhlig / Gaelic: a Fresh Start* in May. The report, also known as the Meek report, made several recommendations for the revitalisation of Gaelic: (1) that a Gaelic Language Act based on the *Secure Status for Gaelic* report should be passed, (2) that a new Gaelic development agency *Bòrd na Gàidhlig* be established with substantial new resources and powers to plan for Gaelic nationally and to require other public sector bodies to work with it in that progress, (3) that a dedicated Gaelic Liaison Unit, staffed by Gaelic speakers, be established within the Scottish Executive. The report is available online at: www.magog.org.uk.

Reaction to the report was very positive amongst the Gaelic community with Gaelic agencies and activists calling for the speedy implementation of the report in full. The Governmental response has been less positive with the Scottish Executive having made it clear that it has no plans to introduce a Gaelic Language Act or to substantially increase Gaelic funding. The Executive has agreed to establish a Gaelic development board but it is unclear what powers, if any, this board will have. It is unclear at present whether the Executive intends to take any action to create a civil service Gaelic unit.

Brude Mac Maelcon

Gaelic News

Gaels demonstrate in Edinburgh

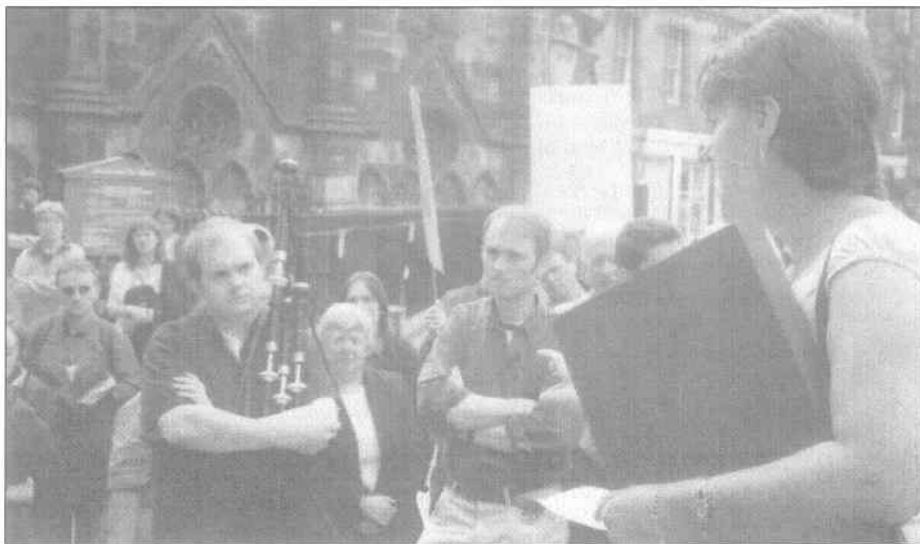
Gaelic activists staged a protest outside the Scottish Parliament on 4 September in the form of a demonstration calling upon the Scottish Executive to establish a Gaelic Language Act and television channel. Over one hundred people gathered together to show their support for the action and numerous MSPs were also in attendance.

A range of speakers including poet Aonghas Dubh MacNeacail and minority language law expert Rob Dunbar criticised the Scottish Executive for its failure to take decisive action to promote the language. As part of the demonstration, a 4000-name petition was delivered to John McAllion MSP, chair of the Parliamentary Public Petitions Committee. The petition calls upon the Scottish Executive to implement in full the recommendations of the Ministerial Advisory Group on Gaelic report on Gaelic development. The main recommendation of this report was that a Gaelic Language Act be passed.

The action and petition was organised by Strì nan Oileanach (Students' Struggle), a group of Gaelic students from Lews Castle College with help from the Gaelic campaign group Fàs, the Gaelic Society of London and from Clì – the New Gaels.

Although the Scottish Executive has ruled out the possibility of introducing a Gaelic Language Bill, it emerged during the demonstration that the Executive was considering supporting the parliamentary private members' bill for Gaelic, which is being put forward by SNP Gaelic spokesperson Mike Russell MSP.

While activists welcomed this news concern was expressed about reports that this might be a bill for the Highlands and Islands only. A Fàs spokesman said: "an act for the Highlands and Islands only would do more harm than good for Gaelic development and would cause division in the Gaelic community. Gaelic is a national language and we need a national Gaelic act. The Gaelic community will not accept a regional Gaelic act". Mr Russell moved to ease concerns, saying that he would be conducting a consultation exercise on the first draft of the bill and that he would listen to the views of the Gaelic community on this matter and take them into account in the final version of the bill. Activists must take the opportunity of the consultation to make it clear that a Gaelic Language Act applying to Scotland as a whole is necessary if the language is to make progress.



Cathy Mary MacMillan from Strì nan Oileanach addresses the Gaelic demonstration in Edinburgh.

Helen Says no!

Scottish Secretary, Helen Liddell MP, announced, that the Government are not to support the recommendations of the Gaelic Broadcasting Taskforce's report *Gaelic Television – a dedicated channel*. This Government commissioned report recommended the creation of a £44 million digital television channel.

The Government is now investigating alternative ways in which Gaelic broadcasting can be improved and better co-ordinated without establishing a channel or increasing funding. The failure of the Government to support a Gaelic television channel has caused disappointment and anger within the Gaelic community.

Gaelic Website Launched

A new Gaelic website has been launched by the Gaelic campaign group Fàs. The website contains information about a range of Gaelic campaigns and is intended to keep Gaelic speakers and activists up to date with the latest developments in Gaelic campaigning. The site can be seen at: www.iomairteangaidhlig.org.

Fàs was formed in early 2002 by Gaelic activists in order to create a Gaelic group with the sole remit of Gaelic campaigning. Fàs is a voluntary group and receives no government funding. It works closely with the existing Gaelic agencies including Comunn na Gàidhlig and Clì – the New Gaels. The group is modelled on the example of Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymreag and uses Gaelic as its working language.

'Anti-Gaelic' Civil Service Bias

Several key government and Gaelic development figures stated that anti-Gaelic civil servants were deliberately placing obstacles in the way of Gaelic development. Highland councillor Michael Foxley accused civil servants of "institutionalised racism" and of misleading ministers of matters of Gaelic education.

Former Gaelic minister, Calum MacDonald MP, has also accused civil servants of refusing to implement ministerial orders in order to prevent the erection of bilingual road signs in the Highland Council areas. Charges of prejudice were similarly made by two other previous Gaelic ministers: Brian Wilson MP and Alasdair Morrison MSP and by Liberal Democrat Gaelic spokesman John Farquhar Munro MSP. Civil service bias was also cited by Alex O' Henley, Gaelic Officer in the Scottish Parliament, as the reason for his resignation from the post in May 2002.

Radio nan Gaidheal Expansion

The number of hours broadcast by the national Gaelic radio station Radio nan Gaidheal have dramatically expanded. Radio nan Gaidheal now broadcasts for most of the day on weekdays and can be received in many areas where Gaelic radio was not previously available.

Radio nan Gaidheal is now also available throughout the UK and in Western Europe by digital satellite (channel 920). Radio nan Gaidheal is also available online at: www.bbc.co.uk/alba.

Brude mac Maelcon

NOWODHOW KERNOW: GWIASVA SPLANN YN KERNEWEK

My a wra redya yn fenowgh 'Nowodhow Kernow', gwiasva yn Kernewek ow ros nowodhow pub-dydhiek war an kesroesweyth. An jydh arall, my re dhegemmeras messach dhiworth hy fennskrifer rag kynsa penn-bloedh an wiasva ma ha my re wovynnas dhe'n pennskrifer, **Matthew Clarke**, y hanow, dhe skrifa neppyth yn kever y wiasva, mar dhe les dhe Gernewegoryon yn Kernow ha tramor ha dhe redyoryon CARN, dell ov vy sur.

My a vynnasa leverel '**meur ras**' dhe **Vatthew Clarke** rag y erthygel ha rag y lavur splann rag an yeth Kernewek.

José CALVETE.

Mar mynnir hwithra y'n kesroesweyth, y hyllir kavoes meur a wiasvaow yn kever Kernewek. Kernow ha taklow Keltek, hag y hyl-lir dyski Kernewek lemmyn dre ebost ynwedh gans **Kernewek Dre Lyther**. Byttegyns, a-ban dhallathis vy '**Nowodhow Kernow**', nyns esa gwiasva yn Kernewek yn tien may hyllir redya an nowodhow pub-dydhiek.

Nans yw unn vlydhen y feu genys '**Nowodhow Kernow**' <http://www.geocities.com/cornishnews> rag ri nowodhow yn Kernewek yn kever taklow usi ow hwarvos yn Kernow. Ny vynnys vy gul lyver-termyn warlinenn rag derivadow yn kever an yeth, mes yth esa hwans dhymm a wul neppyth gans bri ledanna es henna. Lemmyn, awos ow gwiasva, Kernewegoryon ha tus ow tyski Kernewek a-dro dhe'n bys a yll godhvos pandra hwer y'n Ducheth ha praktisya redya an taves yn kettermyn.



Matthew Clarke

My re ros nowodhow y'n kynsa blydhen yn kever gorhel '**An Willy**' neb a omworras war veyn an arvor, **Tony Blair** ow tos dhe Gernow rag dy'goel, diskudhans tekst nowydh yn Kernewek ha kan yn Kembrek ha Kernewek gans **Gwenno Saunders**. Ytho an wiasva yw kepar ha paper nowodhow tabloyd y'n yeth ha skrifys yn brassa rann yn Kernewek Kemmyn. Kynth yw skrifys yn furv an yeth na, my a worr erthyglow ynny yn furvow erell pan vynni den skrifa neppyth ragov yn po Kernuak po Nowedga. Ny vern dhymm mann yn hwir, mes dell yw usys, y skrifav myns an erthyglow ow honan.

My re gavas e-bostyow dhiworth Kembrekoryon ynwedh yn unn leverel bos pur es ragdha i dh'y redya ha konvedhes. Heb mar y

fia es lowr rag Bretonegyon.

Rag an kynsa pennbloedh yma kesstrif mar mynni nebonan assaya skrifa erthygel rag '**Nowodhow Kernow**'. Mar na vynni, ny'm dur mann, mes da via genev tus dhe gemmeres termyn verr ha gyki orti.

Matthew Clarke (Pennskrifer)

Summary

The website '**Nowodhow Kernow**' (Cornish News), is like an online tabloid giving everyday news about Cornwall in the Cornish language. This article explains the range of content and how it tries to embrace all sorts of interests as well as orthographies if anyone wants to write for it in Kernuak or Nowedga. Matthew is a journalist and newsreader working in 'West Cornwall' for 'Pirate FM102'. He often also writes for the '**Sunday Independent**' newspaper (local not UK wide!!).

KAVADENN VARZHUS

Laouen-tre eo tud an Emsav e Kernev Veur ! Ken George, tad ar skritur anvet '**Kernewek Kemmyn**' e Kernevveureg, en deus degemeret ur postel d'an 12 a vis Ebrel pouezus-tre evit ar yezh kernevveurek. Evit gwir, degemeret en deus ar postel eus an Aotrou Andrew Hawke, den a labour e **Levraoueg Vroadel Kembre** e Aberystwyth. Titl ar postel a oa '**An amazing discovery**' (ur gavadenn varzhus).

Kavet en deus bet ur skrid e Krenngernevveureg el **Levraoueg Vroadel Kembre** ! Ur pezh-c'hoari eo. Graet eo ar pezh-c'hoari-mañ a 20 pajenn keinet. War a seblant, bez'e oa 34 pajenn en holl, gwechall, en dornskrid a orin. Ar pezh-c'hoari ne vije ket klok, eta.

An Aotrou Andrew Hawke en deus gwelet an dornskrid. Hervezañ e kaver 90 linenn gans 7 pe 4 sillabenn evel er pezh-c'hoari brudet anvet '**Bywnans Meryasek**' (Buhez Meriadeg). Bez'e vije eta ouzhpenn 3300 linenn er pezh-c'hoari. Un teñzor evit anavezout gwellañ ar yezh hag yezhadur ar C'hrenngernevveureg !

Kempred eo ar pezh-c'hoari-mañ gant '**Bywnans Meryasek**' e vije an dornskrid nevez-mañ, da lavarout eo ar XVIvet kantved.

Emañ tud, en ho mesk Graham Thomas ha Nicholas Williams, o labourat war an skrid evit kin-nig embannadur an dornskrid. Roet en deus bet an dornskrid d'al **Levraoueg** e 2000 ha kuzhet e oa betek bremañ !

Anv ar pezh-c'hoari-mañ eo '**Bywnans Ke**'

(Buhez Kae). Rann ar pezh-c'hoari a zo diwar-benn ar Roue Arzhur. Kavout a reer skridoù e Brezhoneg diwar-benn Kae ivez.

Ur chañs eo ar gavadenn-mañ evit gwellaat hon anaoudegezh ar yezh kernevveureg. War a seblant, bez'ez eus gerioù nevez pe dianav en dornskrid, dibennoù al liester e '**-au**' evel e Kembraeg met ivez tost d'an dibenn e '**-a**' e kaver e Kernevveureg-diwezhañ. Met gallout a reomp ober goulennoù evel ma skriv Graham Sandercock, pennskrifer ar gelaouenn gernevveurek '**An Gannas**' : '**Pelec'h edoa an dornskrid e-pad 500 bloavezh ? Penaos e teuas betek Levraoueg Vroadel Kembre ? Hag-eñ a vo kavet pajennoù kollet an dornskrid ? Pegement dornskridoù a vo kavet c'hoazh ha pelec'h emaint ?**'

José CALVETE.

Summary:

Ken George, of Kernewek Kemmyn received correspondence entitled '**An amazing discovery**' from Andrew Hawke of the **National Library of Wales**. A manuscript has been found with a play written in Middle Cornish. Only 20 pages out of 34 remain with 90 lines each with verses of 7 or 4 syllables. This is an important discovery for the Cornish language as there are some new words in it. But as Graham Sandercock, editor of **An Gannas** asks: '**Where was the manuscript these last 500 years? How did it reach the National Library of Wales? How many more manuscripts will be found? And if we find more, where are they?**'

Pen Pal Wanted

Natalia is ainm dom agus tá mé cúig déag bliana d'aois. Is ón bPólainn mé. Tá suim agam i gcultúr Ceilteach, go háirithe i gcultúr na hÉireann le cúpla bliain anuas.

I have been learning Irish for about two years and I do it by myself. I would like to correspond with someone who would help me to learn this wonderful language. In my country such help is not available. I know English, so I could correspond in this language.

Tá suim agam i gceol leis - seinmim ar an bpianó, is a-maith liom Enya go mór, is maith liom dúlra agus leabhair a léamh.

I do not know anybody in Ireland and would be grateful if you could to make contact with some people there. Thank you in advance for your help. I look forward to hearing from anyone interested in becoming a pen pal

Yours sincerely

Natalia Rocka, Ul. Wawelska 23a/7, 64 - 920 Pita, Poland

EDUCATION: SUPPRESSION AND ADVANCES

DIWAN SCHOOLS, THE LIMITS OF A CULTURAL STRUGGLE

This article conveys the general impressions I gained through an informal interview with a teacher known for his independence of mind. I will only quote the fears and the purpose stated by the teacher. As this man spoke, he expressed the doubts I felt myself...we had reached the limits of what is possible without the backing of a political struggle.

The teacher first recalled the three different status of schools in France: 1) The private schools, 2) The private schools with a agreement from the Ministry of education, like catholic schools and presently Diwan, 3) The public schools of the ministry of education.

As far as Diwan is concerned its financial situation is becoming more and more difficult because of the development of its secondary schools, although the results as bachelor are excellent, the conditions are precarious. The present status of Diwan also limits its expansion. It is the reason why a majority of parents were in favour of its integration into the National Education System even if there were also more ideological reasons.

The problems raised by the integration of Diwan into the National System have been assessed by the staff and their unions: CFDT and SLB, the new Breton union: the future of the non-teaching staff, of young people with special contacts, of the cleaning staff, of educators who are more numerous in Diwan than in other public schools... the future of teachers who do not have a contract with the National Education System and who are employed by Diwan the fears raised by the recruitment of new teachers which will depend on the Ministry of education only.

The personnel of course wishes all jobs will be maintained and the pedagogic methods to be pursued.

If this integration brings a solution to Diwan financial problems, its future and the future of its method of teaching by "immersion" remain uncertain. The situation of the bilingual schools, which already exist in the public service, is not reassuring: they are understaffed and lack pedagogic supervision. Moreover we can't forget the pressure of public service teachers unions and of state

schools parents associations who are strongly opposed to the method of teaching by immersion. They are stirred by the French revolution principles of humanist ideals. They oppose republican citizenship to a national minority group that they call "ethnic" to stress a withdrawal into a local community. French Jacobins where from the right or from the left use the same language.

A bit later the teacher I was interviewing envisaged another solution, he considered the possibility of a contract with Brittany Regional council or the passing of the power concerning education from the state to the Region. The Diwan board of management may have too quickly discarded this possibility and Brittany Regional Council had not envisaged it either. Diwan board with his managing director Andrew Lincoln bet all on the favourable attitude of Jack Lang, the former minister of education in Mr Jospin's government although other ministers completely disagreed. We can wonder if because it was a voting period, important members of Jospin's government didn't voice their hostility to the project for political reasons. They knew the Constitutional council or the Council of State would oppose the project anyway and would defend the Jacobin national order.

The new Prime Minister Jean-Pierre Raffarin seems to be in favour of decentralisation and experimentation, there might be an opening but let's not be naïve, let's not forget that President Chirac himself pressed the Constitutional council to refuse to sign the European Charter of minority languages. There are as many people amongst UMP, the new face of RPR, in favour of French greatness and against minority languages, as there were in the left party. UDF (=Union des Démocrates de France) however seems to be more open.

The weakness and the inner divisions of Breton political parties leave us completely dependant on Breton politicians. They are more or less eager to defend the Breton cause, they are involved in French political parties who help them to be elected but limit their scope of action. In Paris these Breton politicians find little support from their own



Jakez Derouet

party when in it is not hostility! They are often tempted to discard their Breton claims and to put their personal career first.

In France, since the Presidential and legislative elections the political trend has been to build up of two political blocks, one on the right, one on the left who is striving to find his way. Anyway in each party right or left there are Jacobins and people in favour of a moderate decentralisation who will have to find a common policy, which will never satisfy the Breton's real needs and aspirations. I personally think that democratic right and left parties are necessary for the political organisations, however their common acceptance of market economy limits their opposition. This is particularly true for politicians; it gives more strength to cross party opinions particularly those concerning decentralisation, federalism and ecology.

In any case the first purpose should be the political backing so strongly needed by Diwan.

Jakez DEROUET.

More than ever, we need a great Breton political party that would gather people around a moderately non-dogmatic progressive project. It would have to stick to the Breton reality so as not to be cut off from the population. Will U.D.B. move to this or as some people think, will we be obliged to envisage two different Breton democratic parties, one on the left, one on the right? They will have to build a common platform and agree to defend it in front of a common adversary, whether right or left. But that will be a matter for another article.

diwan schools . . . in the public state school system??

Gi Keltik interviewed Andrew Lincoln, Diwan's President, in mid 2002 when he was still optimistic on the possibility of achieving integration into the State system. However with the decision of the French Council of State (See Late News further on) and the election of a new President of Diwan towards year end the situation has changed radically.

Andrew Lincoln, Diwan's President, your schools will join the Public State School in September. That's good news?

'It's very good news, both for the Breton language and for the Diwan Schools because it's a very important stage in the recognition of the place of Breton within the public sphere.

In France, Breton like the original language has been eradicated for a very long time from the private sphere.

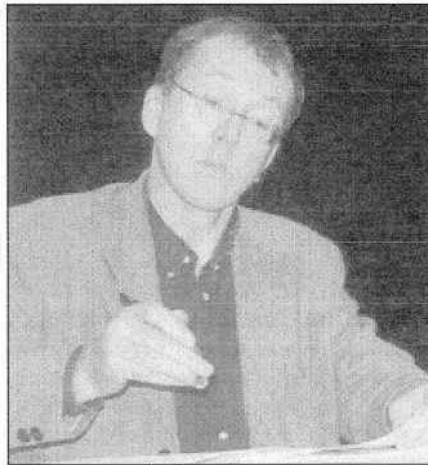
Secondly, it's going to allow our schools to have much better material conditions. Now, in the secondary sector, we are in a situation where we don't really have the means to receive and educate all the people who are already in the primary schools. Without access to the public money, to build new secondary schools, it would have been very difficult, for Diwan, to continue with more items which have been built up to now in the primary sector.'

Last year Diwan's board met some opposition with the french trade unions. Will they accept this new text?

'The most representative trade union voted in favour of the text on March 14th, when it was discussed in High Education Council in Paris. That's to say FSU and CFDT. It is true that other less representative trade unions such as F.O. or UNSA are still not very favourable to immersive teaching techniques, but I personally think that they should be glad, that the public sector came to gain in terms of the variety of teaching methods used and the quality of the work done in terms of language teaching within Diwan Schools. I am sure that we will cooperate fruitfully with all those who already work for the regional languages within the state system.'

Last AGM in Gwengamp was easier for Diwan Board than the two previous ones in Brest and Pondi. Are the relations with the parents better now?

'I think it was not too difficult to suspend all the documents that we had negotiated with the ministry last summer and suspended at the end of October. We had to rewrite different passages. That was quite a good business and the AGM, which took place at the end of March, was purely focused on the text. The majority was relatively slight on the text, but once they accepted the text, we



Andrew Lincoln

didn't have to come back to it. The general question of whether we could stay with a status of Private School or whether we need to go forward to full State recognition. 80% of the people said yes.'

What about the Trade Unions like SLB or CFDT, which went on strike between the two AGMs of Gwengamp and Pondi?

'I had difficulties in understanding what they wanted. The strike was to demonstrate...

Because we had been negotiating and exchanging with the people who are elected to represent the employees at Diwan since the beginning of the discussion with the state. Of course, changing from one sort of educational system (in terms of legal status) to another one was not an easy business. But I think that it's always been one of the main preoccupations of those negotiating to make sure that the personnel came out of this with the best possible results. Several forms of status are much more favourable for the employees than the status they have at the moment and we are negotiating hard for those who haven't been fully trained and those who have passed the exams needed to become full trained civil servants in the future'.

You now have a new Minister, Luc Ferry, who worked with Jack Lang. He seems to be in favour of languages. Do you think it's a chance for Diwan in the future?

'Well, I would like to say that we seem to have got back to the situation we were in last October, which we can get to work with the local authorities and the local representatives of the E.N. and local representative of the state, the prefect, to actually put this State School Status into effect at the beginning of the next school year, 2002/2003.'

Gi Keltik

Interview with Andre Lavanant

**Former President of Diwan
and Vice-President
of Diwallomp**

Since 1977, the year of its inception, the network of Breton-medium private schools, known as Diwan (the germ), has been tightrope walking above a financial abyss. In order to be able to face the future with less anxiety, the people in charge have for years conducted negotiations with the State with a view to normalizing their relationships.

In the Spring of 2001, an agreement foreseeing the integration in due course of Diwan within the national education system was arrived at and signed between its dynamic President and the then Minister of Education, Jack Lang.

An important group of Diwan leaders however, some teachers, and some of the parents opposed that agreement and criticized what they saw as an unduly trusting step, fearing in particular lest the specific teaching methods which accounted for Diwan's success should be sacrificed on the altar of the "One and Indivisible Republic", whose constitution leaves no room for any other language but French.

As it happens, since the "historic" signing of that agreement, Jack Lang has stepped down and is no longer in office, and the most frantically centralistic teachers unions and organisations, among which the C.S.E. (Conseil Supérieur de l'Enseignement), have lodged a complaint with the Conseil d'Etat (State Council).

Within Diwan itself, those opposed to the agreement considered as hurried have set up their own association called Diwallomp (let's be aware!). Carn has met its Vice-President, Andre Lavanant.

Carn: "You are known as one of those who disapprove of Diwan's integration within the French system of National Education. Why?"

A.Lavanant: "Well, I don't think that the circumstances are favourable to Diwan's integration, neither were they five or ten years ago. Unfortunately, the French Educational System has not changed a bit, as far as its philosophy or its ways of functioning are concerned.

Carn: "What do you think are the dangers of integration?"

A.Lavanant: "First and foremost that Diwan's teaching methods, in particular its immersion system, characterized by immersing the students in an all-Breton environment, should disappear. Indeed, we have again and again come up against the objection that article 2 of the Constitution stipulates that "French is the language of the Republic". As a consequence, Diwan has been told again and again that the immersion system was not acceptable because, during part of the curriculum, Breton was the quasi-exclusive medium of instruction. In addition, it must be stressed that the French State has never shown any kind of willingness to come to grips with the problem of minority languages in France.

For that matter, to date the European Charter for lesser-spoken languages has not yet been ratified.

We, the parents of Diwan students are proud of the tool we have created in 25 years. Many of us have become grandparents by now. Many Bretons are proud of Diwan. That wonderful tool, which has been 25 years in the making, should be entrusted to a State which could sabotage it within two or three years time. To a lot of us, this is utterly unacceptable.

Carn: "But, don't you think that, as it was, Jack Lang made a gesture of good will?"

A.Lavanant: "To my mind, Jack Lang is an open-minded man and a highly cultured person. One must also bear in mind that he is a charmer. But, he is not alone. Besides, he used to be a member of the government. It is no longer the case. What are his commitments worth

today? That complaint lodged with the state Council still stands. The final ruling has yet to come. A great many questions remained unanswered. For 25 years, there have been attempts to come to an arrangement with the State, because it is normally its job to manage the schools in France.

Carn: "What about Diwallomp, that breakaway organization within Diwan set up after the agreement between President Lincoln and Minister Jack Lang were signed?"

A.Lavanant: "Diwallomp came into existence because the discussion within Diwan itself were tense, to all intents and purposes even impossible. This discontent came to a head and **goaded** some people into uniting to express their opposition to the project of integration.

Carn: "Is Diwallomp merely a shout, an alarm signal or a structured organization?"

A.Lavanant: "It began as a shout and then an organization was set up."

Carn: "What are your plans now, as far as Diwan is concerned? Can it be envisaged that new schools be set up without their being integrated within the French Educational System?"

A.Lavanant: "Well, in actual fact, no school has been integrated in the first place. I am afraid; no one will be when school year begins in September. We might have to wait until next January or February for the first schools to be inte-



M. Le Toullec new Diwan President

grated, there must be a request from the school and an agreement from the municipality. Now, not all the municipalities are in favour of integration. As a consequence, even regarding the schools belonging to the Diwan network, I am ready to bet that not all of them will be integrated, which means that they will operate according to the present-day regulations. In other words, they will function as associated schools under State contract. As to the fresh projects concerning new schools, there is no getting around the well-known successive hurdles that Diwan schools have had to overcome in the past."

Interview conducted by:
Thierry Jigourel
(June 2002)

Late News

Following the French Council of State's (Conseil d'État) decree that the Breton language cannot be the 'first language' in the French State Public education system, (Children who attend Diwan schools are taught through the 'immersion' method.) it was clear to the Diwan movement that the *one way strategy* of Andrew Lincoln's team was no longer the way forward. At the last AGM, M. Le Toullec, Leader of Reunir - Diwan gained 55% of the votes thus becoming the new president of Diwan.

The new team under Le Toullec are opting for a pragmatic approach and a regionalist strategy. This approach includes the following steps: The first is to get out of the political strategy, secondly to go back to the (peoples) school's body and rebuild links between Diwan's Board and the schools and thirdly to find the money needed (200,000) to manage until the end of 2002. Finances will be raised through Fest Noz and other fundraisers, donations from Breton business and cooperatives and the Breton Diaspora etc). It is also hoped to avail of possible decentralisation to the Brittany region and to rebuild links with Basque schools.

Ard-Teisht Ghaelgagh

Ard-Teisht Ghaelgagh, an advanced certificate in Manx, was introduced by the Department of Education in September last. The new qualification is equivalent to an A-Level. It is expected that most students will study the modular course at home. Manx Language Officer, Phil Kelly and expert Dr. Brian Stowell of Yn Chesaght Gaelckagh will undertake tuition and monitoring. Whilst some students may take the course in school, it will not be widely available there until its present format has been assessed as successful. Modular course topics focus on the Isle of Man's political life, heritage and culture, the economy, religion, the media and leisure.

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New Style Gaelscoileanna Conference

Gaelscoileanna, the organisation which promotes Irish language medium education and assists in setting up and sustaining Irish language schools held a new style Comhdháil this year in Órán Mór, Galway in Nov. The event was held over two days with an Educational Conference on the Fri. and the Annual Conference on the Sat. The Educational Conference consisted of a series of workshops directed by experts aimed at teachers and covering both primary and second level.

Amongst topics covered at primary level were: *The Teaching of Maths in a Gaelscoil*, *Support Teachers in Immersion Education*, *Irish Reading in the Gaelscoil*, and *New Curriculum Material for Junior Classes*. For second level topics dealt with included *Assessment at Second Level* and *(Irish) Ethos in a Second Level Gael Coláiste*. A special feature involved a series of workshop sessions on immersion education at the educational conference (covering both primary and secondary level and dealing also with pupils with difficulties) and the annual conference with Jim Cummins, an expert in immersion education from Canada (see nearby article).

A *Marketing Handbook for Post Primary Education through Irish* was launched at the opening of the Conference by the CEO of Foras na Gaeilge, Seosamh Mac Donncha. Although 23,000 children attend Gaelscoileanna outside the Gaeltacht only 5,000 go on to second level. There are many reasons for this, including no immediate or local availability, the greater difficulty in founding colleges or units at second level and the attitudes of some parents. There were also difficulties with some of the units at second level resulting in the failure of a few. Discussions on these issues had lead to the decision to produce the marketing handbook and they were further debated at the annual conference at which a motion was passed instructing the Board of Directors to initiate research into the reasons for this pattern.

The capacity to have a full time staff of six, the production of the handbook and the possibility to expand the Conference format with an overseas guest speaker was facilitated by a substantially increased subvention from Foras na Gaeilge in recent years. It remains to be seen, with cutbacks



Jaqueline Ní Fhearghusa

announced in Foras funding for next year, whether the level of funding will be maintained. The Director of Gaelscoileanna, Jaqueline Ní Fhearghusa, announced that she was moving on (to a position as an Inspector in Irish at second level in the Dept. of Education) after a very productive 10 years in charge of the organisation.

There has been a continual growth in the number of schools founded, four new primary schools and one secondary unit opened this year. However with stricter Dept. of Education and Science rules in place with regard to time scale and accommodation it will be more difficult from now on for new schools to gain recognition. Amongst the high points in Jacqueline's time as Director were - the foundation of an *Foras Patrúnachta* (Patronage body for Irish Language schools), the passing of the Education Act incorporating many of Gaelscoileanna's recommendations particularly the establishment the Council for Gaelscoileanna and Gaeltacht schools and the establishment of a good professional relationship with the Dept. of Education and Science. CARN wishes her well in her new career.

CÓL

Lámhleabhar Margaíochta don Iarbhunscolaíocht trí Ghaeilge

Le cabhair ó Foras na Gaeilge

Gaelscoileanna

Bilingualism and Bilingual Education: What the Research Says

Although bilingual programmes have been controversial in some countries (e.g. U.S.A.), there is near-universal consensus among applied linguists regarding the consequences of bilingualism for children's development and the outcomes of various types of bilingual programmes. The research on bilingualism and bilingual education supports the following conclusions:

1. Bilingual programmes for minority and majority language pupils have been successfully implemented in countries around the world.

As documented in an enormous amount of international research, pupils educated for part of the day through a minority language (e.g. Irish) do not suffer adverse consequences in the development of academic skills in the majority language (e.g. English). As one example, there are more than 300,000 English-background pupils in various forms of French immersion programmes in Canada.

2. The development of fluency and literacy in two languages entails linguistic and cognitive advantages for bilingual pupils.

There are close to 200 research studies carried out since the early 1960s that report significant advantages for bilingual children on a variety of language awareness and cognitive tasks. Children raised in bilingual homes, or who become bilingual in the preschool years, develop greater problem-solving ability than is the case with monolingual children. This has been attributed to the fact that in acquiring two languages, bilingual children have had to focus more attention on linguistic meaning than children who learn only one language in the home. Similarly, pupils in bilingual schools who are acquiring literacy in two languages get more practice in processing language and this seems to sharpen their awareness of linguistic meanings and structure.

3. Significant positive relationships exist between the development of academic skills in L1 and L2.

This is true even for languages that are dissimilar (e.g. Spanish and Basque;

English and Chinese; Dutch and Turkish). These cross-lingual relationships provide evidence for a *common underlying proficiency* that permits transfer of academic and conceptual knowledge across languages. This transfer of skills and knowledge explains why spending instructional time through a minority language entails no adverse consequences for the development of the majority language.



Jim Cummins is from Dublin originally, where he gained a degree in Psychology from the National University in 1970. He has spent twenty years as Professor in the Modern Languages Unit in the University of Toronto where he has become an expert in immersion education and has published many books and articles on the topic. On his visit to Ireland, arranged by Gaelscoileanna, in addition to the workshops at its annual conference, he gave public lectures in Dublin in the Hilton Hotel and the Teachers' Training College in Drumcondra, in Limerick at the University of Limerick and in Galway at University College, Galway. Sessions were also arranged with ITÉ, Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann (Linguistics Institute of Ireland), the NEPS (Psychologists from the Department of Education and Science), Inspectors from the Department and the Commission for School Accommodation.

4. The most successful bilingual programmes are those that aim to develop bilingualism and biliteracy.

Quick-exit transitional bilingual programmes (as implemented in contexts such as the United States) tend to be less successful than programmes that continue to promote both L1 and English literacy throughout primary school. Particularly successful in the United States are *dual-language programmes* that serve English-background pupils in the same classes as minority language pupils (e.g. Spanish L1 speakers) with each group acting as linguistic models for the other. Minority language pupils in these programmes generally reach grade norms in English academic skills by grade 6 or 7.

5. L1 loss among minority language pupils is extremely common among second generation pupils and first generation pupils who arrive at an early age.

Research shows that fewer than 20% of second-generation pupils in the United States maintain fluency in their home language. Similarly, lesser used languages in Europe and elsewhere usually require strong support at the pre-school and school level to develop to the levels of proficiency that will result in transmission of the language to the next generation.

6. Teaching second languages as a separate school subject is generally much less successful than using the language as a medium of instruction to teach academic content.

For example, in the Irish situation, adults who received instruction through the medium of Irish in their school years are *ten times* more likely to use Irish as adults than those who studied the language only as a school subject.

7. Bilingual pupils learn additional languages with greater ease than monolingual pupils.

This finding is probably due to the fact that pupils who are bilingual have already developed greater sensitivity to how languages work and more effective strategies for learning language than monolingual pupils.

Jim Cummins
University of Toronto

DATBLYGIADAU CYFFROUS I ADDYSG TRWY GYFRWNG Y FANAWEG

Ar hyn o bryd, dim ond un dosbarth, mewn un ysgol sy'n cael ei addysg trwy gyfrwng yr iaith Fanaweg. Mae hynny yn digwydd yn Ysgol Ballacottier yn Doolish. Mae'r dosbarth yn cynnwys plant o bob oedran Cyfnod Allweddol Un, ac mae un athrawes sy'n siarad Manaweg yn eu dysgu gyda chymorth cynorthwywraig sy'n siarad Manaweg hefyd.

O'r cychwyn, mae'r cynllun wedi bod i ddechrau yn ysgol Ballacottier ac wedyn, pan fydd y rhif plant wedi cynnyddu, symud i adeilad newydd, yn benodol ar gyfer yr Ysgol Fanaweg (Yn Ghaelscoil). Mae'r dosbarth wedi bod yn llwyddiannus iawn yn Ballacottier, ond ar ôl y Nadolig, bydd yn symud i hen adeilad ysgol Balley Keeill Eoin. Mae gan yr ysgol honno adeilad newydd sy'n fwy, felly mae'r hen adeilad yn wag ac yn rhydd. Mae hyn yn gyffrous iawn achos nawr, bydd adeilad cyfan ar gyfer addysg trwy gyfrwng y Fanaweg a elwir 'Yn Ghaelscoil' sef Yr Ysgol Fanaweg. Bydd amgylchedd Manaweg a fydd yn galluogi'r plant i ddysgu a datblygu, a dod i garu a gwerthfawrogi eu hiaith a'u diwylliant arbennig.

Yn ddiau, bydd llawer o waith i'w wneud wrth baratoi adnoddau, cyfieithu llyfrau ac ati, ond o fes bychain y dyf derw mawrion.

Pawl ap Rhosier.

*Tar éis na Nollag, béidh a foirgneamh féin ag Yn Ghaelscoil (An Bhunscoil Mhananais).
An dèidh an Nollaig, bidh a àite fhèin aig Yn Ghaelscoil (Sgoil Ghàidhlig Eilean Mhanainn).*

Lurg yn Nollack, bee e troggal hene ec Yn Ghaelscoil (Scoil Ghaelgagh).

Warlergh an Nadelek, byth y drehevyans y honen dhe Yn Ghaelscoil (Scol Vanawek).

Goude an Nedeleg, e savadur e-unan a vo gans Yn Ghaelscoil (Skol Vanavek).

SCHOOL STEP POSITIVE - BUT FORAS CUTS PROVOKE ANGER

When Martin McGuinness opened the new school at Lisnaskea in Co. Fermanagh it marked a major step in the onward progress of Irish medium education as for the first time there will be Irish medium schools in all six counties in the North.

There are currently 3,229 children attending Irish schools and this number seems set to grow as more school expansion is planned for 2003.

However, Sinn Féin has sounded a note of caution about the future of the language. In a hard-hitting statement spokesman, Gearóid Ó hEáara, slammed a decision by the Dublin Government to cut funding for Foras na Gaeilge, the North-South language organisation set up under the terms of the Good Friday Agreement.

Commenting on cuts of around 11% in the body's budget he said:

"This means a loss of almost £2 million to the promotion of Irish and the effects of it could well jeopardise the significant progress achieved by Foras so far."

He also commented that the Irish speaking community would feel let down by the decision and whilst such action might have been expected from the Northern Ireland Office the move by Irish Finance Minister, Charlie McCreevey, was inexcusable.

Ó hEáara went on to pledge that Sinn Féin would raise the issue as a matter of urgency and demand that proper levels of funding be allocated to Foras na Gaeilge to allow it to carry out the task assigned under the agreement.

Teacher Training Setback

There is no short-term solution in sight to the Gaelic teacher shortage, which has dogged Gaelic education in recent years. A promised additional teacher training course in Lews Castle College, Isle of Lewis, is now not to begin until the 2004/5 session despite initially being billed to start in 2001. The shortage of Gaelic teachers has now become so acute that expansion of Gaelic Medium Education has all but halted and has further raised the distinct possibility that some existing Gaelic units may be forced to close due to a lack of teaching staff.

To remedy the shortage, Highland Council are recommending that Gaelic teacher training facility to be provided in Skye, Lochaber and Inverness in addition to the existing teaching training facilities in Glasgow and Aberdeen. Activists are advocating a bolder step: sending trained teachers on immersion courses to enable them to teach through the medium of Gaelic.

IAITH PAWB

"Iaith Pawb: Everyone's Language"

which has been described as a blueprint for the future of the Welsh language was unveiled by the Welsh Assembly Government, but immediately attracted scepticism from language campaigners.

The action plan hopes to reverse the decline in the Welsh language, with Assembly money being targeted at new "language action areas", and bilingualism being promoted across Wales through government policy.

The plan will set out four main objectives:

- (1) Ensuring the normalisation of bilingualism in national life.
- (2) Strengthening the language in the family and the community.
- (3) Ensuring opportunities to learn the language.
- (4) Ensuring a consensus and goodwill in favour of bilingualism. The plan will provide more money for the Welsh Language Board, and a commitment to make language issues central to policy-making right across the assembly government's is provided.

However, language activists are sceptical and have linked their criticism to the campaign for a new Welsh Language Act.

Huw Lewis, chair of Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg, said. "There is a refusal to realise the need for a new Welsh Language Act that would extend to the private sector and give Welsh speakers the right to use the language in relation to their private business".

It is unclear at this stage just how effective the new Assembly proposals will be. However, what is very certain is that the Assembly can unveil as many initiatives as it wishes, but if it does not carry with it the commitment and support of bodies such as Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg and other language groups such initiatives have an uncertain future.

Inverness Gaelic School Progress

Plans for an all-Gaelic primary school in Inverness are coming close to fruition. The Scottish Executive have agreed to fund 75% of the initial running costs of the school and the Highland Council has made its commitment to a Gaelic medium school clear. A site is currently being sought for the new school, which should open within 5 years. Inverness will be Scotland's second all-Gaelic school, following Glasgow's Gaelic school that opened in 1999.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

THE NATIONALIST MANIFESTO (EVEN SEPARATIST, IF YOU INSIST)

"The two propositions put forward in this work are that nationalism as a programme to defend and develop nations is a doctrine that has a sound basis both in ontological epistemology and in axiology (Translator's note: ontology = science of existence, epistemology = science of knowledge, axiology = science of values). The ontologico-epistemological part of the thesis is that nations are real empirical entities even though they are not directly identifiable but only by theoretical techniques, just like so many of the theoretical entities of the more advanced sciences. Nations are special types of ethnic groups - a "mini-theory" is proposed to establish the "minimum axioms" that determine these entities. The axiological thesis is that it is beneficial that the universe (especially in its socio-cultural aspect) should consist of the largest possible diversity of items; it follows that an ethical-political programme like nationalism, which advocates the preservation and promotion of nations, must be considered beneficial."

That is the first paragraph of Professor Ulises Moulines' short book **Manifiesto nacionalista (o hasta separatista, si me apuran)** DIANOIA, Mexico, May 2001, in which he summarizes its content.

Who is Ulises Moulines? Born 56 years ago in Venezuela, he is now the highly regarded Professor of the Philosophy of Science at the Ludwig Maximilian University in Munich, Germany. His book is only 12,000 words long, so you can read it in a couple of hours. In it he tears to pieces the notion that nationalism is backward, cruel, anti-social, out-of-date and all the other turgid propaganda put out by corrupt politicians and the mass media, the intellectual level of which is, as we are all aware, so incredibly high. Moulines' work ought to be translated into every Celtic language in order to get rid of that feeling of defensive inferiority that plagues our nationalist movements. When - yes, I hope it is "when" and not "if" - such translations are published, they should be preceded by an introduction of perhaps a thousand words to make it plain just what Professor Moulines is arguing and how it connects with the local scene. I intend to make a few suggestions about what needs to be said.



Professor Ulises Moulines

The axiological thesis is that the Universe as created by God 12,000 million years ago is manifestly a machine for the production of diversity. I use the word "God" here in the way Einstein and S. Hawking talk of Him - or rather It - to describe the creator of the Universe, whatever or whoever that might be. One can of course regard the Big Bang as a Big Mistake when God put His foot in it - sorry, Its foot. This is the opinion of the Cathars, who considered the visible universe to have been created by the Devil. It used to be thought that the Inquisition had exterminated the last of them in Occitania (southern France) in the 14th century, but it seems to me the world has only too many of them, all trying to reduce the complicated world created by God to the tedious simplicity that the most mediocre mind always hankers after: it is the Cathar who regards the extinction of hundreds of animals and plants every year as unimportant or even desirable; who wants to homogenize the human race as far as possible (globalize is the fashionable word); who wants just one language in the world; and who wants to eliminate nations because these have been the principal means of promoting human diversity, and incidentally human

progress, in history. The logical position towards which this anti-nationalist philosophy is advancing is that there should be only one example of human being, which should then be cloned. (If there were two examples, one of each sex, they might be tempted to reproduce themselves in the traditional way and then - God help us! - we would be back with diversity.) What should be done with the remainder of the human race? Sterilize or slaughter them, I suppose. During the 20th century when the supporters of rather similar theories about the desirability of human uniformity butchered some 150 million people, one cannot say that all nationalists were pacifists, but by comparison they behaved like saints. The logic of the anti-nationalist is that of the serial killer and there is only too much historical evidence that practice often follows the logic.

Ulises Moulines does not mention Christianity but he assumes that, if one lives in a universe that has diversity as one of its fundamental values, one ought to be on the side of God and support His - or Its - creative effort. The wooliness of what passes for thought among too many Christians allows them to oppose nationalism. Not so its Founder, who told them to preach not to empires (which happened to be the states then in existence) but to nations - Matthew 28.xix, Luke 24.xlvii; and St.Paul drew the revolutionary conclusion that all nations were equal in the eyes of God - Galatians 3.xxviii. Considering that this last verse comes in a document addressed to a Celtic nation (the only book in the Bible specifically directed to non-Jews), it is a pity that we need Professor Moulines to remind us that to oppose nationalism is a worse sin for a Christian than murder or adultery since it is a direct rejection of the nature of God - a sin against the First Commandment, which comes before the Sixth and Seventh.

Some nationalists have of course done some very wicked things using the theory as a justification. Slobodan Milosevic still seems to have a very good opinion of himself, though we should remember he spent most of his career as a Communist, that is an anti-nationalist. The crimes of some nationalists do not disprove the value of nationalism. We all know of Socialist councillors using their positions for corrupt purposes, footballers who accept bribes to lose a match, priests seducing choirboys, mothers who treat their children with sadistic cruelty. Are these valid grounds for the abolition of Socialism, football, Christianity and motherhood? They are good reasons for keeping your eyes open when anyone is in a position that they might exploit. Moulines does indeed suggest some useful tests to judge whether a nationalist movement is becoming perverted: as soon as it starts arguing for the suppression of another nation or ethnic group it obviously is, since it is proposing the reduction of diversity, which is the fundamental principle of the nationalist doctrine.

The ontologico-epistemological part of this work answers the arguments (beloved of

(Continued on page 40)

bureaucrats) that nations do not really exist because, unlike states, they are invisible and one cannot be sure who belongs to which. This second objection is completely unscientific; there are lots of "fuzzy sets" in science. Is there no difference between red and orange just because the spectrum is a continuous range of wave lengths so one colour merges into the next? Next time you drive through a red light, try telling the judge (if you have survived) that it was really an orange light because there is no difference between the colours. The first objection is met by asking who has ever seen a proton, a gene or the force of gravity. We deduce that these exist because we observe their consequences. The consequences of belonging to a nation are equally observable: almost everyone who reads this review in CARN will be a member of a Celtic nation or a close relative of one; it is not impossible that it might be read by a Tadjik or a Guarani, but we can take it that the probability is many thousand times less. In my refrigerator I have a bottle of horchata and, when I finish writing this, maybe I will drink some; it is thousands of times less probable that the average reader of CARN will drink horchata. (Sociologically speaking, the writer of this article belongs to three or four different nations and is an excellent demonstration of the fuzziness referred to above.) Many thousand other statistical tendencies like these will give you a nation, or at least an ethnic group. The weakest part of Professor Moulines' book is the distinction that he feels obliged to draw between these two terms, almost certainly to placate Mexican feelings about the conflict in Chiapas. Some may not like the idea that a nation is a set of statistical probabilities that one will read CARN or not drink horchata but that is what social entities consist of: the upper middle class, the female gender (note that I say gender, not the female sex, a biological entity sharply defined by the possession of ovaries), the family for in French hospitals it has been discovered that only 90% of fathers are really related to those they think are their children; all exist merely as strong statistical tendencies. The nation too; but it is the social entity that, by generating diversity, has been more responsible than any other for the development of human civilization.

In the past I have often been disappointed at how little notice Celtic nationalist writers seem to have taken of the works of Professor Anthony Smith of the L.S.E., the academic sociologist most friendly to our cause; but his volumes, half-a-dozen of them each a few hundred pages long, are perhaps too much to master. Let us hope that the succinct and devastating arguments of Ulises Moulines have better fortune. We should all do our best to publicize and develop them.

Ian Lloyd

THE MATTER OF BRITAIN

One of the difficulties facing a greater sharing of Celtic identity is that Irish people cannot really identify with the figure of King Arthur as a truly Celtic figure. Welsh, Cornish and Breton people may have a Celtic image of him, but his international profile has been completely hijacked by the English. This was brought home to me when I went looking to read the legend of King Arthur for my own enjoyment. I presumed that the definitive version of the Arthurian legend was Thomas Malory's *Morte D'Arthur*. Yes, it was written by an Englishman, but any references to it that I had come across stated that it was the fullest telling of the Arthurian story, and the finest piece of Arthurian literature there was. Surely, I thought, while not fully Celtic, it would be full of Celtic feeling and spirit. How wrong I was! There is none of the vigour and imagination of the Mabinogion here, but a story systematically stripped of Celtic freshness and colour. All the fantastical elements of myth and passion have been removed and what remains is a long, dreary and repetitive tale of how "Sir Whatsname did verily smite Sir Thingimajig such a mighty whack that he did unseat him from his horse and bore him to the ground dead etc". I ploughed through it hopefully, but even the supposedly dramatic end disappoints. The truth is that Malory produced a deracinated version of Arthur, with the heroic king almost totally removed from his Celtic origins. Malory invented an Arthur for the English and that is the version that has been exported around the world ever since as an inspirational figure for English imperialism.

There was nothing for it but to start again

from scratch with the first version, Arthur as he appears in Geoffrey of Monmouth's 'The History of the Kings of Britain'. This version is much better, more lively and truer to the original spirit, but confusingly brief. There is no round table, no Excalibur, no Camelot, no Lancelot and no quest for the Holy Grail. Seeking help, I turned to G.A. Williams' excellent book 'Excalibur: the search for Arthur'. Apparently, all the elements missing from Geoffrey of Monmouth's version are indeed Celtic, but most appear separately over the centuries in different works by French and English authors who borrowed from oral Celtic sources. Other elements appear in early Welsh poems and in the Mabinogion. In other words, there is no one definitive Celtic written work bringing together the whole legend of Arthur. Into this vacuum stepped Malory with his excruciatingly long medieval tale of Anglo-Norman chivalry.

What Celt could be happy with that state of affairs! To remedy this would need some Welsh, Breton or Cornish scholar to put all the material together in his or her own Celtic tongue. To do this properly would no doubt need many years work of careful research to get it right. Of course an artist's way with words would also be needed. Until this paragon arrives, those wishing to combat the English Arthur will have to piece together for themselves something of the true Celtic version from the works of acknowledged Celtic origin that do survive. They will also have to steer well clear of Malory!

Niall Mac Coitir

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The Cornish War Zone

**Our war correspondent Sue Bowen,
Kernow Branch Secretary, reflects here on her
experiences during the Queen of England's Jubilee
celebrations last year in her country, Kernow.**

I collapse onto the chair, in the ready room behind the trenches, opening the lid of the mobile computer and removing the protective miners helmet. I duck down behind the LCD screen.

Kernow was festooned with union flags and English propaganda for the Jubilee celebrations. Many of the *real* and I stress the word *real* to include the immigrants who have adopted the Cornish Celtic life style and made an attempt at the language, but exclude those Cornish born and bred who believe our country to be a part of England. To continue, many of the real Cornish have not been happy at the state sponsored propaganda exercise in Monarchy worship. This religion, clearly on the wane, had a state engendered boost and whilst much of Europe was laughing at the antics of the English, the Westminster government was busy using the 50th year of her reign to conduct a cultural revolution in my country. The aim, I strongly suspect, was to give the serfs something of a holiday for which they would all be eternally grateful and continue to bow the head and tug the forelock to the rich and wealthy who engineered the event.

Becoming a little put out by the number of Union Flags being paraded for this foreign event, our branch convenor, Rhisiart, decided to try and correct the widespread misconception that Kernow is part of the UK. He wrote a reasonable letter explaining *Flag etiquette* as practiced by the UK Navy. Basically this explains the procedure for honouring the host nation's flag whilst displaying your own. This perhaps would redress the cultural balance a little as well as tweaking the tail of the ageing English Lion.

The letter was printed upon branch stationery with my phone number along the bottom. It was then distributed to businesses flying the union flag on their premises, *(I got reports that many of them had been badgered into it).*

Now I was aware that the little Englanders were out there, but not to the degree that the response to this mild letter engendered.

Hell's bells, INCOMING!

The 'phone rattles in its cradle with a shrill insistence. Arluth! It's alive. Gingerly I lift it from the cradle and looking for concealed detonators, gently put it to my ear:

"Mytlin da. Sue Bowen ov ve."

The brain reels with the force of the explosion.

"Medic!... Casualties!

Red-hot it is, with indignant and often abusive English nationalists. I assume it is only the more Anglo-centric members of our community who bother to pick up the 'phone, but I can well see how the European nations hate the English football gangsters. *(I refuse to denigrate our Irish cousins by using the word 'Hooligans').*

Unlike Alba, ha Kembry, Kernow is not protected by the Convention on Human Rights and as such I have to suffer this abuse without recourse to the law. I have to listen to English people telling me that my land is a part of England and that I had better get used to it.

Countless Cornish organisations have petitioned Westminster for years without avail, the latest slap in the face is Mr Prescott telling us that he refuses to acknowledge the 50,000 plus petition calling for a referendum on devolved powers - as promised by his government.

My parentage is Irish and I am mindful of a comment attributed to Martin McGinnis: "You'll get nowhere with the English unless you have a gun in one hand".

Will Westminster ever learn from history? In my own lifetime they have had wars in Europe, Cyprus, Israel, Kenya, India, Malaya and half a dozen other places around the world, simply because they will not listen to the desires of a people to be free of their meddling government. I cannot credit that, in this age of European human rights conventions and international agreements on humanitarian issues, the UK government can still attempt to subsume a nation against its will, that they can actively encourage population movement (which itself is against human rights laws) to flood Kernow with people who have no knowledge of Celtic heritage and, even worse, have been educated by the state to believe that Kernow is part of England.

A Police Sergeant in Truro 'phones saying that he had received a complaint from a lady who felt so offended by our actions that she was considering taking legal action. He suggests we desist immediately. When I pointed out to him that the Cornish were also feeling offended, I was told that it was the queen's birthday and the union flag was not inappropriate. He admitted that he was from Devon, not Cornwall. (Cornwall is unique in that it does not have its own police force; it did have once, but it was

forced to disband and amalgamate with an English county. (All part of the plan for assimilation)

How do the Celts make their point known when the population are bombarded day and night by BBC propaganda? - Our children likewise, through the instrument of the English national curriculum? Is it any wonder that the steaming kettle is becoming harder and harder to prevent from exploding.

I was interviewed on radio and then offered a slot on television the following evening. I turned this down, explaining that the probable reasons for their wanting an interview me was to try to make the nationalists (Cornish) look stupid. I wasn't falling for it! It wouldn't be the first time they'd tried a stitch-up of Cornish patriots. I was also threatened with solicitors by the local English football club. And such is the success of the Westminster propaganda machine that I had born and bred Cornish tell me Cornwall is part of England. These people couldn't even pronounce the word *Celtic*! using a soft 'C', rather than the 'K' sound. *(O.K. Alba - I know you use that pronunciation, but here 'Celtic' with a 'see' sound is a Scottish football club, not a nation.)*

On a more serious note however is the fact that English cultural aggression is definitely on the increase. We in Kernow thought to tickle the lion; the explosiveness of the response leads me to believe that the English themselves feel threatened, cornered. We must take cognisance; a cornered animal is not rational. *(Was it ever?)*

We must not relax our attack against state encouraged population movements into Celtic countries. We must not relax the war to regain our stolen heritage and replace a dishonourable Saxon lifestyle by a Celtic system based upon honour values. But we must also realise that many of the people moving into our countries, and some on their own admission, are running away from the legislated, enforced, multi-cultural state that the Westminster government seems so fond of. Your kids may be taught about the Muslim religion, but never about their Celtic heritage.

In short, the indigenous people of England feel under threat never realising that this feeling is what the Celtic nations have been having to endure from them since 600/800 AD. As usual they will push westwards to escape. I don't believe we've seen the half of it yet. There is a long hard struggle ahead, but we can take comfort from the fact that we have been on this spot for at least 4000 years, the English for only a blink of the eye. We still have 'Agan Tavasow' our languages, whereas the English language lasted less than 500 years and by 1100 AD was effectively dead. What now passes for English is a bastard German/Norman French/Latin/Celtic speech. A Saxon, speaking English today would not now be understood.

So here in Kernow we sharpen the wit, the will and the quill and just maybe - practice a bit of civil disruption.

SNP Reveals Constitution for Independence

The SNP published their policy statement entitled *A Constitution for a Free Scotland* in September last. The document's author, Professor Neil MacCormick, MEP, said it would give people 'the right of control over those who govern them and an opportunity to appeal against unconstitutional acts to the courts ... A written constitution for a free Scotland provides us with an opportunity to enshrine fundamental human rights in Scotland's basic law and ensure a government truly accountable to the people of Scotland.' The full policy statement can be accessed on the SNP's website www.snp.org. We give here a summary the party's main tenets: -

'Independence is essential if we are to achieve our full potential as a country and as a people. Scotland will only become independent once a majority of the Scottish electorate expresses the desire for independence in a referendum. The SNP has undertaken to hold a referendum on independence once elected to government in Scotland. In accordance with current constitutional practice, such a referendum would be legally consultative but politically binding. It would be based upon a clear question to ensure a clear and incontestable result. Through this referendum, an SNP government would seek the consent of the Scottish people to negotiate the terms of Scotland's independence.

A Constitution providing the basic framework of a new independent Scotland will be presented to the people of Scotland in advance of the referendum. This Constitution will set out the rights of citizens of an independent Scotland, and define the powers and responsibilities of government and parliament. The Constitution would come into force following the country's transition to independence.

This policy statement represents the SNP's blueprint for an independent Scottish Constitution. Although it represents the culmination of many years' work, the essential elements of the Constitutional policy were first adopted at the SNP's National Conference of 1977. The original drafting committee was convened by the late Dr Robert McIntyre with Professor Neil MacCormick as Vice-Convenor, along with the late Dr Allan Macartney, the late Peter Chiene, Kenneth Fee, Isobel Lindsay and Barbara Park. The spirit of the original has been maintained in subsequent revisions, including a substantial review undertaken in 1990-91.

Six key ideas encapsulate the SNP's vision of a constitutional framework for an independent, democratic Scotland:

- The absolute right of the people of Scotland to self-determination and to sov-



Professor Neil MacCormick, MEP

ereignty over the territory and natural resources of Scotland

- The constitutional entrenchment of the fundamental rights and liberties of the people of Scotland, without discrimination on any grounds such as sex, race, colour, religion, personal beliefs, ability, age, status or sexual orientation
- A prime minister elected by parliament, and a ministerial team confirmed by election in Parliament
- An inclusive definition of citizenship, and voting rights based on residence not ethnicity
- A single-chamber parliament, elected by proportional representation
- Independence of the judiciary, with appointments made by an independent Commission on Judicial Appointments, free from government interference.

The Constitution policy has three parts. The first is a statement of Constitutional Principles. The second is the draft for a Scottish Constitution. The third is an annex concerning connected elements of policy. The SNP believes that the Constitution envisaged in this policy statement provides a sound basis upon which the structures of independent government can be built, and the rights of the Scottish people fully guaranteed. But the Constitution of an independent Scotland must be greater than the policy statement of a political party. Scotland's Constitution will be the people's Constitution. The SNP welcomes representations on these proposals from all those with an interest in the development of a Constitution for the new Independent Scotland.'

BOOST TO SNP CLAIM FOR FISCAL AUTONOMY

There has been a boost for SNP claims that the Scottish people want their parliament to have more fiscal autonomy in a new poll

NFO System Three found that of those asked if the parliament in Scotland or Westminster should be responsible for setting and collecting taxes in Scotland 70% wanted the powers to be divested to Scotland. Only 22% said it should remain in Westminster.

This shows a widening of the gap on a previous poll only eighteen months ago. It is the widest gap registered between the two positions. An ICM poll indicated a 67-27% gap when the question was last asked.

Other indicators in the new poll clearly show that people in Scotland now understand that the country gets a poor deal from the fiscal umbilical link to Westminster

The SNP will certainly use the result to attack the timidity of the current Scottish Executive on the issue of fiscal independence.

It has been clear from the onset of devolution that its only practical advantage to Scotland was as a stepping-stone to independence. Another vital stepping stone is fiscal autonomy and a majority of Scots now seem clear on that. The Scots are sending a clear signal that they want to take greater control of their future. The Scottish Labour Party and its Ministers in government increasingly indicate how out of step they are with popular opinion.

Bernard Moffatt

DEVOLUTION SUCCESS SHOULD BE EXTENDED

Brittany and Cornwall should have the same devolved status as that enjoyed by other Celtic countries the Celtic League have told the French and British governments.

In correspondence to the British Deputy Prime Minister, John Prescott, the League Secretary General has said that Cornwall has a distinct cultural and ethnic character and its future should be one based on similar autonomy to that already applied to other Celtic countries.

Meanwhile in parallel correspondence to French Minister, Jean-Paul Delevoye, the League ask what plans the French government have to grant devolved status to Brittany.

The League believes that the autonomy recently extended to Scotland and Wales is a template for the other Celtic countries.

BREIZH - FREE THE POLITICAL PRISONERS

Six Breton political prisoners have been imprisoned, mostly in prisons in and around Paris, without trial for up to four years by the French state. They have been detained on the basis of alleged participation in a low-key bombing campaign by the Breton Republican Army (ARB). This long-term imprisonment on remand is being seen as internment by the French government of those whose political views it doesn't like. Many of those behind bars are members of Emgann, a left republican organisation in Breizh.

Alain Solé, Kristian Georgeault, Paskal Laize, Stéphane Philippe, Gaël Roblin and Jérôme Bouthier have been campaigning for justice since the first arrests took place in October 1999. They are demanding that they be classified as political prisoners, are transferred from prisons across France to their homeland in Breizh, are allowed to communicate with the outside world and have the right to communicate in their own language.

A number of Breton political activists have previously been held in so-called provisional detention for up to 30 months before being released without charge. Nine political activists were interned in this way. More than 100 others were held in police custody for several days. The French government, it seems, is waging its own war against those demanding freedom for Breizh.

The prisoners support group Skoazell Vreizh has set up email addresses for the prisoners so that messages can be sent to them directly. For those detained without knowing when they will be brought to trial let alone set free word from outside is a great morale booster. Details from Skoazell Vreizh, Feunteun, 3 Straed Briand, 44250, Gwenrann, Breizh via France or info@skoazell-vreizh.org <http://www.skoazell-vreizh.org/>

Terry Liddle



The longest serving prisoner is Alain Solé who spent his fourth Christmas in captivity. Despite severe medical problems and concern for his deteriorating health the latest information the Celtic League has is that he was moved from Fresnes to Nanterre, which has no suitable medical facilities.



Demonstrations are escalating in Brittany as many political groups such as CARB, UDB, Emgann and RBE join together to protest at the detention of the Breton prisoners still held in detention.

Contacting the Prisoners

- Alain Solé (Nanterre Prison 19 691 A/21), MAH, PP1414, 133 ave. Commune de Paris, 92014 Nanterre Cedex, France.
- Pascal Laizé (Paris-la Santé Prison 274 740 F - 2/247) MAH, 42 rue de la Santé, 75674 Paris cedex 14, France
- Kristian Georgeault (Paris-la Santé Prison 274 740 F - 2/247) MAH, 42 rue de la Santé, 75674 Paris cedex 14, France
- Stéphane Philippe (Paris-la Santé Prison 274 740 F - 2/247) MAH, 42 rue de la Santé, 75674 Paris cedex 14, France
- Gaël Roblin (Paris-la Santé Prison 274 740 F - 2/247) MAH, 42 rue de la Santé, 75674 Paris cedex 14, France

- Jérôme Bouthier (Fleury-Mérogis Prison 304 011 X - D2) MAH, 7 ave. des Peupliers, 91705 Fleury-Mérogis, France

Alain Solé - alainsole@bzh.net

Gaël Roblin - gaelroblin@bzh.net

Jérôme Bouthier - jerombotyuer@bzh.net

Kristian Georgeault - kristianjorjaud@bzh.net

Paskal Laizé - paskallaize@bzh.net

Stéphane - Philippe stefanphilippe@bzh.net

Relatives have established a support web site for Gaël Roblin at: www.gael-roblin.org

FRANCE HAS NO EVIDENCE AGAINST BRETONS

Breton Political prisoner, Alain Solé, issued a statement on behalf of himself and the other Breton political detainees held at prisons in the Paris area. Solé condemns the French justice system and the failure of the authorities to formalise charges against any of the detainees despite the fact that in some instances the incarceration extends, for some, beyond three years.

The protracted nature of the detentions indicates to the Celtic League that France has no real evidence against these men.

Alain Solé also points out that the French action in detaining him and the other Bretons is a breach of Human Rights and has been condemned by several International bodies. He also point out that the influential European Committee for the Prevention of Torture (CPT) has condemned practices of the French police and prison service.

The protracted detention of the Bretons is now recognised as a scandalous abuse of human rights. The detainees, many of whom have families, have been imprisoned far from their home country in circumstances that are an affront to rules governing detentions of this type in Europe.

The case is rapidly creating a dangerous precedent in that it appears that where the French State has no credible evidence against those whose politics it does not like it will detain indefinitely without charge or trial.

It is a disgrace that France's neighbours and the European Union choose to ignore this scandalous abuse of human rights.

Bernard Moffatt

THE NICE TREATY REFERENDUM RE-RUN: A DARK DAY FOR DEMOCRACY IN IRELAND AND EUROPE

"Now that the Irish have voted for jobs and growth, for EU enlargement, and for neutrality, have they really voted for the Nice Treaty?"

On a dark day for democracy in Ireland and in Europe, Irish voters succumbed to threats, pressure and bamboozlement by their political class and agreed to ratify the identical Nice Treaty that they rejected last year by 54% to 46%.

The Republic's Yes voters have thereby shown that in Ireland at this time, it is the Government, not the people, who are the masters. Various pressurised and deceived, the Republic's Yes-side majority has agreed to reduce Irish democracy further, surrender more of their country's political independence, abolish their national veto in 35 policy areas, open the way to the division of the EU into two classes or two tiers, and turn the EU Commission and Commission President into something like an EU Government and Prime Minister, under the effective political control of the Big Member States - as provided for in the Nice Treaty.

Many of Ireland's Yes-voters have done this unknowingly or with doubts in their minds, deceived by the mendacious referendum campaign of the Government and its allies into thinking that they were voting for "jobs and growth" or for EU enlargement, or for neutrality, when none of these desirable things depends on the Nice Treaty. All of Ireland's No-side parties and groups were either in favour of EU enlargement or not against it, if the 10 Applicant countries agreed to it in their individual

Accession Treaties, and these proved acceptable to their peoples in fair and free referendums.

A Very Creditable "No" Vote in the Circumstances

The solid vote for Ireland's No-side campaigners is quite an achievement in face of the 20 to 1 imbalance of campaign expenditure in favour of Yes, in face of a trick referendum question that required one answer to two different joined propositions, and in face of the gutting by the Government of the statutory Referendum Commission as compared with Nice One, which meant that the Nice Treaty Re-run was conducted under radically different campaign rules from Nice One.

The lessons and experience of Nice One and Nice Two put Ireland's No-side cam-

paigners in a strong position to defeat the Union State Constitution Treaty that is now being prepared for 2004. Ironically, shortly before the referendum the Praesidium of the EU Convention, with John Bruton TD present, discussed whether this treaty should include a proposal that Member States that refused to ratify it should be required to leave the EU, something that is legally impossible at present, but which Ireland's Yes-side voters have now permitted in principle to hap-



Trevor Sargent, Green Party Leader, who, commenting on the referendum result, said that the electorate was largely driven by fear.

pen by approving Nice's "enhanced cooperation" provisions.

October's referendum was the David of Irish democracy against the Goliath of the Irish and EU elites, second time around. David slew Goliath in Nice One. He did not expect to have to face a second bout. In Nice Two Goliath was forewarned against David, was much better armed, and had several other Goliaths to help out from amongst Goliath's brothers and friends: Ireland's business, trade union and farming elites, who decided to back the overthrow of last year's

referendum result with minimal or no consultation with their own members; the EU Commission and Commissioners intervening on the Yes-side, in almost certain breach of EU and Irish constitutional law; a print media leaning heavily to the Yes side etc. For the No side to get the vote they did get in the circumstances was very good.

A Comparison of the Nice Two and Nice One Referendums

There were two major differences between Ireland's Nice Two referendum and Nice One.

(1) In Nice Two, in contrast to Nice One, there was no public money behind the No-side arguments, because of the removal of this function from the neutral statutory

Referendum Commission last December. This body had been given large sums of public money in Nice One to put the Yes-side and No-side cases. That particularly helped the No-side, as they are the poorer of the two. The fact that there was substantial public money behind the Yes-side and No-side arguments in Nice One also meant that private interests did not bother advertising on that occasion. In Nice Two by contrast, the removal of its Yes/No-argument function from the Referendum Commission cleared a free field for private advertising. This was in a ratio of approximately 20 to 1 in favour of

the Yes. Thus, for example, the Yes-side posters were mostly put up by private companies that were paid so many euros per poster to do so, whereas volunteers put up the No-side posters.

(2) The change in the referendum question: The question the Irish people were asked to vote on in Nice Two was essentially a trick question. There was an extra clause in the constitutional amendment in Nice Two compared with Nice One. This extra clause said that Ireland could not join an EU defence pact without holding a referendum to change its Constitution. This had nothing to do with the Treaty of Nice and was quite irrelevant to the Treaty's ratification. It was inserted as a third clause in addition to the two clauses that were needed to ratify Nice, and all three had to be voted on as one. This extra clause, if it were to be put to the people at all, should properly have been put as a separate referendum proposition, on which people could vote separately. Instead people voted last Saturday on a three-clause amendment which contained two different joined propositions, to which only one answer could be given, a Yes or a No.

This trick question in Nice Two meant also that the Referendum Commission's other main function, to inform citizens what the referendum was about - for which it was given double the budget of last year (viz. 4.5 million euros) - was inherently confusing, and was biased significantly towards the Yes side. In the event, the Referendum Commission, which was the principal aid to the No side in Nice One, was objectively of significant help to the Yes-side in Nice Two.



Momma EU cuddles her brood to her breast while poor little applicant nations wait hopefully to enter her warm embrace! An example of the slanted subliminal material from the gutted Referendum Commission.

These two changes to the basic referendum rules enabled the Irish Government and its allies successfully to impose their campaign agenda in Nice Two. They succeeded in representing Nice Two as a vote for or against "Jobs and Growth," "EU Enlargement," or "Putting Neutrality into the Irish Constitution" - which were largely irrelevant to the real issue. Most Yes-side voters voted in effect for these desirable things, thinking

that they were voting on the Treaty of Nice, but without being aware of the actual content of the treaty, which had little or nothing to do with these matters.

The Yes-side's success in imposing its agenda in the last two weeks of the referendum campaign, deriving mainly from the above two factors, was helped by appeals for a Yes vote from the 10 Prime Ministers of the Applicant countries, by the likes of Vaclav Havel and Lech Walesa making similar appeals, by the ambassadors of the Applicant countries writing a Yes-side letter to the Irish Times, by the Czech and Polish ambassadors actively campaigning for a Yes, by the Irish Catholic Hierarchy positively supporting the Yes side, which they had never done in previous EU-related referendums, and by a number of other factors that variously affected the Yes-side and No-side votes. But in our judgement they were of small significance compared to the two factors mentioned.

The National Platform is of the view that were it not for the above two changes in Nice Two as compared to Nice One, the No side could have won the 19 October referendum. As it was, the 37% No vote - much the same as last year's No - was highly creditable in the circumstances. That vote remains as a strong block to oppose the EU State Constitutional Treaty that is already being prepared for 2004/2005.

Anthony Coughlan
Secretary, National Platform

DIRECT RULE A DENIAL OF DEMOCRACY

The PSNI raid on Sinn Féin's parliamentary office at Stormont was an indication of the contempt of the UK state for democratic processes and the institutions agreed under the 1994 Belfast Agreement. About 200 armed PSNI members in para-military gear arrived at Parliament Buildings in a fleet of armoured cars and tramped in through the front door in a superfluous display of force. The pretext for this was the apparent clandestine photocopying of Secretary of State, John Reid's in and out trays a year and a half before. A couple of CD-ROMs were seized. Sgt. Plod armed with a search warrant and accompanied by a couple of cadets could have carried out the operation.

The nature of the raid (witnessed by television cameras after the media were tipped-off by PSNI sources) was calculated to give the impression that the office was staffed by dangerous desperadoes who could only be confronted by massive force. Accusations of 'espionage' and the resultant publicity created the impressions

abroad that the assembly was suspended the following week because of alleged republican intelligence-gathering. Suspension was already inevitable after the decision of the Ulster Unionist Party to withdraw from the Assembly Executive. This decision was forced on David Trimble by the rejectionist (anti-Agreement) wing of his party.

Suspension was opposed by the Irish Government as well as Sinn Féin and the SDLP. It represents a victory for retrogressive unionism. David Trimble and the UUP had threatened to pull down the Agreement institutions nine times in four years. The proposals adopted by the UUP leadership at the beginning of October amounted to a rejection of the Belfast Agreement. They have backed themselves into a situation, which will make UUP participation in a new Executive all but impossible. For months David Trimble has complained that ongoing violence was undermining his participation in the power-sharing arrangements. This is somewhat disingenuous as he has consis-

tently failed to specify that most of the violence, by far, has emanated from the loyalist side. Since the beginning of 2002 there has been an accelerated loyalist campaign of sectarian violence involving hundreds of pipe and petrol bombings. Nationalist homes were attacked time and time again. Sometimes these attacks took place in vulnerable areas on a nightly basis for weeks on end. Even the PSNI was forced to admit that the overwhelming majority of violent attacks were perpetrated by the Unionist UDA and UVF. Innocent civilians were killed because they came from nationalist communities or because of their perceived religion. Many families were forced out of their homes. It is a revealing fact that almost all 'mixed' families live in nationalist areas. Such families are particularly vulnerable as loyalist squads seek them out with a special fervour.

Unionists never wanted to share power. Orange ideology regards the unionist community as the 'elect', the 'natural' rulers, and nationalists as a lesser breed unfitted to rule. Orangeism was carefully cultivated to prop up the established order in the 1790s, 1880s, 1912 and 1921. If some aspects of the phenomenon embarrass the modern English establishment it still supports Orangeism and the Unionist veto. This

is the convention whereby no constitutional change is permitted without the acquiescence of the unionists. Unionists find it unpalatable to share power with 'house-trained' Castle Catholics and intolerable to admit republicans to decision-making. It is this attitude that is behind the events leading to the suspension of the Assembly and other Agreement institutions. Intelligence-gathering by republicans is an excuse as are the allegations about three Irishmen on trial by the quasi-fascist regime in Columbia. Another diversion is provided by sensationist accounts of punishment shootings in nationalist areas. This misguided practice is a direct result of the absence of a broadly acceptable police force.

The Belfast Agreement was not a settlement, properly so called. Rather it was an accommodation, which ensured a voice to all political parties with an electoral mandate and power-sharing between unionists and nationalists. It provided for all-Ireland bodies in important spheres whereby the administrations in both parts of the country would co-operate. Above all it substituted political struggle for war. Its success or failure depends on its implementation as a whole. The reluctance of the London government to insist on full implementation has always been a weakness in the situation. The unilateral decision of the Blair administration to suspend the 'Good Friday' institutions may have dealt a body blow to the peace process. This development is exacerbated by the pro-English stance of the Bush Administration in Washington. For all his faults former president Bill Clinton is sadly missed. He was the only president in the history of the United States to recognise the legitimacy of the democratic rights of the Irish people.

Suspension has worsened the crisis and must be lifted. The political institutions should be re-instated immediately. If a party refuses to participate in the Executive its places should be taken by the next qualified party (in terms of Assembly seats).

The human rights guarantees of the 1994 Agreement must be implemented. The promised Bill of Rights has been bogged down since Autumn 2001. In fact the Blairite administration has worked systematically over the past five years to minimise human rights protection and has had a malign effect on policy, the judicial system and the Human Rights Commission. The latter body has been deliberately denied resources and powers and is ineffective and incapable of protecting human rights.

Changing the name of the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) to the Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI) has not changed the essential nature of the force. It is still unrepresentative, partisan and unaccountable. Collusion with loyalist paramilitaries continues. There

is no human rights ethos in the organisation, which is still dedicated to the use of lethal force in public order situations. The Special Branch is still in place as a force within the force. The Patten recommendations in respect of political and cultural neutrality have not been implemented and insignia and barrack trappings still reflect an imperial ethos. A serious effort to develop the peace process could involve transferring powers of policing to the Assembly subject to power-sharing guarantees. The majority of nationalists and an increasing number of loyalists would prefer to see the RUC/PSNI abolished completely and replaced by a recognisably normal police service.

The ultimate success of the peace process will depend on demilitarisation. This must mean demilitarisation all round, including withdrawal of UK forces. Heavily armed army patrols are still a feature of life in many areas and not only do military installations remain intact but a massive rebuilding programme has been undertaken. South Armagh and the Divis Tower complex in Belfast still suffer intense military occupation on a day-to-day basis.

The English government has tried to represent itself internationally as an 'honest broker'. It tries to depict the conflict in Ireland as being primarily between two sections of Irish people and, bizarrely (to anybody who is familiar with the situation), a clash of religions. The lately departed (due to a Cabinet reshuffle in Westminster by Blair) Secretary of State, John Reid, has been a disaster. Not only was he tardy in fulfilling his responsibilities in the vital area of demilitarisation, policing and criminal justice but he slavishly followed unionist demands. His one-sided approach was been a major factor in undermining the Agreement. The fact is that Dr. Reid kept bending over backwards to prove his stead-



Gerry Kelly of Sinn Féin, who led the Press entourage into the Sinn Féin offices during the raid.

fast determination to maintain the UK. He was, in the last analysis, a Scottish unionist and knew instinctively that if the Union is lost in Ireland it is doomed in Scotland (and vice-versa). His replacement is Paul Murphy who was closely associated with the negotiations on the Agreement. He has come from the role of Secretary of State for Wales and his attitude is not likely to be much different.

Direct rule is an affront to any concept of democracy. If it is allowed to continue indefinitely the only winners will be the most reactionary and sectarian elements within unionism.

Colm de Faoite



RUC Landrovers outside the Stormont Assembly buildings during the raid.

Increase in US Military Activity in Celtic Countries

With a growing opposition in Ireland to the use of its airports, particularly Shannon, to support any new Gulf conflict the option of using remote airfields in Britain such as Brawdy in West Wales may be more attractive.

The Celtic League understand that in addition to RAF aircraft involved in training exercises at the disused airfield in Brawdy at least one heavy United States Air Force troop transport also used the strip in last year. The exercise activity led to speculation that the airfield reactivation was a simulation for possible wider usage if the action by the US and Britain against Iraq gets the 'green light'

Certainly the C-17, which called at Brawdy, was carrying out a thorough reconnaissance of the airfield's capabilities undertaking landings and *touch and goes* over a full afternoon. The increase in US military activity, which comes despite denials from President Bush that he has yet taken the decision to proceed against Iraq, is sparking considerable protest on both sides of the Irish Sea.

In Ireland a Green Party TD, John Gormley, is calling on the Foreign Affairs Minister, Brian Cowan, to clearly state Ireland's position on a possible US attack on Iraq and he also condemned the Irish government's support for the international coalition over the past year.

There have been protests about visits by US warships, which may be linked to an Iraq conflict build-up, and also demonstrations at Shannon airport about US planes in transit. Mr. Gormley also alleged that what he called military manoeuvres were being performed off the coast of Kerry.

The Celtic League have not been able to verify this although we understand that airspace in the South Western Approaches may have been used by US military electronic warfare aircraft for exercises – though this should not have brought them into Irish airspace.



Demonstrations at Shannon Airport against US military Activity.

'CONSPIRACY OF SILENCE' OVER IRISH ROLE

A prominent United States peace activist addressed a peace rally in Dublin late last year on Ireland's complicity in the "war on terrorism" echoing concerns that the present Irish government position is compromising the countries neutrality.

Fr. Dan Berrigan, who was also a prominent peace activist during the Vietnam War, said that it was "appalling" that the Irish government was allowing facilities such as Shannon Airport to be used to aid a war that is designed to increase US dominance of the world. He also said that there was general ignorance in the US about the use of facilities such as Shannon Airport by the US military and referred to a conspiracy of silence in the US media.

His is the latest voice raised against the US government campaign that is orchestrating preparation for an assault on Iraq. There have been many protests in various Celtic countries against any new war with peace rallies in Scotland and Wales. In Wales prominent Churchmen have also spoken against the war including the Bishop of Wales (Archbishop of Canterbury designate) Dr. Rowan Williams.

Fr. Berrigan, speaking to an audience of several hundred in Dublin, labelled many in the Bush administration as 'militarists posing as politicians' and said the US was '*abusing its position as the worlds only superpower*'.

NEUTRALITY COMPROMISED AS NATO LINKS TAKE SHAPE

The Peace & Neutrality Alliance, which worked to oppose the Nice Treaty, have released alarming statistics about the extent of use by foreign military air forces of Irish airspace and airfields.

Between August 2001 and July 2002 military aircraft from a number of NATO countries and also Israel, Russia and China were involved in 2,176 over-flights and 384 landings in Ireland. Increasingly, Shannon airport seems to be developing a critical role as a staging post for the US European build-up of forces tasked to future Gulf operations against Iraq.

PANA believes the evidence, which they sought under the Freedom of Information Act, indicates a shocking erosion of Ireland's Neutrality. The information has also prompted a debate in Ireland about the possible involvement of aircraft carrying nuclear weapons in some of the over-flights. It would seem highly likely that at least some of the US over-flights would include aircraft in this category.

The news also gives credence to those who have concerns that Ireland is being sucked into a greater involvement with NATO.

PANA are to step-up campaigning about this creeping militarization and engagement with NATO. The Celtic League wholeheartedly endorses the stand by PANA.

DAMAGED NUCLEAR SUB TRANSITS IRISH SEA

A submarine, which was severely damaged in an accident when it struck rocks off the Isle of Skye in early November, transited the Irish Sea on the way back to its base in Southern England.

The decision by the Navy to move the submarine from Faslane, in Scotland, where it had initially returned to be patched-up following its grounding on the Scottish coast shows a total disregard for the safety of communities around the Irish Sea.

The Ministry of Defence says the boat, HMS Trafalgar, sustained considerable damage but poses no risk to the public. However, the Royal Navy said that the damage was so severe it would take months to repair.

It is not clear what notice if any was given to governments around the Irish Sea that the damaged vessel was to transit the area. The consequences of a nuclear submarine foundering in an enclosed sea area such as the Irish Sea would be catastrophic. The most alarming incident of this type which has occurred was almost two decades ago when a US ballistic missile submarines, the USS Nathaniel Greene, with two reactors and multiple armed nuclear war-heads collided with the sea-bed off Dublin Bay tearing a large section from its outer hull. It was subsequently decommissioned and the US authorities have never confirmed the extent of pollution that occurred.

The Celtic League has urged the Irish government to press the United Kingdom over safety implications.

Bernard Moffatt

Y TEIGAR GWYRDD

Yn ei nofel "The Commitments", yr hon addaswyd wedyn yn ffilm lwyddiannus gan Alan Parker, mae'r prif gymeriad Roddy Doyle – Jimmy Rabbite – yn ceisio ysbrydoli ei fand o gerddorion *soul music* gan ddweud wrthynt:

"The Irish are the niggers of Europe, lads. An' Dubliners are the niggers of Ireland. An' the northside Dubliners are the niggers of Dublin. Say it loud. I'm black and I'm proud."

Gofynnwyd iddo egluro'r honiad yma mewn cyfweiliad yn ddiweddarach. Atebodd Roddy Doyle:

"Ireland, and all its members, represents a country that was a colony. So Ireland never quite fits the European patterns. Ireland is different, is darker... Overcoming the legacy of colonisation and becoming independent gives the idea that you are second wage, that you are a nigger."

Nid breuddwyd gwrach ar ôl uwd mo hyn. Rhoddodd y gormes imperialaidd a'r diffyg datblygu economaidd gryn gydymdeimlad yn sicr ddigon â'r gwledydd wladychwyd yn yr Affrig, Asia neu America Ladin – i raddau hynod unigryw, o gymharu'r Iwerddon â gweddill gwladwriaethau Gorllewin Ewrop a fu'n wladychwyr cryfion.

Cryhawyd cyd-luniad fel hyn gan y cof Gwyddelig o'r Newyn fu'n Iwerddon yng nghanol y 19eg ganrif pan laddwyd miliwn a hanner gan newyn, ac allfudodd miliwn arall o Wyddelod o'r wlad. Do, fe adawodd y Newyn Mawr greithiau dyfnion ar ei ôl ar enaid cenedlaethol y Gwyddelod; gwewyr nad â'n angof gan asiantaethau cymorth rhyngwladol Gwyddelig, wrth gymharu'r Trydydd Byd ag Iwerddon yn neugeiniau'r 19eg ganrif yn eu hymdrechion glew i godi arian. Fel arfer, cânt dderbyniad da. Mae'r Gwyddelod wedi bod yn hynod garedig wrth geisio bwydo newynogion y Trydydd Byd gan gyfrannu llawer mwy y pen nag unrhyw wlad arall yn Ewrop.

Cychwynnwyd y traddodiad o gyfrannu i ddechrau gan sawl cenhadaeth dramor Babyddol yn ail hanner y 19eg ganrif. Mor ddiweddar â chwedegau'r ganrif ddiwethaf, ac Iwerddon i bob pwrpas yn dal yn wlad amaethyddol, 'roedd dros drigain cenhadaeth dramor Babyddol Wyddelig gyda tuag wyth mil o Wyddelod yn cenhadu yn y Trydydd Byd, a'r plant bach yn Iwerddon yn dal yn ffyddlon i hel pres i 'fabanod duon bach' yr Affrig fel cenedlaethau o blant defosiynol o'u blaenau.

Dyma eiriau Mary Sutton o'r asiantaeth cymorth rhyngwladol Trócaire:

"Much of this inspiration for Ireland's early interventions in the field of international development co-operation drew

explicitly on Ireland's own historical experience. Seven hundred years of colonialisation made Ireland unique among the members of the Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development, the rich countries' club... While others could be assumed to have self-interested motives, Ireland's motives were pure".

Mewn erthygl yn yr Irish Times, fel hyn ddaru cyfarwyddwr Trócaire grynhoi'r peth:

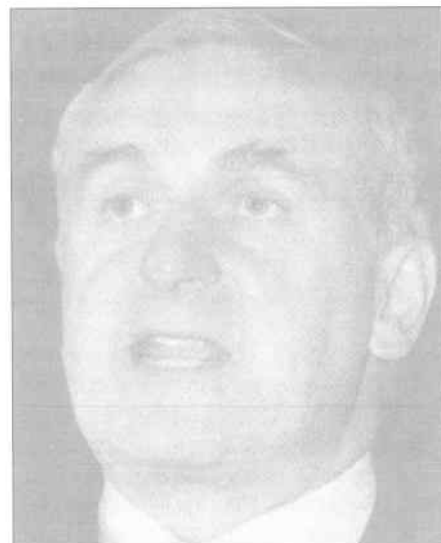
"Within the European Union Ireland has a proud tradition spanning many decades of solidarity with Africa. As the rest of the world exploited the continent Ireland was providing support."

Yr oedd Conor Cruise O'Brian, pan yn aelod o ddetholiad yr Iwerddon i'r Cenhedloedd Unedig yn y '60au, hefyd yn amlwg o'r un farn.

Erbyn hyn, ymddengys fod y Gwyddelod wedi peidio llyfu'r hen greithiau emosiynol o'r gorffennol, a hynny'n bur ddramatig. Yn ôl y Gronfa Ariannol Ryngwladol (yr 'IMF'), ystyrir yr Iwerddon yn anhygoel lwyddiannus, gyda ffyniant eithriadol dros y degawd diwethaf. Glasenwyd yr economi Gwyddelig yn 'Deig ar Celtaidd' gyda'i thrysorfa genedlaethol yn nofio mewn arian. Mae hyn yn dra gwahanol i'r argyfwng ariannol fu 'nghanol wythdegau'r ganrif ddiwethaf pan allech feddwl fod dyled cenedlaethol Iwerddon y tu hwnt i gymorth yn mynd yn fwy-fwy o hyd. Galwodd Bob Geldorf Iwerddon yn "Ba-na-na Republic", a Saeson balch Dinas Llundain yn clebran am "Thrid World Ireland" byth a beunydd – y diawlaid iddyn' nhw.

Beth bynnag a fu, byth ers i'r Teigar Gwyddelig ddechrau rhuo, mae pob llywodraeth Wyddelig – un ar ôl y llall – wedi methu'n glir a thaer i roi 0.7% o'u cynnyrch cenedlaethol (GNP) yn gymhorthdal datblygu tramor (nod a osodwyd gan y Cenhedloedd Unedig). Flwyddyn ar ôl blwyddyn ni roddodd gwleidyddion Iwerddon fel y gwnâi'r rhelyw o gyhoedd Iwerddon. Hyd yn oed heddiw, a'r 26 sir wedi cael dros ddegawd o ffyniant cyson a llachar, dim ond 0.35% o'r GNP a rydd Llywodraeth Iwerddon i'r Trydydd Byd. Bu i Liz O'Donnell – y gweinidog gwladol dros gymorth tramor – fyrgwth ymddiswyddo'n Hydref 1998 dros y peth: – **"I have stated in plain language that our present level of aid is unsatisfactory"** oedd ei hunion eiriau wrth y Dáil ar y pryd. Mi arhosodd yn ei swydd wedi mawr berswâd er i'r Gweinidog Cyllid Charlie McCreevy ei threchu'n y ddadl...

Ond dyfal donc a dyr y garreg, bellach mae'n edrych yn debyg fod Liz O'Donnell a'i dyfalbarhad wedi cario'r dydd. Y llynedd rhoddodd y Dáil 25% yn fwy neu \$234 mili-



Bertie Ahern, y Taoiseach, Iwerddon

wn ac fe obeithir rhoi 0.7% o'r GNP yn gymhorthdal yn 2007.

Dyn addewid Bertie Ahern, y Taoiseach, gerbron cynulliad y Cenhedloedd Unedig ym Medi 2000. **"Support from the E. U. through its regional development and cohesion funds played a role in our current economic success"** eglurodd ef am bwysigrwydd cymorth ariannol tramor i'r Iwerddon, ac i'r Affrig, yng nghyfarfod brig yr U.E. a'r Affrig yn Cairo. Mae'r polisi newydd ar gymhorthdal eisoes wedi creu elw diplomyddol. Dadleuodd Ahern y gallai'r Iwerddon bontio rhwng y byd datblygedig a'r byd sy'n datblygu – a bu hyn o fawr bwys wrth ddadlau'n llwyddiannus am sedd ar Gyngor Diogelwch y Cenhedloedd Unedig.

Serch hyn, a'r golud amlwg yn Nulyn, bu'n rhaid rhoi cyfran o'r arian a glustnodwyd i'w roi'n gymhorthdal tramor i mewn i gronfa addysgol adref i nadu hiliaeth gartref yn erbyn mewnfudwyr. Mae'n debyg na ddaw llwyddiant economaidd heb ei broblemau ei hun yn ei sgîl, ac un o'r rhain yw denu ffoaduriaid a mudwyr, gan fynychaf o DDwyrain Ewrop ac mae gwaith yn Iwerddon i nifer ohonynt. Ni chawsant yno fawr o groeso yng ngwlad y "Can Mil Croeso". Milwriodd gwasg boblogaidd Dulyn yn eu herbyn gan bregethu eu bod yn disgwyl i'r Gwyddelod eu cynnal a'u cadw ar gymhorthdal cyhoeddus a'u bod yn sicr o dorri'r gyfraith byth a beunydd.

O dipyn i beth calliodd y Wasg gan fynegi cydymdeimlad â ffoaduriaid ac atgoffa'r Gwyddelod fel y bu'r holl o'u cydwladwyr hwythau yn yr union sefyllfa. Allfudiad aruthrol, yn draddodiadol, oedd yr ateb cymdeithasol i dloidi mawr a newyn yn'r Iwerddon ac o dipyn i beth fe dawelwyd y dyfroedd. Ond bellach aeth heibio'r dyddiau blin a daeth tro ar fyd y Gwyddel cyffredin ac mae'n fwy bodlon ar ei olud.

'Roedd crachach gwleidyddol rhyddfrydol newydd Dulyn ar gefn eu digon pan ddaru'r Arlywydd Clinton, pan ar ei ymweliad gwladwriaethol olaf, eu canmol o glust i gyntffon am iddynt greu "such an open economy". Rhoes Bertie Ahern ei big i mewn gan

sylwebu "... The Celtic Tiger has been called a part American Tiger with a green face". Cyfeirio'r oedd yn bendifaddau fod 470 cwmni Americanaidd wedi sefydlu canghennau'n Yr Iwerddon – electronig, gwybodaeth technoleg a chemegau gan fyny-chaf. Yn Galway neu 'Nulyn caiff y rhelyw o feddalwedd cyfrifiaduron Ewrop eu gwneud, yn Sir Corc gwneir y cyffuriau modern Prozac a Viagra ar gyfer cyfandir Ewrop. Daeth cynhyrsgaeth a buddsoddi o'r fath rad-dau a ffyniant digynsail i sawl rhan o'r Wladwriaeth, ond, fe ddaeth yn amlwg ddigon y datblygwyd dibyniad affwysol drwm ar gwmnïau trawswladol o'r Amerig. Yn eglur ddigon y dyddiau hyn, daeth i'r fei fod dirwasgiad draw'n yr Amerig – a daw hyn â pheryglon i'r Gwyddelod. Bydd gan Awdurdod Datblygu'r Iwerddon lond ei ddwylo'n ceisio cynnal a chadw'r wyrrth economaidd Wyddelig. Nid oes yno'r un cwmni Americanaidd newydd ers misoedd lawer bellach. Dagrau'r sefyllfa yw bod yr Iwerddon wedi ymdebygu fwy-fwy i'r Amerig, ac mae'r tlodion yn dlawd iawn a'r cyfoethog lawer cyfoethocach – eto fel yr Amerig! Yn wir, mae'r gagendor cydrwng y tlawd a'r cyfoethog yng Ngweriniaeth Iwerddon yn fwy nag yw'n unle arall drwy'r

Gorllewin heblaw'r Amerig ei hun! Yn ôl Adroddiad Datblygiad Dynol Rhaglen Datblygu Cenhedloedd Unedig (sydd o graidd yn sylwi ar ffactorau megis hyd oes dyn, tyfiant economaidd, adnoddau a rhaniad teg o incwm: nid yw o'r farn mai twf economaidd yw'r unig ddull a modd i gloriannu datblygiad dynol) – y canllaw cywiraf blynyddol sy'n dangos ym mha wlad mae ansawdd bywyd orau – gwelwn fod yr Iwerddon a Chanada oedd orau y llynedd, er bod cynnyrch cenedlaethol gros *per capita*'r Werddon yn \$18,710 yn 2000.

Pur anesmwyth oedd Paul Cullen, Gohebydd Datblygu'r Irish Times, fel llawer i Wyddel arall, pan sylwodd

"All our economic indices are clicking in the right way; we're earning more than Germans, Japanese and Britons (sic), yet the report shows that much is not right. Our life expectancy is not what it should be (76 mlynedd); our society has huge inequalities and massive illiteracy... So have we pursued economic growth at the expense of a more rounded development and an improvement in the quality of life that touches all bases?"

Ymddengys felly bod yr Iwerddon am wenu ar ei golud bydol a phoeni am ei gost yn nhermau ansawdd bywyd. Gall, fe all ei gwleidyddion hi glochdar fel y maent yn rhoi cymorth ariannol dramor. Ond, os oes gan Bertie Ahern owns o drugarowgrwydd cymdeithasol fel yr honnir fod ganddo, yna ofnir y gwel fod golud bydol Americanaidd â phroblemau'r Trydydd Byd yn eu sgîl, ac y gall anghyfiawnderau milain ddigwydd dan ei drwyn er iddo arddel y syniad

'Am yr aur y mae'r ymorol
Heb yr aur bydd pawb ar ôl'

heb gyfri'r wir gost – tlodi gwledig, llwyr golli iaith a diwylliant Gwyddelig drwy fewnlifiadau anghyfiaith i gefn gwlad wâr.

Wrth gwrs y wers sydd yma inni'r Cymry yw hon, sef pan gawn wared ar hualau Seisnig ac ennill hunanlywodraeth, peidiwn â disgwyl i fawr neb arall ein helpu ni'n economaidd. Mi fyddwn ninnau yn teimlo'n eifrad a chroenddu debyg, gan i Gymru hefyd oddef gwladychiad hir a cheisio helpu'n cyd-ddyn mewn gwledydd lle mae "plant bach melynion yn byw" a hen arfer â thlodi dan bawen y Sais trahaus.

John Griffith Jones

Obituary

John Griffith Jones R.I.A.

Celtic League members were saddened to hear last autumn of the sudden death of the Chairperson of the Welsh branch of the League, John Griffith Jones, at the age of 59.

John was Secretary of the Welsh branch for a number of the years in the early seventies. He hosted an AGM and a General Council meeting in Y Bala during that time and introduced many of us to that truly Welsh town. It was so marvellous to be in an environment where one heard Welsh spoken in all places. He was very hospitable and accommodated as many delegates as possible in his house in Heol Tegid, which almost had its own restaurant in residence with his favourite café next door.

The first time I met John was when he arrived at our flat one night off the ferry from Wales with a friend on their way to an Irish Language course organised by Alan Heusaff on Oileán Chléire (Cape Clear Island). We went to Club an Chonradh and it was a mind-expanding experience! John called in on the way back with a new found Breton friend Joel Page. Although they had not become fluent in Irish in the week I gather they imparted a good deal of Welsh and Breton to the Cape Clear islanders as they insisted on responding in their own languages if they were lost for the words in Irish. The three of us remained in contact over all the years.

Many of us, including Alan and Brid Heusaff, became firm friends of John and availed of his hospitality on a number of personal return visits to Bala. I do myself recall an occasional foray rather late at night over the county border to Corwen! One year two car loads of Irish branch members went to the Owain Glyndwr commemoration at Cilmeri. Having been hosted by Welsh branch members in the Swansea area we went up to Cilmeri the following day where we met with John at the ceremonies (attended by London Branch members also) and the song session afterwards. He guided us back over the mountain road to Bala (a journey to remember!) where he accommodated all of us with his usual hospitality and made a huge stew that night to revitalise us the following day for our return journey.

John was active in community and language matters in his area. In recent years he was writing regularly for CARN. We last met him at the League's 40th AGM in Rhosllanerchrugog in 2001, where true to form, he departed after the meeting to take the Breton secretary, Jakez Derouet, and his wife on a tour of parts of his beloved Welsh speaking Wales. He will be sorely missed and the Celtic League would like to extend our sympathies to his wife of many years, Byddig.

Cathal Ó Luain



FIRST OVERSEAS WELSH EMBASSY UNVEILED

The Welsh Assembly has revealed the location for its first overseas 'embassy'. The facility, to be sited in New York, aims to promote the image and role of Wales and its new Assembly and to stimulate inward investment from North America.

The Wales International Centre will be based in Manhattan and a lease has already been signed for the office which is expected to cost approx. £220,000 a year to run.

Three other similar centres are planned globally including one to be sited in the Far East.

The Welsh government is mirroring efforts already taken by the Scottish parliament to maximise the economical potential for independent action, which the new devolved situation of former Celtic countries within the United Kingdom has provided.

Book Reviews

FACING THE OCEAN - THE ATLANTIC AND ITS PEOPLES

Hardcover - 608 pages (February, 2001)
£25.00
Oxford University Press.
ISBN: 0199240191

This book is simply a magisterial œuvre. Barry Cunliffe is Professor of European Archaeology at Oxford and an internationally known writer and broadcaster on discovering the past. He has also written *'The Oxford Illustrated Prehistory of Europe'* (1994) and *'The Ancient Celts'* (1997) both published by Oxford University Press.

'Facing the Ocean - The Atlantic and its Peoples' is a fascinating book with plenty of beautiful illustrations, maps, photographs of hard rocks, promontories and spectacular sites such as Dún Aonghasa (Aran Islands).

This book is a new approach to 10,000 years of European history that reveals a kinship amongst the peoples of the Atlantic seaboard. The Celts, Bretons, Galicians and others whose lands face the turmoil of the ocean and whose rich cultures and identities reflect their shared experiences.

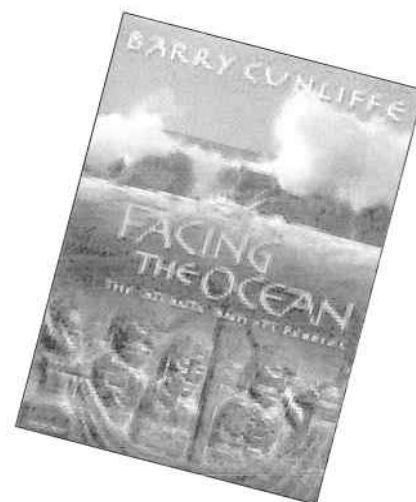
It shows that Cornish, Irish, Bretons, Galicians, etc... had a closer kinship with seafaring neighbours than with their English, French and Spanish countrymen. Indeed the very act of living on the edge of the world created a collective consciousness that was, and still is today, specifically *'Atlantic'*, an identity that has produced cultures of great inventiveness and works of art of beauty and originality.

Of course, this book is not entirely dedicated to the Celts. But Celts occupy around half of the entire book, from chapter 7 *'Sailors on the two oceans 1200 - 200 BC'* (p. 261) until the beginning of chapter 12 *'New Centres, New Peripheries AD 1000 - 1500'* (p. 517).

In chapter 7 under the section *'Talking to each other'* (p. 293), he gives us a very interesting theory: *'by the end of the Bronze age the communities of Atlantic Europe had maintained a high level of contact along the seaways for more than four thousand years. Over much of that time, as the archaeological*

cal evidence so vividly demonstrates, the links were persistent and sometimes intense... These people needed to communicate... It is inevitable that a lingua franca would have developed... By the Middle of the first millennium BC the languages spoken throughout much of western Europe were a closely related branch of Indo-European... Lhuyd was able to identify them as part of a single language group, which he called 'Celtic'. Subsequent studies of epigraphy and place-names have shown that the languages spoken in the later first millennium in France, central and western Iberia and the south-western Alps belonged to the same Celtic family... The simple fact is that no classical writer ever referred to the inhabitants of Britain and Ireland as Celts... To complicate matters still further, the linguistic model was soon taken as the basis for constructing a historical model. Thus, of Britain, Ireland, and Iberia the inevitable question to be asked is, 'When did the Celts arrive?'... Archaeologists, eager to substantiate the invasionist model, endeavoured to find assemblages of artefacts by which 'invaders' could be identified, and linguists used these suggestions as support for their own assumptions... The questions surrounding language are not easy to resolve, but if one divorces the linguistic evidence from the archaeological, and pseudo-historical preconceptions, the simple picture which emerges is of a similarity of language over much of western Europe by the sixth century BC... It is not unreasonable, therefore, to conclude that 'Celtic', as defined by Lhuyd, was the lingua franca of the Atlantic community... The archaeological and linguistic evidence support each other without being dependent. This does, however, raise the question of terminology. To speak of the 'Celtic' language is a misleading, since it takes with it a package of hypotheses and assumptions many of which are wrong. But since the word is too embedded in three hundred years of scholarship to abandon, it might be better simply to qualify it by using the phrase 'Atlantic Celtic'. This will distinguish it, conceptually, from the language, which is generally assumed to have been spoken by the historical Celts, whose migrations were recorded by the classical writers. The suggestion takes with it no implication that the two languages were different'.

This, I think, would explain why a place like Galicia has a material civilization different from central and eastern Europe, the heartland of Halstatt and La Tène archaeological



stations whereas Galician Pre-Roman people, tribes and place-names are mostly and deeply Celtic from the linguistic point of view, why Galician castros (hilltops) have direct connections with Irish, Breton and Cornish hilltops, why the Halstatt period in Galicia seems to be rather a local evolution and development of earlier Late Bronze Age. Moreover, there is a very interesting map illustrating my last statement entitled: *'Defended Homesteads of the Atlantic Region'* showing Atlantic communities with distinctive settlement forms in the first millennium BC. The higher density is to be found in modern Celtic countries, Galicia, Asturias and especially in Celtic speaking countries, i. e. Lower Brittany, western Ireland, western Scotland, Wales and Cornwall.

I warmly recommend this beautiful book as it is a very worthwhile reading, fully illustrated. It shows us how much, we, Celts, share a geographical space, how long we are sharing it and how being Celts of Galicia, Asturias, Brittany, Cornwall, Wales, Scotland or Ireland we have a common past, a common deep-rooted kinship but also regional differences.

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José CALVETE.

Scotland - A Short History

Christopher Harvie,
Oxford, Oxford University Press 2002

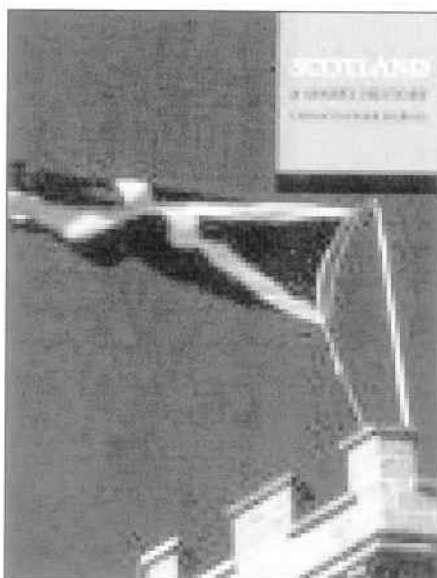
Stone Voices - the Search for Scotland

Neal Ascherson, London, Granta, 2002

Scotland unpicked and remade

In the past thirty years Scotland, the ancient nation has been treated to an abundant feast of historical analysis. This is directly linked to the quickening pace of the revival of the cultural and self-government movement. Now the benefits of this modern research have been distilled into a short volume by Chris Harvie of 230 close-packed pages that do justice to the nation in its European and world context.

Harvie's academic base is as professor of British Studies at Tübingen University in south Germany town. Previously he has mulled over the rise of Scottish nationalism, the North Sea oil province and the evolution of European civic society from German, Welsh and Scottish perspectives.



His skills integrate the ordinary and occasional extra-ordinary lives and the diverse groups who make up the peoples of Scotland. The more we know, the more remarkable the capacity of early mediaeval kings of Scots to weld together the Picts, Scots, Angles, Britons and Norse elements of an intensely local little country. Harvie moves in six chapters from 10,000BC to 2002. His sense of influences recognises the Atlantic and North Sea access routes as well as the growing problems of a much larger neighbour over the Cheviot Hills to the south. He captures the interplay of wider European ideas and political power play that involved Scotland from the start.

He notes the importance of Scotland's 'special daughter' status with successive Popes in the Middle Ages. That independent position of her national church from English archbishops gave a backbone to secular national independence movement. Harvie shows again and again how Scotland's trading interests across the North Sea led her leaders to become a cat's paw in the centuries-old battle of the French and English super-powers.

The modern recrudescence of the Atlantic arc's importance is a most strikingly identified. The centrality of estuaries of the Clyde, Mersey, Severn in the industrial revolution put Atlantic Britain as the hub of a world empire. Three thousand years before Stone Age sailors had a huge influence on our cultural and trading lives as they sailed the seas from North Africa to Iceland. The intensely Celtic cities of Glasgow, Belfast, Liverpool and Cardiff were the trading hubs of the incredibly confident, nineteenth century imperial epoch.

A complex interplay of religious, philosophical, artistic and scientific ideas that evolved in the old Scotland allowed them to flourish as the eighteenth century Scottish Enlightenment as civil society coped with the incorporating union with England in 1707. In Harvie's Envoi he offers a set of explanations for the survival and return of the self-government drive in the post-British Empire and the roots of stubborn Scottish survival against the odds. Helpful maps, pungent comments on his sources and a useful time-line contribute to recommend this Short History a must for those who would glimpse the real heartbeat of the nation.

Looking at the bones of the land and the stones that form the plinth for so many important Scottish events gives Neal Ascherson a roving mission to establish the essence of the nation. He reviews the Stone Age cup and ring marked stones, the foot-

print cut on the summit of Dunadd, the ancient Scots capital in Argyll. These are followed by the significance of the stolen Stone of Scone and other booty of the English invasions, the mossy graves of the seventeenth century Covenanters. He recalls the journalistic scoop by The Scotsman editor in 1850 that revealed, through evidence of glaciation, the Earth's far greater age than Bible-based religion would admit.

Ascherson the journalist has covered Scottish affairs at both of the crucial home rule referendums in 1979 and 1999. He has been a distinguished commentator on African and much later East European affairs. His Observer column during the Thatcher Ice Age was a glimmer of sun and thaw onto a fairer world. He calls on his experience to identify how the hard land of Scotland spewed her people into Europe and eventually around the world to make a living. He sees the sixteenth and seventeenth Scots trading empire in Poland as a model for Scots trading successes and outlook during the opportunities provided by the British Empire.

Through recent experience of the hard road to Home Rule Neal Ascherson shows how the hard-won values of collective society survive. Yet he shows that the vast majority of Scots have been so battered by the Highland and Lowland Clearances and the turmoil and terrible price of the Industrial Revolution. He calls this the St Andrews Fault between the distrustful majority and the optimistic spirit of the smaller political class that has kept the vision of self-government and redemption alive. His crisp and lucid style and wide-ranging insights make this an uplifting and fascinating read as Scotland grapples with twenty-first century opportunities. The return not so much of the Stone of Scone by the Tories in 1996, but of decision taking powers to a fledgling and ultra-democratic Edinburgh parliament.

RG

The Literature of Cornwall - Continuity, Identity, Difference 1000 - 2000

By Alan M Kent

Published by Redcliffe Press Ltd.,
Bristol 2000

In his book, *The Literature of Cornwall-Continuity, Identity, Difference 1000 - 2000*, Alan M Kent attempts to show an historic vision of literary Cornwall that is woven with threads of difference in its assertion of identity, through what Kent argues to be a literary continuum that stretches across a millennia. Kent is clear and unapologetic in his vision of a Cornwall that has maintained a high quality literary character with definite features of its own. He presents a distinct face of Cornish literature (using the terms Cornish, Anglo-Cornish and Cornu-English) that has shrouded itself from the anglo-centric perspectives that have often been imposed on the literature of Cornwall in the past.

Kent's study, covering six chapters, is as

broad as it is astute. He discusses the literature of the early medieval period and how it should be seen in a wider European context and the work of writers such as Richard Roscarrock who explored a developing modern Cornish identity. He also considers how the effects of industrial progress and change were reflected in

The works of people like Henry Quick and John Harris and the refinement and portrayal of Cornish difference leading to an examination of post-modern and post-industrial Cornwall. Finally he comes full circle in celebrating the place of Cornish literature within an historical and modern European context.

Kent shows that even without an institute of Higher education in Cornwall, (to counteract the narrow criticism that has emanated from various Celtic academics in the past that was directed at Cornish literature for not being "Celtic" or not "Celtic enough") Cornish literature continued to grow according to its own construct. As Kent argues, although the continuum of Cornish literature has been effected by outside influences, it

(Continued on page 52)

NEW EDITION OF 'CELTIC DAWN'

The Celtic Dawn, the book that outlines the history of the Inter-Celtic movement, has been published again in an updated paperback format. The original publication in hardback by author Peter Beresford Ellis was first produced in 1993.

On the Brink of a Celtic Morning

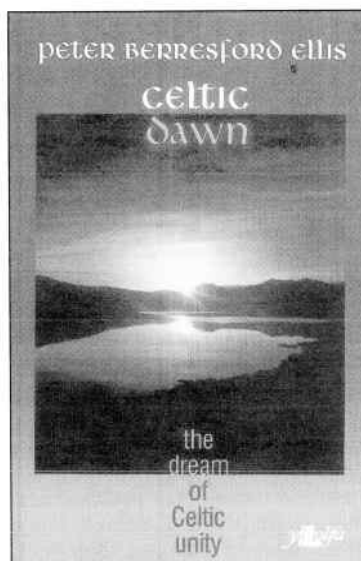
In a new edition of Celtic Dawn acclaimed author and scholar Peter Beresford Ellis predicts that the six Celtic nations can expect to enjoy the most exciting period of their histories in the coming next ten years. Celtic Dawn traces the history of the modern Pan-Celtic movement from its origins in the late 19th century and describes the organisations and principal characters that steered it towards its present situation. Ironically over the past few decades although there has been a decline in the fortunes of the indigenous languages of all countries, there has been a phenomenal growth of interest in "all things Celtic" with a significant renaissance for example in Celtic history, art and music. Celtic societies have mushroomed in all corners of the world and the Internet is playing an ever-increasing role in spreading Pan Celticism.

(Continued from page 51)

should actually be seen as a "process within a paradigm of language shift and change over time, which has brought about a multitude of linguistic and literary features and events throughout the past thousand years."

In his study, Kent presents a literature of a small nation that has eluded definition; because of the way it has been perceived. As he points out, "Cornwall breaks the rules of traditional conceptualizations of Celtic, and this is one reason it has not been afforded equivalent status to other Celtic literatures". The Literature of Cornwall offers a fresh look at the continuity, identity and difference that permeates the work of writers who have written and continue to write about Cornwall, from both inside and outside. This book highlights the dynamism of Cornwall's literary culture and the growing confidence and positivism of writers, like Kent, who are prepared to promote and defend a Cornish literature that will no doubt continue into this millennia and beyond.

Rhisiart Tal-e-bot



The author describes the situation in all countries and assesses the contributions of institutions such as The Celtic League and The Celtic Congress and individuals such as Padraig Pearse, Douglas Hyde, Gwynfor Evans and Bernard Moffatt. He believes that the establishment of a Scottish Parliament, Welsh Assembly and the peace process in

Ireland signify a new dawn, but in his own words, "How the Celtic morning now develops is going to be one of the most exciting historical periods for the sixteen millions who populate the Celtic countries." It seems that the Celtic nations are gaining varying degrees of autonomy but it is difficult to predict if there will be a move to consolidate an Inter-Celtic dimension.

Peter Beresford Ellis, historian and novelist, grew up in a family of Irish, Welsh, Scots, Bretons and English. His work has been translated into nearly a score of languages and, as 'Peter Tremayne', a fiction writing pseudonym, he is author of the international best-selling Sister Fidelma historical murder mysteries set in 7th Century Ireland. The Times Literary Supplement recently described him as 'the pre-eminent Celtic scholar now writing'.

Celtic Dawn was released by Y Lolfa in late October, 2002, and is available on Y Lolfa's on-line secure shop www.ylolfa.com at £9.95.

Peter Beresford Ellis can be contacted at the following address: Lios na nAislingi, 30 Gresley Road, Llundain N19 3JZ pd@co.uk

NEW WELSH - CORNISH - BRETON - LEXICON

A new dictionary of the Brittonic languages has been produced by Yvan Guehennec and Mikael Keraotred. It is entitled '*Geriadur Kevredin ar Yezhou Predenek / Common Dictionary of the Brittonic Languages*'.

According to the authors the 160 page soft-backed text was "written out of a simple idea: combining in a small book a set of terms common to the three Celtic languages of insular and Brittonic origins that are Breton, Cornish and Welsh".

The sections include a introduction with notes on the Brittonic countries and their languages, sections on pronunciation of Breton, Cornish and Welsh and the Dictionary sections:

1. English - Breton - Cornish - Welsh
2. Breton - Cornish - Welsh - English
3. Cornish - Welsh - Breton - English
4. Welsh - Breton - Cornish - English

There are also concluding pages with Colours, Days of the week, Months, Seasons, Numbers, Countries etc.

The new dictionary is published by *Imbourc'h* in Brittany and costs 15. However, the authors are also offering to send CDs to those interested in reprinting the dictionary, this is cost free with only one stipulation - that reproductions should acknowledge the original authors and publishers *Imbourc'h*.

The configuration on the disk is as follows:

- PDF Adobe Acrobat
- PUB Package 'Microsoft Publisher'
- DOC Microsoft Word

Should you know a publisher who would be interested please contact: Yvan Guehennec, 36 rue Yves de Kerguelen, Vannes / Gwened, 56000, Breizh / Brittany
E-mail: meriadog@wanadoo.fr.



Yvan Guehennec

CELTIC LANGUAGES AND COMMUNITIES ENDANGERED

CYMUNED – FOR THE SURVIVAL OF WELSH AS A COMMUNITY LANGUAGE

Cymuned is a movement that campaigns for some of the most essential of human rights: the right to exist and the right to continue to exist.

Cymuned came into existence during 2000-2001. This was a particularly stormy year in terms of the nature of the debate over the Welsh language. One of the things which amazes me – and I speak as somebody who is neither Welsh nor English – is the way in which people working on behalf of the Welsh language have been attacked in recent months. Whether bigots with an inherited hatred for this minority culture or cynics attempting to score cheap political points, a number of people have attempted to pervert the use of terms such as 'multicultural' and 'racist' and use them against people campaigning on behalf of Welsh communities. I am amazed and sickened by the ways in which these terms have been misused: people voicing concern over the fact that a large influx of non-Welsh speakers is endangering the survival of traditional Welsh communities are called 'racist' and said to be against 'multiculturalism'. The fact that somebody who is concerned with a minority culture's right to exist and right to continue to exist is slandered in this manner because of that concern is something which I find both amazing and sickening. Welsh is a threatened minority language within a multicultural society which needs to be protected; the fact that bigots and cynics have attempted to turn this simple truth on its head is astounding. And, again, I speak as somebody who is neither Welsh nor English; I hope that I would react in a similar manner regarding the struggle for the rights of any minority group anywhere else in the world.

Cymuned recognizes that, in order to ensure the continued existence of traditional Welsh-speaking communities, local people must have the right to buy



Dr. Jerry Hunter

houses in their own communities. Similarly, it recognizes that the completely unfettered influx into Welsh-speaking communities must in some way be addressed. Do not be misled by those who, for whatever reason, pervert the terminology and confuse the argument: regulating the influx of people into a fragile minority cultural community is not 'racist' or 'narrow-minded' but an essential aspect of cultural ecology and part of the process of preserving the fundamental right of that community to exist. There are a little over 500,000 Welsh speakers in Wales. There are well over 40,000,000 English speakers in England. It does not take much in terms of mathematical skill to work out that a completely unregulated influx of people into Welsh-speaking areas is a real threat to the survival of Welsh as a community language. Again, it helps to view this issue in an international context: Denmark, Finland and other countries regulate the influx of people into what might be termed culturally fragile

areas. Indeed, regions in England such as the Lake District and Exmoor have taken steps or voiced concern over similar issues. Campaigners seeking to protect Welsh-speaking communities are only voicing concerns, which have long since been deemed as reasonable, normal and necessary in other parts of the world.

The problems facing Welsh-speaking communities are difficult problems requiring complex answers. Working towards these answers would be much easier if those people not interested in helping Welsh-language communities would step aside, stop throwing misleading labels around, stop trying to turn the struggle for a minority culture's survival into a way of scoring cheap political points, and let people tackle the problems.

Over the past year the media has given a platform to several English people in Wales who feel threatened by this kind of discussion. They apparently feel that, if groups like *Cymuned* succeed in securing constitutional ways of preserving Welsh-speaking communities, then their 'human rights' will be infringed upon. It is a simple question of the individual's personal desire versus the community's interests. Again, it is helpful to think of the issue in terms of ecology: imagine that an individual desires to build a house within the boundaries of a national park. Imagine that he or she applies for planning permission to build a house in a national park and, when refused, says that it is 'an outrage' and that his or her 'personal rights' to live where he or she wants to live have been infringed upon. Most people would think that 'outrage' to be ridiculous, recognizing that certain areas have been zoned as national parks for their protection and for the greater good of the community and that those concerns must override the individual's personal desire to live in that place. Anybody who places their own personal desire above such concerns must be considered as extremely selfish at best.

Cymuned seeks to ensure the survival of Welsh as a community language in those areas where it has always existed as a community language. In so doing, it is concerned with what might be termed a kind of cultural ecology. The issue, however, involves more than ecology; it involves the basic and fundamental right of a culture to exist and to continue to exist.

Jerry Hunter

SECOND HOMES REPORT - AN IRRELEVANT DISTRACTION

A report released in September last which down-plays the impact of second homes on life in rural Wales was called into question on its day of publication by a parallel survey which shows house prices spiralling as Wales enjoys an unprecedented property boom.

There seems little doubt that the report into second homes commissioned by the Assembly was designed to undervalue the concern of community groups, such as Cymuned, which are campaigning to arrest the decline of language and culture in North-West Wales caused by in-migration. The report is an irrelevant distraction from the real problems facing Welsh speaking Wales.

However, by focusing on the narrow parameter of second (or holiday) homes the report misses the point that Welsh people from these communities are being priced out of their homeland. Cymuned spokesperson, Simon Brooks, hit the nail on the head when commenting on the report he said, *"We know that homes are going to people from outside all the time. It's obvious now there is a permanent influx of people into Welsh language areas, which is pricing people out of the market"*.

Rather than commissioning reports to exercise the academic talents of University College London the Welsh Assembly should stop *sitting on their thumbs* on this issue and respond to the valid concerns of groups such as Cymuned who are fighting to save the language and community culture of Wales in the face of political apathy.

GAELTACHT ECONOMIC MODEL FOR WALES CALL

The pressure group, Cymuned, is continuing to press the case for support to maintain Welsh speaking communities

Hundreds of supporters attended a rally in North Wales organised by the Welsh language pressure group, Cymuned, at which there were calls for economic assistance similar to that provided in the Gaeltacht areas of Ireland.

Speakers addressing the rally called on the Welsh Assembly government to establish an Economic Development Authority for Welsh speaking communities, modelled on Udaras na Gaeltachta.

They said that current economic development disproportionately aided areas outside the Welsh language heartlands. Currently economic aid seems to be channelled towards areas on the M4 and A55 corridors.

The meeting was told that the only way to ensure that the rural communities where the language is pre-eminent could thrive was by creating secure well-paid jobs for young people.

The latest rally is one of a series being held by Cymuned, which is keeping up the pressure on the Welsh Assembly to ensure the problems of rural Wales are addressed.

Bernard Moffatt

Wales in Brief

Cymdeithas rally against Ceredigion Council

Four members of Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg were arrested in a rally in Aberaeron on the 14th September to oppose Ceredigion Council's Unitary Development Plan which includes the building of 6,500 new houses in the county that will be filled mainly by non-Welsh speaking outsiders, considerably further Anglicising this pressurised part of Welsh Wales. The four were Emyr Llewelyn from Ffostrasol, the founder of the movement Adfer, his son Owen Llewelyn of Felinfach, Arwel 'Rocet' Jones of Aberystwyth and Heledd ap Gwynfor of Llandysul. The four were taken to Aberystwyth where Heledd ap Gwynfor was cautioned, and the other three were released on police bail. Since the rally was held two days before Glyndŵr Day on September 16th (the date in 1400 when Owain Glyndŵr was proclaimed Prince of Wales at the start of the rebellion), this was Cymdeithas's way of marking the date this year. Cymdeithas subsequently held a vigil outside the council offices as the next draft of the Development Plan was being issued.

Property Act needed

The main call from the rally in Aberaeron was for a *Deddf Eiddo* or Property Act to control the housing market. Cymdeithas Chairman Huw Lewis said *"Ceredigion is a perfect example of the need for a Property Act. There is a threat to build 6,500 unnecessary houses without having researched the local need. This will lead to more immigration and an end of Welsh as a living community language"*.

Welsh Not at Argos - further evidence for a New Language Act

Cymdeithas held a further rally for a New Language Act in Caerfyrddin / Carmarthen in September last, outside the local Argos branch (a catalogue sales chain store), where employees had been forbidden from using Welsh. The rally featured Mary Davies from nearby Llanfihangel-ar-Arth who had worked in the shop from October-December 2001. During this time she was forbidden to answer the telephone in Welsh or greet customers in Welsh, and apart from one notice all signs and notices in the shop are in English only (the Cardiff branch has nothing in Welsh at all). Argos is a fur-

ther example of the need for a new Language Act to cover the private sector which would oblige large companies to make a certain level of use of Welsh and give rights to Welsh-speakers at work.

The Assembly's Language Report - a recipe for genocide

The report of the National Assembly's Culture committee on the Welsh language has been a cause for dismay across the spectrum of organisations working for our ailing tongue. It offers nothing radically new and effectively maintains the status quo which is a situation where Welsh, as a natural community language, is fast declining and will die out in the next few decades. The report does not acknowledge that the future of the language is under threat from mass English immigration into Welsh Wales.

Cymdeithas yr Iaith have responded by organising their own 'referendum' on the matter, a campaign that was launched by the Archdruid of Wales, Robyn Léwis, during the National Eisteddfod in August last year.

Cymdeithas Chairman Huw Lewis said:

"Following the failure of the National Assembly review of the language to recognise the need for a new Language Act and a Property Act, we are launching the campaign 'Deffwrch! Dewiswch!' ('Wake! Choose!'). We will give the Welsh people a clear choice between the conclusions of the assembly committee and the demands of Cymdeithas yr Iaith... and in order to emphasise the choice we will hold a referendum. The referendum will give the people of Wales a choice between the Assembly's review and Cymdeithas's demands and we are very pleased that the Archdruid is prepared to show support".

R apT



Cymdeithas protest at ARGOS catalogue sales store.

Gnéithe de Pholasaithe Mhec Vannin

'There is no housing shortage in the Isle of Man. If there was, estate agents wouldn't have so many houses to sell to people abroad.'

'There is only one answer to the housing crisis: immigration control and speculation tax, not in five years time, but NOW!'

Tá na focail thuas as eagrán-an Earraigh de *Yn Pabyr Seyr*, nuachtán Mhec Vannin. Sin páirtí polaitiúil poblachtánach na tíre sin (Mec Vannin, sé sin Mic Mhanainne i nGaeilge – an gcreidfheadh sibh a 'Mhná na hÉireann?') Níl aon duais don té a aistríonn teideal an nuachtáin. In imirt focal tugtar *The Free Manx Paper* air mar fho-theideal.

Tá Mec Vannin gafa go mór leis an athrú sa chóras tithíochta le blianta anuas. Tá taithí againn in Éirinn ar a leithéid agus chomh holc is atá cúrsaí anseo, ach ar a laghad tá na hÉireannaigh i gcomórtas lena muintir féin do na tithe. Ach suíomh eile atá i réim i Manainn. Tá na sluaite ag plódú isteach ón oileán níos faide thoir. Nuair a fhaigheann na Gaill seo postanna tagann suíomh aisteach i réim. Mar a léitear i mbileog de chuid Mhec Vannin.

'Manx people are being openly and deliberately disadvantaged in housing by government employment deals. A Manx person in any given job will be paid a given wage. An imported employee may be given the same wage but will additionally receive payments to assist with housing and even occasional trips "home"!'

I suíomh mar seo dar ndóigh mar adúirt Maggie Thatcher *'You can't resist market forces'* agus mar thoradh ar sin is iad na stróinséirí atá in ann na tithe a cheannach seachas na Manannaigh.

Nuair a bhíos féin in Manainn i mí Lúnasa seo chaite chonaic mé a lán seandaoine airtríteacha. Cuireadh ar mo shúile gur phrinsinéirí ó Shasana ab ea a lán lán díobh ag lonnú ar an oileán toisc é a bheith in áit dídine ó thaobh cánach de. Anois más mian leat aon iarsmaí de fhíor phobal Manainneach a fheiceáil caithfeadh dul go dtí na heastáit tithíochta poiblí, *'with'*, mar a deir *Yn Pabyr Seyr*, *the associated perception of lower social status.'*

Ach níos measa fós tá muintir na tíre á ruaigeadh as an áit de bharr na gcúrsaí scanalacha seo. De réir lucht Mhec Vannin, ní amháin go bhfuil rialtas meata an Oileáin ciontach sa scéal seo ach tá siad ag cur leis an droch shuíomh d'aon ghnó. Arís, mar a deir an bhileog thuasluaite, *'The government of the Isle of Man does not want housing prices to fall. As long as they remain too high, Manx people will continue to be driven out, to be replaced by wealthy immigrants. That is what the government wants – the policies of extreme greed cannot accommodate anyone but the wealthy.'*

Is ceist mhór ceist na hinimirce ar fud an domhain na laethanta seo agus ceist go bhfuil a lán coimhlinte ann ina taobh. Tá an eite chlé agus na fíor-liobráligh ar son teorainneacha

a oscailt agus a mhalairt ar an taobh eile. Tá siadsan atá ag seasamh in aghaidh dhomhandachais agus é faoi threoir ag lucht mór gnó agus an racmais ag iarraidh go n-osclofaí na teorainneacha. Ach is fadhb de shaghas eile ar fad atá ar Oileán Mhanainn. Níl rialacha ann chun na faill a choimeád as. Mar shampla níl saoránachas Manainneach oifigiúil ann: is saoránaigh den 'Ríocht Aontaithe' iad.

Mar sin, ní nach ionadh tá polasaí ag Mec Vannin i dtaobh na gcúrsaí seo agus mír dá réir ag plé le daonra i mbunreacht an pháirtí:



Mec Vannin Stall on Tynwald Day, open-air parliament held in July each year.

'In a small island nation such as ours, in default of policies to control growth of the finance sector, policies to control the size of the population are essential for the economic ecological and cultural sustainability. The rapid and unnatural population increase, due to an open door policy on immigration, has increased the burden on the island's infrastructure and environment whilst eroding the fabric of community life. As a result Mec Vannin believes the immediate introduction of immigration controls to be a priority. 'A careful balance between population, infrastructure and environment must be maintained to ensure the long term viability of the Island's economy, ecology and quality of life.'

Fadhb a bhfuil Mec Vannin ag iarraidh dul i ngleic léi ná an chaoi ina bhfuil an rialtas ag deileáil le comhairleoirí. Cén tionchar atá ag an dream seo ar pholasaithe an rialtais agus dar ndóigh, cén cineál focaíochta atá i gceist. Cuireann *Yn Pabyr Seyr* an ceist, *'An bhfuil foireann ann, agus polaiteoirí, de mhianach sásúil go leor, chun smacht a choimeád orthu. Ní fadhb í seo a bhaineann le Manainn*

amháin, is ceann idirnáisiúnta í. Pléann Naomi Klein, an frithdhomhandachasóir mór leis an cheist seo ina leabhar *'No Logo'*. Réim na saineolaithe atá i gceist aici agus an dochar is féidir leo a dhéanamh. Mar shampla luann sí cás i gCeanada inar shínigh aire an stáit tuarastáil ó shaineolaí nár léigh sé fiú. Dar ndóigh tá an fhreagracht ar na polaiteoirí achan rud a thagann ó na comhairleoirí a scrúdú go mion.

Sé deir an páipéar: *'among the questions that Mec Vannin want urgently answered are – How realistic is it to recruit and train local civil servants to undertake some of their roles? To what extent do consultants represent business interests, either at home or abroad —?'* agus go háirithe, *'Do consultants interfere with the political decision making process on the Island?'*

Ach nuair a fhiosraíonn Mec Vannin ón rialtas tá cosc ar fhreagraí toisc *'commercial confidentiality'*, an fhadhb chéanna atá ag rialtas na hÉireann nuair a fhiosraíonn siad faoi Sellafield nó Mox. Agus níl a fhios ag pobal Oileán Mhanainne cén costas atá ar na comhairleoirí uile. Cosúil leis an Aontas Eorpach tá easnamh mór daonlathach i Manainn.

Summary

The Isle of Man party Mec Vannin is actively engaged in trying to reverse the critical housing situation in the country using both its newspaper Yn Pabyr Seyr and its website. Young Manx people are being forced to leave because foreigners are out-bidding them for housing. An item in the party's constitution demands immigration controls.

Another problem the party is engaged with is the use of government consultants and the extent to which they are under the control of competent civil servants and ministries.

Pádraig Ó Cleirigh

Cornish Community Poverty

Not long ago, I pinned a poster to a telegraph pole, advertising that our Branch of the Celtic League was campaigning to try and resolve the housing crisis in Cornwall. As I stuck the last pin in, a voice behind me said 'What housing crisis?' I turned round to see a lady in a tweed jacket eyeing me up suspiciously from her Landrover (I wish I was being stereotypical!). 'Don't you know,' I said, 'that many Cornish people can't afford to buy houses where they live anymore and are being priced out of the market.' The lady looked at me, frowned and replied 'The Cornish?...you've come to the wrong place.' Given that this incident took place just outside St. Ives, west Cornwall, I was at a loss of words as to what to say. Is the situation that bad I wondered?

I would like to try to convey to you, in this short article, a sense of how Cornish communities are being affected by the housing crisis and the relative poverty that is compounding this situation.

Cornwall has become one of the poorest regions in Europe and was awarded Objective One funding in 1999. This award was seen by many to be the panacea to cure Cornwall's economic ills. However, since 1999 Cornwall's Gross Domestic Product has fallen to an abysmally low 65%.

Male adult earnings in Cornwall are, according to Cornwall County Councils website, 24% lower than elsewhere in Britain. The situation in Cornwall is so bad that in June 2002 the government announced that in the next round of Objective One funding in 2007, Cornwall is likely to be the only region in the UK eligible for a grant in an expanded E.U. Why is this so?

An article published in *Business Age* magazine recently, entitled *The Killing of Cornwall* states that:

'The Government in London is raping the county fiscally. Out of a tiny G.D.P. of £3.6 billion, the government takes over £1.95 billion in taxes and puts back into the County less than £1.65 billion, a gap of over £300 million per annum. That latter sum, by itself, all but completely explains the increasing pace of impoverishment in Cornwall.'

The article concludes that: 'Over the six year term of the E.C. grant, which will deliver £737 million to the county, the Exchequer will remove more than twice that sum.'

This economic decline has resulted in the outward migration of many of Cornwall's young people (estimated at 8,000 people per year), as they seek to improve their academic, professional or economic prospects. This coupled with their inability to gain access to the housing market within Cornwall, due to extraordinarily high costs, could potentially continue to undermine the Cornish economy, in addition to Cornish culture and community life.

The movement of young people out of Cornwall is having a disastrous impact on Cornish communities in particular. Many of these young people are being replaced by increasing numbers of comparatively more affluent incomers, many of who are retired. These older people are unable to fill the gap in the community that has been created by the young people who have left, leading to long-term social implications.

Cornwall is in a double bind. If economic performance improves, wages increase and unemployment falls, and then in-migration rises. This has happened consistently in the last 30 years. This pushes up house prices. If the economy does not improve performance then local people cannot compete in the housing market anyway and moreover, house prices may increase independently of Cornish economic performance, because they are much more a function of house prices in the South East of England.

Let me try to convey to you the scale of the problem of in migration into Cornwall and the effect that this is having on the housing market in particular.

A friend of mine, who is a retired policeman, told me the story of a conversation he overheard between two middle aged ladies who were natives of St. Mawes (one of the many traditional Cornish fishing villages that has been overrun by millionaire second home owners). The two ladies were discussing the disproportionate number of houses that were being bought up by affluent in-comers from England. The conversation ended with the problematic statement that: 'At this rate our children will not be able to afford to buy a house in the village'.

This wasn't a conversation heard last week, but took place over 50 years ago. Since then the St. Mawes scenario has spread throughout the length and breadth of Cornwall.

The average price of a house in Cornwall today is: £108759 whereas in some of the more popular locations, like in St. Mawes, the average price of a property has soared to over £300,000.

With one of the lowest Gross Domestic Products in the Europe Union, it is becoming virtually impossible for the average Cornish young couple to buy a home. And the house market in Cornwall is showing no sign of slowing down. Last month, for instance, Cornwall experiences the highest percentage rise in house prices in the whole of the UK.

At least if housing was made more affordable, whether it be rented accommodation or privately owned, then I am sure young people would be more inclined to stay and work towards a more prosperous future within their local community.

Tourist led in-migration, since the 1960's, has increased the population of Cornwall by one third. During this period economic restructuring has replaced jobs in extractive,

agricultural and manufacturing industry by jobs in the service sector. Although there has been an increase in jobs created, these are more likely to be seasonal, low paid, part-time or unstable. Moreover the jobs created have not kept pace with growth in the labour market. Consequently Cornwall has become a low wage economy with average salaries in Cornwall being between £10-12,000. Of course there are other low wage economies, but in these house prices are roughly commensurate with income and the housing market is in balance.

Local district councils in Cornwall are very aware of the difficult situation and given their resources have done excellent work to mitigate the crisis. All are committed to affordable housing policies and Penwith, remarkably, has succeeded in slightly reducing its waiting list - but the waiting list under presents the housing crisis.

Unfortunately current legislation and funding regimes mean the problem cannot be tackled from a housing perspective and even if it could, the capital resources required would be enormous and would amount to an affordability building programme the size of that in the 1950s in Cornwall.

Its emphasis however, rather than restricting the housing market to local people, is to expand the market by trying to ensure that affordable houses are also built.

As our friends from Wales will agree, I am sure, in social terms the housing situation in Cornwall is even worse than it is there, as the GDP is even less and the house prices are much higher.

Although the language is not a factor in Cornwall, the fact that young people leave due to the housing shortage and their own economic vulnerability, has a direct effect on Cornish identity.

Thirty years ago, Professor Charles Thomas warned: 'It is increasingly difficult to be Cornish. It is correspondingly important for those of us who are Cornish, and presumably value our identity, to stand up and be counted. If we do not succeed, this little land of ours will end up scarcely distinguishable from the Greater London area, with undertones reminiscent of Blackpool or Skegness.'

This stark warning is as relevant today as it was thirty years ago. It is important that the Cornish, who do value their identity, stand up and are counted. But it is vitally important, with regard to the housing crisis that is effecting the Celtic nations, that we jointly campaign for affordable housing based on our common identity and strength of community, so that we do not have to explain to people who we are and why we are here.

But it is important that Cymuned also works with groups in other areas of these islands who are experiencing the same problems. It is important that we fight this issue on all fronts.

Rhisiart Tal-e-bot

Manx Government's Policy of Plantation leads to Housing Crisis

Mannin has, for the past 40 years, been subject to a policy of plantation by (primarily) English immigrants. This policy, originally entitled the New Resident Policy, was initiated by the government in the Isle of Man under direction from Whitehall with an underlying excuse that, by some tortuous and obscure rationale, this would provide jobs and a future for Manx people.

The ongoing failure by the Department of Education to provide University style tertiary education means that most academically talented Manx youths leave the island to seek qualification and frequently never return. This in itself is indicative of the real failure of the plantation policies to provide a future for the Manx people.

The economic booms of the 70s and 80s brought social unrest and at the end of the 1980s, even the government in the Isle of Man had to concede that the economy had become "overheated" for which you may read "out of control". The inevitable slump of the early 90s brought things down to earth with a thump. Ironically, many Manx people have only been able to purchase homes during the times of economic slump when, due to the completely unregulated nature of this most essential commodity, the prices fall to realistic levels.

A feeble attempt was made in the mid 70s to protect the Manx people from exploitation in and exclusion from home ownership with the Property Speculation Tax. This required anyone selling a property within five years of its purchase to give a percentage of the profit to the Treasury less any legitimate costs spent in improving the property. With the economic slump of the early 1980s, the excuse was seized to scrap the tax on the excuse that it would stimulate the "stagnant" housing market. This "stagnant" market was the only thing that permitted many Manx people, including myself, to purchase a home to live in.

From 1959 though to 1979, the population was artificially pumped up from 47,000 to 64,000 with an attendant hike in house prices. This fell back to 62,000 in the early 80s as people started to leave the depressed economic conditions and this freed up several hundred homes for Manx people although the 2,000 leavers obviously included Manx people. Housing prices first froze and then fell back during the period 1982 to 1985 from starting around £25,000 to starting around £20,000. At the same time, normal wages rose from less than £100 per week to over £100 per week though there is no accurate data available for this period.

This meant that for several years, between the finish of the recession in around 1983 to the start of the boom in 1988, there was a period of stability when people were employed and housing was affordable. That

all finished with the boom and this time, although work and wages increased, the flood of relatively wealthy immigrants, encouraged by the racing development of the finance industry, meant that properties were over-priced and in short supply. Even "tholtans" (ruined cottages) were being snapped up for redevelopment by outsiders. Rents soared as landlords jumped on the boom bandwagon and property developers raced to acquire any and all land available for development. Shoddy houses were thrown up for exorbitant prices and the problem became so acute for Manx people that the government finally caved in and contracted the notoriously shoddy Norwest Holst to construct a collection of first time buyer homes. The result was a nightmare for many of those who ended up living in these houses - but that's another story.



One of the houses razed to the ground during the FSFO arson campaign in the late 1980s, directed against the Manx Government's Financial Policies, which FSFO believed was destroying the Manx way of life.

During this time, Mec Vannin had been persistently campaigning for the control of both immigration and the housing market. How could or can a government claim to be benefiting a people when they can't afford to remain in their own country? I personally have no doubt that the plantation policies referred to in the first paragraph is not simply aimed at marginalising the Manx people but driving them out and so it is predictable that the government in the Isle of Man, feeble puppets of private enterprise, will continue to refuse to regulate the housing market.

The problem has now become so acute, however, that the housing shortage is inhibiting immigration. The land zoned for devel-

opment has been, overwhelmingly, developed. The major developer, Dandara and its various offshoots, has even been acquiring unzoned land in the (probably correct) belief that the government can be pressured into releasing this land for development. Because of the lack of any genuine planning in the whole process, huge domicile developments have been created without the necessary infrastructure support.

The return of the acute housing shortage has been with us now for around 5 years and the only answer politicians can ever come out with is to build more houses. In the situation where there is still a net desire to immigrate, this will simply provide more housing for immigration. New developments invariably include a handful of what are cynically described as either "first-time" or "starter" homes, but since there is no regulation, these houses can go to anyone and do: There are first-hand accounts available of both wealthy individuals and property companies buying these so-called first-time buyers homes en-bloc for either resale or rent.

It is easy for politicians in Mannin to hide behind the property boom that has occurred

in both the UK and Éire as an excuse for inaction but the fact remains that the government in the Isle of Man is both the author of the problem and the only body capable of addressing it. The economy in Mannin has run even further out of control now than it was in 1988 but the decimation of the Manx population by immigration related to the off-shore economy has almost completely broken and drowned voices of opposition.

When challenged to meaningfully address the problem, the government (either collectively or as individuals) always comes out with some half-baked excuse for inaction. Compare this to the efforts being made by

(Continued on page 58)

several English County Councils to address the problem and the government in the Isle of Man, so often accused to being nothing better than an English County Council, is condemned by its own mouth to being something far less.

The danger lies ever present that, in a reversal of economic fortune (and these things are known to be cyclic), we will have people facing massive negative equity and empty houses falling apart. The housing will then become affordable on the condition that you have a job and the current boom economy cannot be sustained.

Next to breathable air, drinkable water and food, housing is the greatest necessity we face yet the government in the Isle of Man regard it as a luxury item and the higher the prices, the better it regards its own performance. The only answer that has any credibility in terms of helping the Manx people requires a multi-pronged approach:

The economy must be stabilised to both ease immediate pressure and to prevent sudden collapse. The faceless manipulators of the government have always shrieked in horror at such a thought, falsely claiming that regulation would create collapse. The same faceless manipulators claimed that stricter regulation of the finance industry would cause its collapse yet are now eagerly subscribing to the ever stricter European regulation.

Housing must be identified as a necessity commodity and its pricing regulated.

New development must be strictly controlled and permitted on a needs rather than desire basis.

To round off, here are a few indicators of how bad the current situation is.

Despite hundreds of flats being created by the redevelopment of defunct hotels as apartment blocks, over 500 new houses are being built each year on an ever-diminishing and visually fragile landscape. This exceeds the record of the early seventies, a time that pro-

duced great opposition to government policies.

Although occasional instances of houses for less than £100,000 still occurs, realistically, prices start at £125,000 for the very smallest and most poorly situated houses. This requires a mortgage of £1,000 per month and upwards.

Houses are being rented from £700 per month upwards. Flats start at around £500 a month.

Latest government earnings figures indicate a mathematical average wage of around £440 per week with a nodal wage of around £300 per week.

The rule of thumb for mortgage repayments is that they should not exceed 1/3 of the wage. Two people earning the nodal wage will have a combined income of £1800 per month giving £600 for mortgage repayments. Given the £1,000 repayment cited above, we have a massive problem of over-spending on housing.

Mark Kermode

SKEEALYN NY CHENGAGHYN



Hoilshée Cohaglym Celtiagh
Eddyraashoonagh 2002 ayns Gaerfyrddin, Bretin, dy vel ny h-ard-chowraghyn cheddin ry akin ayns gagh cheer Cheltiagh, bentyn rish ny chengaghyn dooghyssagh as cultuorin oc: ta shen dy ghra, ta ny shenn ard-chowraghyn (characteristics) tradishoonagh goll magh ass, as ny smoo as ny smoo ta ny chengaghyn croghey er ynseydee aegey, cha nee loayrtee dooghyssagh.

She 'Aa-vioghey ny Chengaghyn ayns ny Boodeeyssyn' va ard-chooish y Cho-haglym. Loayr John Mac Pherson son Nalbin. T'eh ny loayrtagh dooghyssagh veih Uibhist Twoaie va gobbraghey da shirveish Ghaidhlig y BBC roish my daag eh Nalbin dy chummal as obbraghey ayns Canada. Va kiartaghyn scan-shoil echey hoal rish queig bleeaneey as feed. Haink er erash gys Nalbin ayns 1997 dy obbraghey da'n chengey (mastery reddyn elley). V'eh yn caairliagh jeh'n phossan hug magh yn imraa 'Cur Bioys Noa da'n Ghaidhlig: Foays Ashoonagh' sy vlein 2000. Va'n imraa shoh jeant ass lieh Sheckeraght Ardwhaiyl Nalbin, agh cha nel adsyn er nyan-noo veg son y chengey foastagh, dooyrt Mac Pherson. She loayrtys corree hug eh, gaccan dy lajer mychione Ardwhaiyl Nalbin as ny loayrtee Gaidhlig hene. Hoie eh er ny Gaeil sonblakey er ny h-imleigyn oc car y traas, as hoie eh orroosyn ta reill harrish Nalbin son nyn noidys dy bragh beayn noi'n Ghaidhlig. Gyn ourys, va John Mac Pherson jerkal rish foddey ny smoo tra haink eh dy valley as ard-whaiyl ec Nalbin. Agh cha nel eh coontey monney jeh'n ardwhaiyl shen nish. Yn ynrican red ta ry yannoo nish, t'eh smooingaghtyn, shen faghtys (campaign) breeoil son y chengey, goll rish y faghtys va

jeant son Bretnish ec Cymdeithas yr Iaith. Ren loayrtys John Mac Pherson doostey sleih kiart dy liooar.

She Cefin Campbell loayr son Bretin. She yn Ard-Heckteragh jeh Mentraul laith Myrddin eshyn. Loayr eh ram mychione y vaggryt mooar t'ayn nish noi ny h-ardjyn raad ta Bretnish foast goll er loayrt dy dooghyssagh. Ta'n baggyrt shoh ayn er y fa dy vel yn einyns goll sheese, ta sleih Baarlagh cheet stiagh as cha nod sleih ynnydagh kionnaghey thieyn, ta sleih troailt ny sodjeay as ny sodjeay gys yn obbyr oc, cha nel obbyr ynnydagh ry ghed-dyn, as myr shen foastagh. Agh cha nel dy chooilley red goll sheese: ta Bretnish gaase dy niartal ayns scoillyn ayns y jiass jeh'n cheer. Foddee dy bee yn earroo dy phaitchyn as Bretnish oc ayns Bretin ooillu gaase. As ta'n chellveish Vretnish jannoo foays mooar da'n chengey. Loayr Cefin Campbell mychione yn scansh vooar jeh Bretnish ec y thie - erskyn ooilley, shoh y red smoo. Cha nel eh feeu mannagh vel y chengey ec paitchyn as mannagh vel sleih goaill ymmyd jeh'n chengey sy vooodeeys. Shoh ny reddyn ta Mentraul laith Myrddin cur er nyn doshi-aght. Myr sampleyr, liorish y chirveish slaynt t'ad greinnaghey moiraghyn aegey dy hrog-gal ny paitchyn oc lesh Bretnish. As ta pos-saryn Mentraul gobbraghey marish ram she-shaghtyn sy vooodeeys.

Loayr Seosamh Mac Donncha, Ard-Heckteragh Foras na Gaeilge, son Nerin. Ta Foras na Gaeilge dellal rish Yernish ayns y Phobblaght as ayns Twoaie Nerin neesht - red haink ass Coardail Jeheiney Caisht. As ta Mac Donncha dellal rish Ulleeish, ny Albinish Ullee (Ulster Scots), chammah as Yernish. Loayr eh mychione yn agh ta sleih dy liooar

ayns Steat Seyr Nerin smooingaghtyn dy jnin-nagh ny scoillyn sauail Yernish nyn lomarcyn. As dimraa eh yn agh nagh row reiltyssyn ayns Divlyn cooney lesh Yernish dy kiart rish bleeantyn. She Twoaie Nerin ta leeideil nish as aavioghey niartal fo raad ayns shen. Agh, myr ta Fishman er ghra, cha lhisagh sleih smooingaghtyn nagh row speeideilys erbee ocsyn va geearree aavioghey yn chengey sy jiass ayns Nerin. Dy firrinagh, er aghtyn ennagh, ren ad dy mie. Agh, ec y traas t'ayn, s'beg yn argid ta chellveish Yernish geddyn cosoylit yn argid ta chellveish Vretnish ged-dyn.

Bentyn rish y vooodeeys, ta Seosamh Mac Donncha er ve gobbraghey er y gherid dy chur Yernish er e toshiaght reesht ayns immeaghtyn y GAA (Sheshaght ny Gammanyn Gaelagh). Ta'n GAA er ve feer speeideilagh as eh cur gammanyn Yernagh er nyn doshiaght, agh, ga dy row eh currit er bun ny smoo na keead blein er dy henney dy chooney lesh y chengey, cha row eh jannoo monney obbyr choosie son shen. Nish, ta'n chengey cheet erash ayns cooishyn y GAA, ta Mac Donncha gra.

Screeu Phil Gawne y leaght ('Bea lurg Baase') son Mannin. My ta sleih laccal aavioghey chengey shegin daue laccal loayrt ee, screeu eh, as shegin plannagh fondagh ve ayn. Ec y toshiaght jeh'n nuyoo eash jeig va Gaelg ec y chooid smoo dy 'leih ayns Mannin. Agh ayns 1901 cha dooyrt agh 8% dy 'leih dy row Gaelg oc. Hie ee sheese as sheese gys y vlein 1961, tra va 165 dy 'leih gra dy row Gaelg - yn earroo s'insheley. Agh ayns 2001 va 1,689 gra dy row Gaelg oc, as va 47% jeh shid fo nuy bleeaneey jeig dy eash. Cre'n agh haink y caghlau mirrilagh shoh?

Mysh daeed blein er dy henney, hug Reiltyss Vannin polasee noa er bun: tayrn sleih berchagh gys Mannin liorish keeshyn injil. Va Manninee as kuse dy 'leih haink dy chummal ayns Mannin goaill aggle dy beagh y jarroo-enney (identity) Manninagh plooghit. Va Mec Vannin currit er bun, as va Manninee gearree geddyn seyrnsyn son y cheer oc. Hoig ad ny share dy begin y chengey y hauail. Boosie

da Charles Cain, va ny oltey jeh'n Chiare as Feed mysh feed blein er dy henney, hug ad er bun y Ving Reiht cour Tooille Ymmyd jeh'n Ghaelg. V'eh feer scanshoil dy choard Tinvaal ec y traas shen dy lhisagh bree ve currit da treealtysyn y Ving shen. Erskyn ooilley, v'eh coardit dy lhisagh Reilys Vannin coad-ey'n Ghaelg as ee y chur er e toshiaght. Choud's shoh, shoh yn ynrican plannal-chengey ta jeant ec Reilys Vannin, agh she red scanshoil t'ayn.

Hug Phil Gawne booise mooar da Mona Douglas son yn obbyr yndyssagh ren ee son Mannin tra va pobble treih craidey mysh gagh red Manninagh.

Ayns 1992, va'n Ghaelg currit stiagh ayns scoillyn Vannin myr cooish reihyssagh. As ayns 1996 hie imraa er screeu ass lieh Rheyenn Ynsee Reilys Vannin mychione y chengey sy traas ry heet. Ga nagh ren Tinvaal agh 'goail rish' yn imraa shoh, ta paart jeh ny treealtysyn v'ayn er ve goit ayns laue. Ayns 1996 myrgeeddin hie Phil Gawne as Chris Sheard (caairliagh jeh'n phossan-cloie Gaelgagh Yn Chied Chesmad) gys Nalbin d'eddyn magh mychione possan-cloie Gaidhlig hoal ayns shen. Lurg shen, va ram cooney ry gheddyn veih fer-toshee yn CNSA, Finlay Mac Leoid, dy chur er bun Mooinjer Veggey ayns Mannin, yn ghleashaght ro-scoill t'er ve feer speeideilagh. Red elley feer scanshoil haghry neayr's shen, shen cur er bun brastyl dy phaitchyn aegey ta gynsaghey trooid Gaelg. Shoh sampleyr mie jeh Gaelg ayns y voodeeys, er y fa dy vel laue ec Sheshaght ny Paarantyn (sheshaght noa) sy chooish shoh. She Mikael Baudu va'n loayrtagh Britaanagh. Shoh dooinney aeg ta stiurey cooishyn Britaanish as naightyn son y stashoon-chellveeish noa sy Vritaan, TV Breizh, ta gyskeaylley ayns Britaanish as Frangish. Ta Rupert Murdoch as y fer-toshee



Seosamh Mac Donncha, Chief Executive, Foras na Gaeilge.

Iddaalagh Berlusconi er chur argid stiagh sy stashoon, red quaggh son deiney nagh vel currit da cultuorin ny h-ashoonyn beggey. Ta sleih gra dy vel ny fir ooasle shoh shirrey geddyn greim er cooishyn-chellveeish sy Rank.

Dooyrt Mikael Baudu dy vel 90% jeh ny Britaanee gearree sauail y chengey oc. Agh she yn shenn skeal t'ayn: ta sleih loayrt as loayrt ayns Frangish mychione sauail Britaanish as cha nel ad loayrt Britaanish. Dy firinagh, cha nod oo loayrt mychione ardjyn er y cheer raad ta Britaanish goll er loayrt nish - t'ad ersooyl, ny goll magh ass dy tappee, ga dy vel meeillaghyn dy Vritaanisheyryn foast ayn (t'ad shenn, y chooid smoo jeu). Agh ta sleih aeg ayn ta braew jeean y chengey 'ynsaghey. Ta brastyllyn daa-hengagh ayns (goll er stiurey ec y steat) as ta'n ghleashaght

Diwan ayn (preevaadjagh choud as shoh) ta gynsaghey paitchyn trooid Britaanish. Ta queig meeille paitchey ayns ny brastyllyn daa-hengagh. Cha nel shen monney tra t'ou smooingaghyn dy vel kiare millioon dy 'leih sy Vritaan, agh ta'n earroo jeusyn t'ayns ny brastyllyn shoh gaase liorish 15% sy vlein. Va ny Britaanee sheiltyn dy beagh Diwan goit stiagh ayns coarys-ynsee yn steat. Agh, atreih, dooyrt quaiyl ennagh dy beagh shen noi'n vunraght Frangagh! Lhig dooin guee dy jean TV Breizh foays mooar da'n chengey.

Loayr Ray Chubb, caairliagh Agan Tavas, son y Chorn. Loayr eh dy neucheiltynagh mychione ny scoltaghyn ayns y ghleashaght-Chornish. Agh ga dy vel ny scoltaghyn shen ayn (as s'treih shen) as ta shen er chur er yn aavioghey dy gholh ny smelley, ta ny Cornee er ve speeideilagh dy liooar. Ta'n Conaant Noa ry gheddyn ayns Cornish nish, ta fockleyryn noa ny ghaa er jeet magh er y gherriid, as ta lughtyn-reill ynnudagh cur seose fograghyn theayagh ayns Cornish. Y red smoo bentyn rish Cornish tra va'n Cohaglym fo raad, va shen y naight dy jinnagh Reilys y Reeriaght Unnaneyssit goail rish dy nee myn-chengey oikol y Chornish. Hug y reilys shen bree da Kaart Oarpagh ny Myn-chengaghyn as Chengaghyn Ardjynagh nurree. Shegin dooin shirrey er Reilys Vannin y red cheddin y yannoo.

Summary

International Celtic Congress 2002 was held in Camarthen, Wales, the theme being language revival in the community. A common pattern in the information presented on the current situations in the Celtic countries was the continued decline of traditional areas and features, juxtaposed with the rise of learners of the languages.

Brian Stowell

Rath Carn Gaeltacht under Siege

When the Rath Carn Gaeltacht was set up in the 1930s it was as the result of a determined group of people (including the famous Irish writer and language activist, Máirtín Ó Cadhain) pursuing their plan with a grudging acceptance from Government in providing plots of land from the break-up of large estates by the Land Commission. Some 500 people from Conamara moved to county Meath to a location just 35 miles from Dublin. Once there they were left to their own devices and it is indeed a miracle that the language thrived. In the late sixties and seventies Rath Carn underwent development under the auspices of the local co-op and community

activists like its manager Pádraig Mac Donncha. A community centre with shop and lounge was built which became the focus of a broad range of activities, a church and second level college followed. The co-op engaged in small-scale housing developments and attempted to attract Irish speakers to live there.

Now however like many other Gaeltacht areas English is making inroads. Whereas twenty years ago Irish only was heard the situation has now changed. There are 68 houses where Irish only is spoken, 36 houses with mixed language and 27 houses with English. There are considerable pres-

sures on teenagers from the area to discourage them from speaking Irish. Now even greater threats loom due to the years of economic boom, which drove house prices in the Dublin area up to unprecedented levels with 'starter house' prices reaching €250,000. This phenomenon has meant that every village within a 50-mile radius of Dublin now has cluster of unsightly estates around them with the commuter trek to the city starting at 6 a.m. The threat to Rath Carn comes from the decision of Meath County Council to zone 80 acres within the Gaeltacht area as residential. Such a move can only be a callous disregard for the obligations of the County Council to take account of a Gaeltacht area in its county. Where such a development allowed to proceed it would sound the death knell of Rath Carn as a vibrant Irish language community. It is essential that this and similar schemes in other Gaeltachtaí elsewhere are fought and Irish language organisations must act on this. If they do not then it is undoubtedly time for an Irish Cymuned.

A BELATED SHOT IN THE ARM FOR THE GAELTACHT

Recent data on the extent to which Irish is used as the language of the home in Ireland's Gaeltacht, suggests that the population of areas in which Irish is the dominant community language is something between 15,000 and 20,000, distributed over 3 Gaeltacht areas – South Conamara and the Aran Islands, North West Donegal and the western edge of the Dingle peninsula in Kerry. In a handful of small communities in Waterford, Meath, Cork and Northwest Mayo a small number of dedicated families, manage to keep a precarious presence for Irish in community life.

When it is taken into consideration that the 26 County Irish State, set up after the successful War of Independence, inherited approximately 250,000 habitual Irish speakers living in Gaeltacht and semi-Gaeltacht areas, the efforts to preserve Irish as a living community language, have been a complete and absolute failure. This failure is due to a mixture of indifference, ignorance and negligence of the successive governments.

Irish local authorities have not in the past taken into account the negative effects of housing development on the linguistic balance in the Gaeltacht areas under their governance, when putting together their 5 year development plans. The almost homogeneous Irish speaking community of South Conamara has been colonised by monoglot English speakers, who like to have a house in the country with a view of the sea and who may be even attracted to the Gaeltacht by its linguistic uniqueness. The number of colonisers has grown during the last 10 years of economic boom but this boom has led to another pressure on the fragile linguistic balance as the emigrants and their monoglot English speaking families return to a brighter future at home, delighted to be able to sell their skills and their labour and to settle with their young families in the Irish speaking town lands they were forced to leave some 20 years ago. Not only that, but second generation Irish also returned home to raise their children as Irish citizens, a choice denied to themselves in a previous generation.

The pressure on the school system was enormous. Some schools were forced to give up trying to teach through Irish and the language of the playground turned to English within a few short years, except for a handful of small schools. While the returned emigrants children seem to manage the linguistic change quite well, helped no doubt by ties of kinship, with Irish speakers in the community, the same can not be said of the colonisers. After a few years they begin to assert their demands on school management boards, in some instances threatening to sue schools with a strong policy in favour of Irish, for discriminating against them.

However all of that may change in the Gaeltacht area of South Conamara – the most extensive of the Irish speaking communities.



Fine Gael councillor Pól Ó Foighil

The Galway County Council has decided by unanimous vote not to allow any more building of houses in the South Conamara Gaeltacht, for people who are not fluent Irish speakers. This area contains a population of approximately 15,000 people and stretches for some 50 miles out along the Atlantic coast from Galway to Carna. The proposal, which is the most radical measure ever taken in favour of maintaining the linguistic integrity of the Gaeltacht, was ironically proposed by the maverick Fine Gael councillor Pól Ó Foighil. Fine Gael has traditionally been seen in the past as been the party most hostile to the fortunes of Irish.

The context in which Pól Ó Foighil could make his controversial proposal for inclusion in the County Galway Development Plan was a section of the Irish Planning Act 2000, which makes it mandatory for Irish Local Authorities, with Gaeltacht communities in their area, to take into consideration in drawing up their County Development Plans what measures might be necessary in order to protect the linguistic and cultural heritage of the Gaeltacht areas under their jurisdiction.

The question is whether or not the measures are a case of closing the stable door after the horse has bolted. Already much damage has been done and planning permissions have been accrued by developers for large schemes of houses in the vicinity of the Gaeltacht village of An Spidéal. These schemes of houses will introduce over the space of the next few years over 200 new non-Irish speaking families, whose children will be attending the local schools and demanding as a right to be taught through English. Meanwhile the adults will be anglicising the social life of the local pubs and clubs and all other points of community interaction.

Donncha Ó hÉallaithe

Membership and Subscriptions

All those who agree with the constitution and aims of the Celtic League are eligible for membership. The membership fee (including *Carn*) and subscription rates are: Éire €16; Stg£12; Breizh €20; US\$30.00 (US funds, cheques drawn on a US bank). Europe: Stg.£15 (airmail); Outside Europe: Stg.£18.00 (airmail).

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