

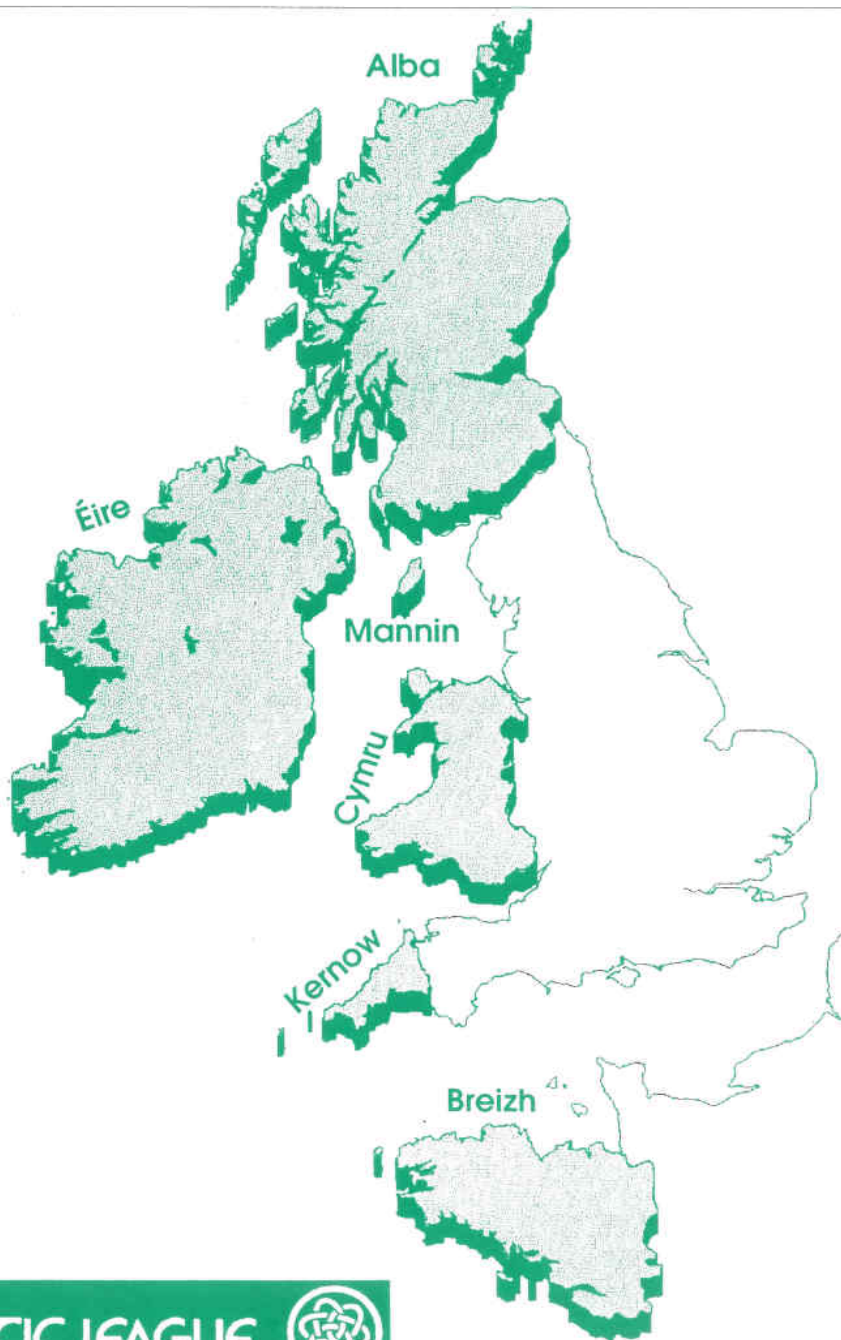
# comann

A LINK BETWEEN THE CELTIC NATIONS

No. 121

Spring/Summer 2003

€3.00 Stg£2.50



- SNP Ready to Seize Power
- Support for Breton
- O! Tyn y Gorchudd
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**ALBA:** COMANN  
CEILTEACH • **BREIZH:** KEVRE  
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CONRADH CEILTEACH •  
**KERNOW:** KESUNYANS  
KELTEK • **MANNIN:**  
COMMEEYS CELTIAGH

CELTIC LEAGUE



# CANANAN 'S MAR A THIG IAD BEO

Ghairm am Prionnsa Tearlach àir na Albannaich, "Taing don Achd Aonaidh (1707) chan eil Alba ach na roin de Shasainn ... agus sin agad an fhirinn".

Bhon a cheannsaich Sasainn on am sin chan eil e iongantach gun do shuidhich iad a' chàinain chruaidh Shasannach oirnn. Taing don Achd Foghlaim 1872 aca bha a h-uile sgoil Ghàidhlig àir an dùnadh. Tha sinn a' stri an diugh an aghaid an ana-ceartas seo, agus a' suidheachadh sgoiltean Ghàidhlig far a bheil teagasg tre na Gàidhlig. Ach eadhoin an seo chan eil teagasg tre n Gàidhlig ach tearc sna àrd-sgoiltean.

Bha Carol Zall a' sgrìobhadh san colbh Gàidhlig anns a' phaipear 'An t- Albannach' (12.2.03) Nochd i gun robh a' chàinain Yap sa Chuan Seimh/Pacific Ocean le 8,000 ga bruidhinn ach tha an teanga aca tèarainte. Carson? Bhon a tha taic fhreagarrach on riaghaltas aca.

Mas seo an fhirinn a thaobh Yap 's ann a tha e dìreach ceart a thaobh aiseirigh na Gàidhlig feadh Alba gu tur.

Far a bheil sgoil Ghàidhlig ann an Glaschu no ann an DùnEideann Tolcrois chi sinn clann a' fàs fileanta sa Ghàidhlig ged a tha

parantan aca gun fhacal Ghàidhlig idir.

Air an aobhar sin feumaidh sinn a bhi stri air son teagasg tre na Gàidhlig a-mhàin feadh a h-uile sgoil o cheann gu ceann na h- Alba.

Bhiod daoine ag ràdh, air an laimh eile, nach eil ar càinain na cainnt dlìgheach na h- Alba. Mata, chi thu dealbh bho, 'The Companion to Gaelic Scotland', deasaichte le Derick S. Thomson (Blackwell Reference) a' nochdadh ach dhà ainmean-àite Ghàidhlig agus tha tuilleadh ri fhaighinn mar 'loch' agus sin air adhart.

Gun teagamh bidh feadhainn eile - a' faighneachd, 'Dè mu dheidhinn a' Bheurla Ghallda?' Agus bhiodh iad ceart gu leoir. Carson nach eil paipearan ard-ìre/Highers ri fhaighinn sa Bheurla Ghallda? Chan urrainn dhuinn ga teagasg tre na Beurla oir bhiodh sin a' ciallachadh gur e a' Bheurla Ghallda a bha cearr is suarach. Bhiodh iad ag radh gun robh sin ceart taing don ascair/apostrophe, mar eisimpleir ... 'i the wa' .... Air an aobhar sin, bhiodh e fada nas fheàrr ga teagasg tre na Gàidhlig mar.... 'air an taobh a-staigh den bhalla' seach 'in the wall'.

Rud eile, feumaidh sinn a' bhi toirt litreachas is bàrdachd Shasannach agus an

eachdraidh a-mach as na sgoiltean do oilthighean. Ach bhiod neach sam bith comasach Beurla Shasannach a dh'ionnsachadh tre na Gàidhlig anns an sgoil.

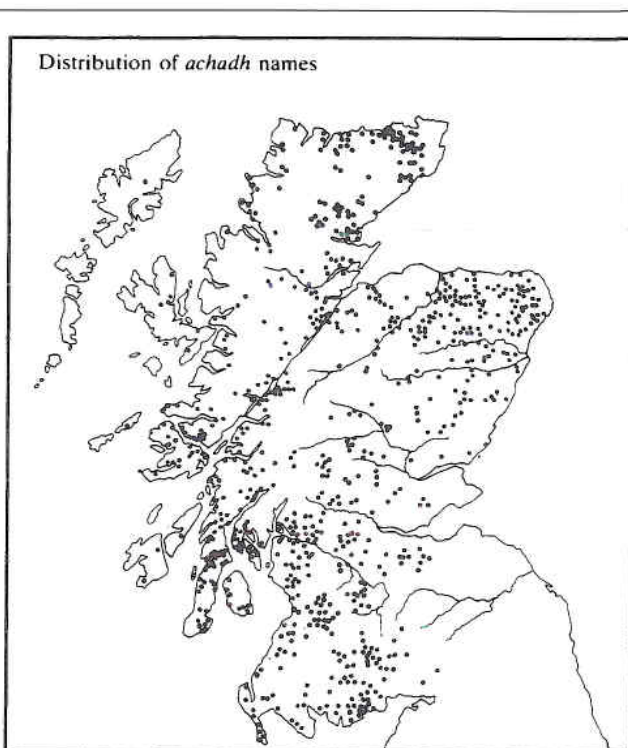
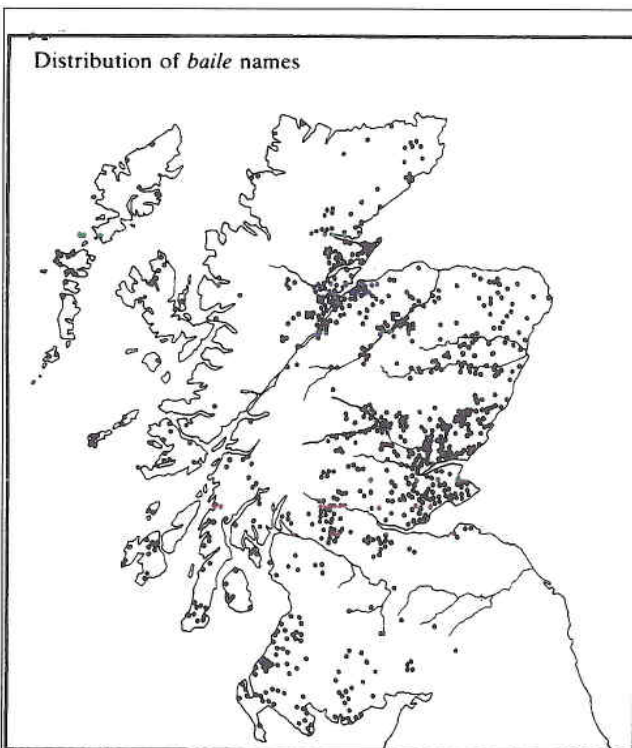
Chan eil dùthaich san Roinn Eorpa far a bheil iad a' teagasg sna sgoiltean tre na Beurla no a' teagasg litreachas is bàrdachd is eachdraidh Shasannach an sin. Cha bhi sinn nar roinn den Shasainn nuair a bhios ar sgoiltean gu tur tre na Gàidhlig!

A leughadair, rach feadh gach dùthaich neo-eisimeileach san Europa agus lorgaidh tu gu bheil teagasg tre'n chàinain nàiseanta mar Phortagailis anns a' Phortagail, Eadailteis san Eadailt, Ungaireis air feadh Ungaraidh, Poileis anns a' Pholainn, Seiceis anns an t-Seic agus mar sin air adhart!

**Gilleasbuig MacMhuirich**  
**Gilleasbuig Lachlainn 'Illeasbuig**

## Summary

Bonnie Prince Charlie in his manifesto to the Scottish people declared that the 1707 Act of Union made Scotland a region of England. This can be seen by the 1872 Education Act which closed all Gàidhlig medium schools and gave English the monopoly as the language of teaching. What is more parents were punished for not sending their children to these English medium schools. Only now, well over a hundred years later are we starting to be able to fight back with Gaelic medium schools. But if we are to save our own Scottish language we must have Gàidhlig the sole language of teaching instead of through English as it is at the moment in most Scottish schools. How can we say that Gàidhlig is the national language in Scotland? In proof it is suggested one examines the incidence of only two Gàidhlig place names in the diagrams shown here, and there are many more, like 'loch', than them.



Gaelic Place Names in Scotland



# SNP Ready to Seize Power

*'It is time for Scotland to take control. It's time for the SNP. It is time for Independence.'*

This was the message Scottish Nationalist Party (SNP) Leader John Swinney, MSP, delivered to the nation as he kick-started the SNP Parliamentary election campaign, which is being conducted vigorously in the weeks leading up to polling day on 1<sup>st</sup> May. *Below we highlight aspects of Mr Swinney's speech calling for independence.*

'Never in our history have we been so ready to take on and defeat Labour. Never have we been so ready to govern – and we are ready now – today – to do just that. One thing is clear. This is going to be a hard-fought campaign. And I give our opponents notice – look out – because the Scottish National Party is up for it. In every campaign – no matter how tough – we are sustained by our values. And the SNP's values are Scotland's values. Values of fairness, honesty, equal opportunity and the rewarding of endeavour and hard work. But over the last four years those values have disappeared from Scotland's government. On 1<sup>st</sup> May we will reclaim government FOR the people FROM the Labour machine. Labour has abandoned Scotland and our values and it is now time that we abandoned Labour. I want government to be driven by the need to make this country more prosperous and just. I want government to be returned to the people. I want in short, government – not to suit the politicians – but government to suit the people – it will be democratic government. That's what I've got to say about Labour. But what does Labour have to say about us?

Do you know what they say we'll do in Government? They say we'll wrangle with London. And do you know what I say: You're dead right we'll wrangle with London. Under Labour Westminster walks all over Scotland. But as your First Minister I won't be selling out Scotland. I'll be fighting for Scotland.

But to release our potential we must reclaim our Parliament for the people. Four years ago when Winnie Ewing famously reconvened the Scottish Parliament she did so amidst a wave of national optimism. Those were the emotionally charged days of the birth of a new democracy. When expectations were high that we would soon be living in a better Scotland. Four years on those heady expectations have not been met. This much is clear. People have been disappointed.

As First Minister I will make sure Holyrood acts like a national Parliament. I give notice: the days of Tony Blair's parish council Parliament will be over. Within the limited powers of devolution we can make a start. Despite devolution, London controls our monetary policy; London controls our tax policy, London controls our trade policy. In fact London controls virtually all of the economic policies that affect our country.



*Scottish Nationalist Party Leader John Swinney, MSP delivering an historic speech to the nation at the start of the SNP Parliamentary election campaign*

And the result of handing control to London? Westminster has failed Scotland. It always has. It always will. We can't wait any longer.

*It's time to take control. It's time for the SNP. It's time for Independence.*

And only the people of Scotland have the ability to give our Parliament the powers it needs to deliver on the people's expectations. The SNP offers the opportunity to move on. The opportunity of Independence brought about by a democratic referendum.

The economy is one of the defining issues that divides the SNP from our opponents. We believe Scotland should have the powers to compete; they do not. And there is another fundamental dividing line. A dividing line that sums up the choice voters will face on May the First. It was crystallised by the First Minister recently when he said: "International affairs is a matter for the UK Parliament at Westminster. That's as it should be."

That's as it should be? Well I've got a message for the Labour leader. You may want to keep Scotland in her place; to SEPARATE us from the rest of the world; to DIVORCE us from the international community. This party is different. This Party will place Scotland at the very heart of the international community. A Scotland with a place at the United Nations will be a voice for peace and international law. That voice was heard in Glasgow when tens of thousands marched to stop war in Iraq. I am proud that the SNP was out in force that day. I am proud that we were shouting out loud and clear to George Bush and Tony Blair: *Not in our name.*

Too much happens that is not in our name. Trident nuclear missiles on the Clyde – *Not in our name.* Arms sales to brutal foreign dictators – *Not in our name.* An asylum policy that borders on the racist – *Not in our name.* All of these decisions – taken by London on our behalf. But they're not in our name.

Well, I want to start doing things that ARE in our name. I want to remove the obscenity of nuclear weapons from our land and our waters. I want to argue for peace in the UN. All those things would happen in our name – in the name of the people. But they will only happen with Independence.

There is a clear choice at this election. We can settle for four more years of the same. We can stand still. Or we can move on. We can release the potential of our people. And Scotland, our country, IS our people. We've all waited too long to see a better Scotland. The hour is now at hand. It's time – to move on.

## SNP ADDS ITS VOICE TO DEPLETED URANIUM CONCERNS

In February this year, a total of 192 depleted uranium (DU) rounds were fired into the north Irish Sea as part of renewed testing from British military bases in SW Scotland. The Ministry of Defence (MoD) say that trials are now complete and no further tests are planned although they refuse to rule out a permanent moratorium.

The MoD maintain that comprehensive monitoring has revealed that the testing does not pose a significant risk to marine life, members of the public or site personnel.

The Celtic League had protested to the MoD about the firing and has consistently campaigned against pollution caused by munitions fired from coastal sites or air dropped over sea bombing ranges in the area. We have also urged the Irish and Manx governments to be more proactive in opposing such activity.

Now the Scottish National Party (SNP) has added its voice. The Party's Galloway and Nithsdale MSP, Alasdair Morgan, has demanded that the Ministry of Defence (MoD) be subject to the Radioactive Substances Act. This is legislation that controls the disposal of radioactive material and the MoD currently has an exemption.

Speaking to the Scots Independent (newspaper of the SNP) and commenting on MoD assurances about the testing Mr Morgan said, 'If the Ministry of Defence goes looking for a clean bill of health – it is no surprise that they find one. There has been considerable public disquiet over the use of DU since the last Gulf war – with concerns that it is possibly linked to Gulf War Syndrome.'

The MoD has long said that there was no environmental risk resulting from the DU tests. Now however we find that their survey results are based on the desire to prove nothing is wrong, rather than discovering the truth. That is an outrageous approach to environmental testing and proves that New Labour spin has now seeped into all departments of government – including the MoD'.

**Bernard Moffatt**



# Bòrd Gàidhlig na h-Alba

We have been waiting so long for a significant development at the political level, that you would think that the Gaelic community would accept the least step of progress with unfettered jubilation. But it is a sign of how the Gaelic beast has become hungrier and more adept while becoming leaner, rather than losing energy and determination, that this is not the case anymore.

Instead of welcoming the appointment of Bòrd Gàidhlig na h-Alba without demur or critique, the greeting was more lukewarm and questioning than might have been expected.

It was like the night of the referendum on the Parliament, when the BBC in London sent up some poor reporter to report on how the cold streets of Edinburgh were heaving with grateful happiness. They were empty. It wasn't that kind of delight, but more a business-like relief that at long last the next step had been taken despite every obstacle and stumbling block that had been placed in the way.

The new Board is after all only the means by which a National Plan for Gaelic will be achieved, and no matter how good or bad the Board members might prove to be, the Gaelic cause is today on a higher rung.

Without any personal criticism of any of those who benefited from the Executive's selection process – headmaster Duncan Ferguson as convener, the singer Arthur Cormack, student Ceit Anna MacLeod, consultant Agnes Rennie, senior teaching lecturer Boyd Robertson and education officer Rosemary Ward – the appointment of the Board immediately provoked a range of public criticism of weaknesses and skulduggery.

But the most persistent of the criticisms was that the Board had no-one to represent Gaelic learners. It reveals the new understanding of the importance and of the New Gaels in developing and expanding the Gaelic community. But the objection didn't come from Cli.

We are aware that the New Gaels have a number of good, proven friends on the Board. Also, Arthur Cormack from Portree in fact did learn his Gaelic, and Ilayman Duncan Ferguson, no less, had to relearn his (though the head start they had would be a luxury to most learners).

But more importantly, the Board does not represent anyone. No one ever voted for them; that's not how the system works. And if someone was put in place simply because they had learnt Gaelic, how could he or she

represent the disparate views and experiences of the broad church of Gaelic learners? It would be an affront and a nonsense to say that they form a single homogeneous group.

If the Board works to the meaningful betterment of the language we will be satisfied. It now has a chief executive, Allan Campbell who was at Comunn na Gàidhlig, and it has already made a start at travelling the country listening to the views of local communities. It is up to the New Gaels and others to invite it to your area. Wherever in Scotland. Or elsewhere!

*Cothram 35, courtesy Cli – The New Gaels, [www.cli.org.uk](http://www.cli.org.uk)*



#### Clì gus:

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



#### Clì to:

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

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

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## Census Reveals only half the Picture

The census compiled by the General Registrar Office Scotland gave official notification that Gaelic is dying. The numbers speaking the language, according to information gathered two years ago, has fallen to below 60,000. It has been claimed that if that figure was to fall by a further 10,000, Gaelic is dead.

Despite this news, many people involved with the language are showing great confidence in the future of the tongue once spoken throughout Scotland. Gaelic has never been short of prophets of doom ready to bury it on the basis of "half the picture". It also attracts enmity from its "dead language" enemies. The census will fuel criticism of the Scottish Executive's annual 13 million spending on the language.

Like all the other Celtic Languages Gaelic is also no stranger to persecution. Two generations ago, Gaelic-speaking children were beaten by teachers into learning in English, yet Gaelic survived. However, tides turn, and according to Gaelic's champions, the language is not just surviving but prospering.

Many believe the arithmetic of the census presents only half of the story of modern Gaelic. It will not, for example, indicate that Glasgow Gaelic School, the only educational establishment dedicated to learning entirely in the language, is too small to cope with demand three

years after it opened. It will not reveal that 60 per cent of parents who send their children to 63 primary Gaelic units in places as diverse as Kilmarnock and Cumbernauld do not speak the language themselves. This, say Gaelic's supporters, is the surest indication that the language is no longer "ghettoised".

The census will not identify a huge increase in adults learning from sources such as learndirect Scotland's Internet partnership with Sabhal Mòr Ostaig, the Gaelic college on Skye. And it will not take account of the "Runrig factor" - an explosion of cultural self worth driving Gaelic into mainstream entertainment and making the language "cool" again. That pride is reflected in the arts and television, where the current affairs programme Eorpa attracts three times more viewers than Newsnight Scotland and Speaking Our Language was watched by 100,000 more people than BBC's River City. John Angus Mackay, the director of the Gaelic Broadcasting Committee, said: "History drove Gaelic to the margin, and 20 years ago I despaired. It was an idiosyncrasy on the edges. "But there is a tremendous hunger for it now as Scotland finds its feet, and we examine our identity." Donnie Munro, the former Runrig singer, and director of development at Skye's Sabhal Mòr Ostaig college, said: "The numbers won't look

encouraging, but the crucial element, and the turning point, is the underlying trend. "There is an upward movement in the young learning, and we're involved in projects with learndirect Scotland. "There's a way to go; a shortage of teachers for one thing, but no shortage of learners. Most importantly, Gaelic is now recognised as a national language, a tremendous commercial asset in defining modern Scotland.

## Gàidhlig is now available worldwide

If one cannot get Radio nan Gaidheal on MW990kHz or FM 103.5 - 105 MHz, ones Currie or Dixon type of electronics shop should be able to advise as to how one can get access to it on Sky 90. 'The Scotsman' Saturday magazine, and 'The Stornoway Gazette' can be consulted as to programmes. Another rich source of access is the Gàidhlig College, Sabhal Mòr Ostaig, Sléite, An t-Eilean Sgitheanach IV44 8B. Their 'Short Courses 2003' is just out offering Gàidhlig language learning and in the same tradition, songs, step dancing, playing a variety of musical instruments, painting and Gàidhlig for Irish speakers. They can also be got on the phone +44(0) 1471 8 240, fax +44(0) 1471 8 001, e-mail [cg@smo.uhi.ac.uk](mailto:cg@smo.uhi.ac.uk) and on the web <http://www.smo.uhi.ac.uk/smo/cg>



# Gaelic Language (Scotland) Bill Falls

A last moment attempt to win official recognition for Gaelic before the end of the first session of the new Scottish Parliament has failed. The Gaelic Language (Scotland) Bill was introduced as a member's bill by the Nationalist MSP Michael Russell in November 2002. Based on the Welsh Language Act 1993, the bill stated that Gaelic and English should be treated on a basis of equality within certain public bodies in Scotland.

The principles of the bill won support from the Education, Culture and Sport Committee of the Parliament and the bill was passed at stage 1 with support from all political parties. The bill failed to progress to stage 2 or 3, however, due to a lack of Parliamentary time and it will not, therefore, become law.

Gaelic activists have criticised the Scottish Executive (Scottish Government) for failing to lend Executive support to the bill and for failing to find Parliamentary time to ensure the bill's passage.

The Gaelic Language (Scotland) Bill initially caused a great deal of controversy within the Gaelic community as its provisions were intended to apply only to the Highlands and not to Scotland as a whole. The bill later won widespread support from Gaelic groups and campaigners, however, when its proposer and the Parliament's Education, Culture and Sport Committee recommended that the Bill should be applied throughout Scotland.

In a surprise move, on 31 March 2003 the First Minister Jack McConnell announced that the Labour Party would introduce a Gaelic Language Bill if re-elected in the Scottish Parliament

Election on 1 May. This brings Labour into line with the SNP who have long had a commitment to legislate for Gaelic.

## A9 Controversy

Gaelic roadsigns have once again been a subject of controversy in recent months. Early in 2003 the Scottish Executive gave long awaited orders for bilingual signs to be erected in many trunk roads in the Highlands. This decision was overshadowed, however, by the news that the Executive had refused Highland Council's request that bilingual signage be erected on the A9 – the road running from Wick to Inverness and Perth and by far the most significant and busiest trunk road in the Highlands.

Gaelic signage is to be erected on the following roads:

- A87 Skye Bridge to Uig
- A87 Invergarry to Skye Bridge
- A887 Invermoriston to A87
- A830 Fort William to Mallaig
- A835 Ullapool to Dingwall/Tore
- A828 Ballachulish to Connel Bridge
- A85 Tyndrum to Oban
- A83 Tarbet to Kennacraig / Campbeltown
- A82 Tarbet to Inverness

This will be in addition to the existing Gaelic signs on the A87 on Skye and the western section of the A830 Mallaig road. The signs will be introduced over a five-year programme.

Uilleam MacCaluim

## An Leabhar Mòr - The Great Book of Gaelic

Edited by Malcolm Maclean and Theo Dorgan

Canongate Books, Proiseact Nan Ealan  
Edinburgh / New York 2002  
ISBN 1 64195 249 4 Stg.£35  
www.canongate.net

*An Leabhar Mòr / The Great Book of Gaelic* brings together the work of more than 200 poets, visual artists and calligraphers from Scotland and Ireland to create a major contemporary artwork in the form of a visual anthology.

The 100 Gaelic poems (with English translations) have been nominated by leading poets and writers such as Seamus Heaney, Hamish Henderson and Alistair Macleod as well as the contributing poets themselves. The selection features work from almost every century from the 6th to the 21st and includes the earliest Gaelic poetry in existence.

Comedy, tragedy, love, death, the spiritual and the bawdy are all represented in poems by Sorley MacLean, Nuala Ni Dhomhnaill, Iain Crichton Smith, Caitlin Maude, Kevin MacNeil and Cathal Ó Searcaigh.

The 100 visual artists – 50 from each country – were commissioned to respond to the poetry in a variety of media. The artists include Alan Davie, Rita Duffy, Will Maclean, Brian Maguire, Frances Walker, Anna Macleod, John Byrne, Shane Cullen, Alasdair Gray, Noel Sheridan, Calum Colvin and Alastair MacLennan.

A small team of calligraphers and typographer Don Addison worked in collaboration with the artists to integrate the key lines of poetry and the artist's images.

The resulting book is an extraordinary celebration in words and pictures of Gaelic culture from the earliest times to the present day.



Independent Scots read the  
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Contact  
51 Cowane Street  
Stirling FK8 1JW  
Alba/Scotland  
Telephone  
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The visual art (Daphne Wright and Reiltín Murphy) accompanying the poem 'Oilithreacht' by Caitlin Maude.



# Breizh

## "Prezidant ar Vretoned" e Kembre

Evit ar wech kentañ eo bet prezidant Kuzul-rannvro Breizh e Kembre hag eno en deus gwelet Rhodri Morgan, kentañ ministr Kembre evit komz eus ar pezh zo boutin d'hon div vro. Kemeret o deus perzh o-daou en ur c'hendiviz aozet e Skol-veur Kerdiz diwar-benn ar politikerezh hag an digreizen-nañ e Breizh-Veur hag e Frañs. Embannet e oa bet, en degouezh-se, frouezh al labour kaset war-raok gant ar c'helenner Alistair Cole, eus "Skol ar Studioù europat" e Kerdiz. Studiet en deus Alistair Cole an "devolution" e Kembre hag an digreizen-nañ e Rannvro Breizh. Hervez an aotrou Cole ez eus kalz traoù boutin etre Breizh ha Kembre ha "kalz e c'hellfe an eil bro deskiñ digant eben evit a sell ren hec'h aferioù". Daou vloaz eo padet ar studiaden, zo diazezet war goulennaouegoù graet ouzh 1 000 den e pep bro ha war pennadoù kaoz niverus graet gant tud e karg.

Ur brezegenn en doa distaget Josselin de Rohan, prezidant Kuzul-rannvro Breizh, e Skol-veur Kerdiz, dirak kannaded Bodadenn Vroadel Kembre ha skolveuridi. Enni e lavaras e oa bet "adkreizennet" ar galloud er Stad

C'hall abaoe lezennoù 1982 war an digreizen-nañ hag e oa bet kollet emrenerezh gant ar rannvroioù en ugent vloaz diwezhañ. Gant gouarnamant Jean-Pierre Raffarin, eme Josselin de Rohan, e vo adroet galloud d'ar rannvroioù, o reiñ an tu dezho da gemm reolennoù zo hag o kempenn reizhiad an tellerezh er Stad C'hall evit o gounid. Hervez Josselin de Rohan n'eus rannvro all ebet er Stad C'hall ma vije bet prederiet ha labourer kement ha ma voe graet e Breizh da-geñver ar "Manifesto evit an digreizen-nañ". Lavaret a reas ivez e fell da Guzul-rannvro Breizh kaout muioc'h a c'halloud war tachennoù zo, evel ar skoliata uhel hag ar stummañ, gwarez an endro hag an dour, ar porzhioù-mor, ar sevenadur, an touristerezh... En e brezegenn e lavaras ur ger bennak ivez diwar-benn ar brezhoneg : "We wish decentralisation to be the occasion to consolidate upon the existence of the regional languages, in a secure legal framework" (=C'hoant hor befe e rofe an digreizen-nañ an dro da gadarnaat bezañ ar yezhoù rannvroel, en ur framm bonreizhel asur).

Disklêriañ a reas Josselin de Rohan c'hoazh e felle dezhañ diazezañ ur c'henlabour etre Kuzul-rannvro Breizh ha Gouarnamant Bodadenn Vroadel Kembre, diwar ar veaj-se. Salv ma roy Kembre mennozhioù d'an dilennidi a Vreizh ha ma roy c'hoant dezho da gaout muioc'h a c'halloud.

Courtesy of bremañ

### Summary

For the first time ever Josselin de Rohan, the President of the 'Brittany' region met with the Chief Minister of Wales, R Morgan, at Kerdiz University.

This was thanks to A. Cole who studied devolution in Brittany and Wales for the last two years. He organised this meeting in order to explain his work.

In his speech, the Breton President started from the first stage of the french decentralisation in 1982. The Gaullist President told the audience that the Regions lost a lot of financial responsibilities since then.

J. de Rohan asks for more power for the lander = regions in the manifesto. In it he mentions universities, environment, water, ports, cultural activities and tourism. Otherwise he wishes to consolidate the existence of the Breton language.

PS : Words sound nice, but the 15,000 demonstrators on March 22nd know that it will be a long way to Devolution. The 2nd part is on track, but the 3rd part is missing - Right now, Breton politicians from both sides need to work hard with their Welsh counterparts to be as good as the other landers in Europe

G.K

## Fylmow Kernow/Filmoù Kernev Veur

Drefenn y vos sewen meur warlyna, an Goel Fylmow Kernow a vydh synsys yn blydhenyek may hyllyn diskwedhes an fylmow gwrys yn Kernow ha gans Kernowyon. An Goel 2002 veu synsys dhe Aberfal, ha dell wayt an ordenoryon, y fydh ow mos ena arta rag 2003. Warlyna, y feu moy es tri ugens fylm gwrys yn Kernow, dres henna, yth esa nebes ow kul meur a dros yn bys fylm. 'Hwerow Hweg' o a-vri awos bos fylm hir yn Kernewek, ha 'Cheap Rate Gravity' o fylm berr sci-fi. Kyns an goel hevlyna (13ves - 15ves mis Kevardhu) res vydh dhe'n ordenoryon kavoes lywydh rann-dermyrn. Mar kyll'ta gweres, pellgews 01872 322886. Yma kedhlow pella der: [www.cornwallfilmfestival.com](http://www.cornwallfilmfestival.com)

Trugarez d'e verzh bras warlene, Gouel ar filmoù Kernev Veur a zeuo da vezañ bloaziek evit ma c'hellfe bezañ diskouezet ar filmoù graet e Kernev Veur ha gant Kerneveuriz. Degouezhet voe ar Gouel 2002 e Aberfal, ha spi o deus an aozerien da vont eno adarre er bloaz-mañ. Warlene e voe mui eget tri-ugent film graet e Kernev Veur ha dreist-holl, darn anezho a rejont trouz bras e bed ar sinema. Etrezo 'Hwerow Hweg' (c'wherv c'hwek) a oa brudet peogwir e oa ur film hir e kerneveureg ha 'Cheap Rate Gravity' ur film a skiant-faltazi. Araok ar Gouel er bloaz-mañ (13-15 a viz Kerzu) ret e vo d'an aozerien kavout ur rener hanter-amzer. Ma fell deoc'h skoazellañ, pellgomzit d'an niv. 01872 322886. Evit gouzout hiroc'h: [www.cornwallfilmfestival.com](http://www.cornwallfilmfestival.com)

### Summary:

The Cornwall Film Festival was a great success last year. There were more than 60 films made in Cornwall or by Cornish people. 'Hwerow Hweg', a full-length film in Cornish was extremely popular. Now this film festival is looking for a part-time organizer, so if you want to help, please contact: 01872 322886 or [www.cornwallfilmfestival.com](http://www.cornwallfilmfestival.com)

Courtesy 'Nowodhow Kernow', translation into Breton by José CALVETE.



Fylm der an taves Kernewek/Film kerneveurek : Hwerow Hweg



# HUGE DEMONSTRATION IN SUPPORT OF BRETON

In 2002 the State Council (Conseil d'Etat) decided that DIWAN schools could not join the Public State Schools (E.N.) because the second article of the Constitution states that: "The language of the Republic is French"...mainly thanks to the trade-unions (CNAL & Co) who fight hard against DIWAN's integration in the E.N. These lobbies are very republican and very traditionalist. They are strongly opposed to the right for people to be "different" inside state bodies. Therefore, they are also very opposed to the Devolution of the state in the landers (= regions) as well as in E.U. The French State is **GOD** for those traditionalists.

## DIWAN's PROBLEMS

The Lincoln-Team, (the previous board) had only one Goal: E.N. The new leader, Anne Le Corre, and her team face severe financial problems: a 200000 debit in 2002 and a loss of a State subsidy { 205000} in 2003. This year they are working hard to meet the other regional schools of France: Alsaz, Basque, Corsica. In Brittany they

**THE BRETON LANGUAGE" demonstration** in front of the Breton Parliament (Breujoù Breizh) in *Roazhon*, to ask the French state to "**RESPECT U.N. RECOMMENDATIONS**. In 2002, UNESCO stated that it considers the Breton language to be in "**Great Danger**"... to disappear.

Most of the demonstrators came from the schools and pipe-bands. 80 buses, 500 pipe-bands marched behind the cultural and political leaders from both the left to the right wing - except J. de Rohan, the Gaullist president of Brittany.

We were also happy to see well-known musicians such as Alan Stivell, Denez Prigent and Gilles Servat. I noticed a few flags from the Celtic nations as well as flags from the south of Europe. Obviously "**THE SPRING OF THE BRETON LANGUAGE**" was a personal success for Patrick Malrieu, the new President of KSB. He is known as less "political" than the previous president. Therefore, more schools or Bands joined the "professional" demonstrators of the Bretons' causes.



decided to meet the parents in every single school, with the will to build a new policy for the next AGM at the end of April. We'll Wait & See.

## BIGGEST EVER: 15000 demonstrators . . .

In the meantime, Kuzul Sevenadurel Breizh (KSB), the most important cultural lobby in Brittany, organized a demonstration on the 22nd of March, with the help of the three bodies who teach Breton in schools (DIWAN+DIHUN+DIVYEZH [=E.N.]), 15,000 people took part in the "**SPRING OF**

## WHAT'S NEXT?

Patrick Malrieu will feel stronger to ask for an **ORSEC-PLAN** for the Breton Language at different levels of power. The first one is obviously the lander one, because the Gaullist President J. de Rohan excluded the language in the Breton devolutionary process.

The second level is the Prime Minister, JP Raffarin, who is in favour of experimentations in the regions. Then last but not least is the E.U. First of all KSB must ask the French State to respect E.U. (& U.N.) **Recommendations for the Breton language**.

At the same time, Breton cultural lobbies must have people working full-time in Brussels, because E.U. needs to work with the regions of Europe to gain some power. Ireland, Scotland and Wales are much more efficient than us in this field.

## FUTURE . . .

This huge demonstration is a new start for a new century. Hopefully, Patrick Malrieu, the new President of KSB will be able to develop actions with the old and new lobbies in order to give more hope for the Breton language and a Breton Future...

Gi KELTIK

## STEPS TOWARDS DEVOLUTION?

Non-political families as well as right-wingers have some hopes in the governmental process of Devolution. JP Raffarin (French Prime Minister) put this goal on the top of his own agenda. Unfortunately, major Gaullists fought against this project. Therefore, the second part of the French Devolution will be tiny... by 2005 we will know more about the reality. It looks like; here in Brittany people are willing to help JP Raffarin's plans.

On the left wing, there are also people, like Y-B. Thomin from the Breiz, who are willing to build a programme for Brittany. Unfortunately, their own party, the Socialist Party (PS), is still on the Old Labour line. As you read in Carn 110 (Summer-2000): DIWAN v. E.N., the French Socialist Party is not yet on the way to the New Labour.

## BUSINESS & CULTURE

Otherwise, Patrick Malrieu (KSB) took an important initiative towards the business world. 450 businessmen signed in favour of the campaign "YA, d'ar brezhoneg". This new action is held by the institutional body: **OFIS AR BREZHONEG**. The success of this campaign as well as the success of the logo "Produit en Bretagne" shows that the businessmen and their workers are now concerned with their own culture. Therefore, this new century, we have new demonstrators involved in the process of the Breton Language. Is Brittany on the way to the Scottish dynamics? Wait & See!

Gi KELTIK



# CELTIC NIGHT, second edition

Celts! Celts, in... Paris? This news seems incongruous when the city has seemed, for centuries, to revel in its own adulation, doubled with universal pretensions that look too much like ideology to be honest.

However, aren't things changing in this France that, for a long time, thought itself only moulded out of a Greek and Latin heritage?

For the second consecutive year, Celts have settled, for a long night, near St Denis, a stone's throw from the graves of the Kings of France, and of Anne's remains, the last Duchess of Brittany and twice Queen of France, to celebrate St Patrick's Day;

After the extraordinary success of the two nights of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> of March 2002, the team of JP PICHARD, General Manager of the Inter-Celtic Festival (FIL) in Lorient and President of the Inter-Celtic Company 3C, specialized in the creation of great happenings, associated with the team of Pascal Simonin, General Manager of the French stadium (SdF), one of the largest Olympic stadiums in the world, to renew the bet and the magic. PICHARD in Paris, it's like Brennos in Rome, as this night, now a ritual and a must, strikes like a revenge from the forgotten ones, from the defeated ones over their conquerors.

The 2002 event, so conclusive with its 100.000 spectators, has been converted into what is becoming a true institution. JP Pichard's press conference in Paris, first at the Halles, then at La Villette, in the beginning of the '90's, had gone a long way.

It is now the whole "great tribe" of the capital city and beyond! – which gathers, in a festive atmosphere, to sing PATRICIUS' praise, this britto-roman from Dumbarton, just near Hadrian's Wall, who converted Hibernia to the lights of the "true faith". But this historico-legendary character fades away in front of this tremendous conviviality, this identity that now asserts itself serenely.

"After having conquered the USA", St Patrick's Day has now spread throughout the whole of France, not as a National Day, but as an international festival of conviviality, freedom and a "way of life", says the Master of Ceremonies.

## A PRESTIGIOUS STAGE

The stage of the 2003 edition was nothing less than prestigious. The tunes of Alan Stivell's telenn blended with the enchanted shrills of Carlos Nunez's gaita, with the deep tones of the gwerz, masterly interpreted by Denez Prigent, and with Sinead O'Connor's powerful bewitching voice. Shall we have said it all when we have added Liam O'Flynn, Irish uilleann-pipe virtuoso, André Le Meut, penn-soner of the Ronsed-Mor bagad, the symphony orchestra of the InterCeltic Festival, or even the mythical bagad of Lann-Bihoue, the only bagad of the French Army for 52 years?

Then, last but not least, this year, the 9,000 square meters of the lawn were open to those whose legs traditionally itch for a few steps of an-dro or gavotte! 20,000 on a wooden floor especially laid for the circumstances. That is to say, probably the most gigantic Fest-Noz ever organized.

But, in March, in Paris, night temperatures fall lower than in Lorient, in August. Instruments go wrong and the public grows numb. How to combine the heat of the Celtic ceors with the rigours of the climate? A challenge to take up in the future for JP PICHARD;

What does it matter? On St. Patrick's Day, from now on, in Paris, Celtia celebrates!

Free at last...at least of its hang-ups!!!

Thierry JIGOUREL

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St Patrick's Day in Paris

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# O! Tyn y Gorchudd

Dyma sgwrs a draddodwyd gan Angharad Price mewn cyfarfod Cymuned yng Ngheredigion, Hydref 22. Yma mae'n esbonio sut y bu Cymuned yn ysbrydoliaeth iddi wrth ysgrifennu O! Tyn y Gorchudd, cyfrol y fedal ryddiaith yn Eisteddfod Tyddewi 2002.

\*Fe ysgrifennais y gyfrol O! Tyn y Gorchudd yn hunangofiant i Rebecca Jones, chwaer fy nhaid, ac i'w theulu yn ystod yr ugeinfed ganrif. Yr ysgogiad mwyaf amlwg oedd y ffaith i dri o frodyr fy nhaid gael eu geni'n ddall. O ganlyniad bu'n rhaid iddynt adael eu cartref yn blant ifanc, a mynd i dderbyn eu haddysg mewn ysgol i'r deillion yn Lloegr. Addysg fonedd, Anglicanaidd a thra Seisnig oedd yr addysg honno. Yn hunangofiant Rebecca Jones roeddwn am drafod y tensiwn rhwng yr addysg honno, a bywyd Cymreig, Anghydfurfiol, amaethyddol y teulu yng nghwm Maesglasau, Meirionnydd. Cofnod o hanes personol oedd yma i fod.

Syndod i mi, felly, oedd darllen sylw un o feirniaid y Fedal Ryddiaith mai 'hunangofiant ardal' oedd yma yn anad dim, sef ardal Dinas Mawddwy. Eto, erbyn meddwl, roedd hynny'n wir. Er bod hanes fy ewythrod yn un anghyffredin, nid hynny fu'r sbardun i fynd ati i ysgrifennu'r gyfrol ar yr adeg hon. Y prif gymhelliad - fel y sylweddolaf erbyn hyn - oedd cofnodi hanes bywyd yng nghefn gwlad Cymru wrth i mi weld y bywyd hwnnw'n dod fwyfwy dan fygythiad. Mae Dinas Mawddwy - o bob man - fel llawer i le arall, wedi gweld Seisnigo brawychus yn ystod y ddau ddegawd diwethaf.

Yn y misoedd cyn ysgrifennu'r gyfrol roedd clwy'r traed a'r genau wedi rheibio nifer o gymunedau amaethyddol Cymru, ac wedi peri i'r dirwasgiad ym myd ffermio fynd o ddrwg i waeth. Ar yr un pryd roedd Cymuned wedi dod i fodoli, wedi tynnu sylw at effeithiau mewnffudo ac allfudo ar gymunedau gogledd a gorllewin Cymru, ac wedi dod yn ffocws i deimladau a phryderon pobl yn y bröydd Cymraeg ers blynnyddoedd. Roedd hyn i gyd yn flaenllaw yn fy meddwl pan oeddwn yn ysgrifennu O! Tyn y Gorchudd.

Beirniadwyd rhan olaf y gyfrol gan rai adolygwyr am fod yn 'rhy uniongyrchol ei neges', ac am fod yr elfen wleidyddol yn rhy amlwg. Ond pryder am ddyfodol eu gymunedau eu hunain sydd yn fwyaf blaenllaw yn meddyliau a sgysiaid pobl fel Rebecca Jones erbyn hyn. A'r gwir amdani yw na fyddai'r gyfrol fel y mae hi yn bodoli oni bai am yr ymwybod â sut y mae pethau yng nghefn gwlad Cymru ar hyn o bryd. O safbwynt yr argyfwng presennol yr ysgrifenn-

nwyd hanes cenedlaethau'r gorffennol yng nghwm Maesglasau. Yr ymwybod â'r presennol sydd wedi llywio'r gyfrol o'r dechrau i'r diwedd.

Wedi'r cyfan, perthynas teulu ac amgylchfyd a bortreadir ynddi, ac mae i'r amgylchfyd hwnnw nodweddion diwylliannol ac ieithyddol, yn ogystal â nodweddion ffisegol. Yn yr iaith Gymraeg, a thrwyddi, y mae cwm Maesglasau wedi bodoli ers i'r teulu ddechrau ffermio yno - medden nhw - yn 1012. Os bydd yr iaith Gymraeg yn darfod yn ardal Dinas Mawddwy, bydd cwm Maesglasau yn darfod hefyd. Mae'r tawelwch sydd yn agor ac yn cloi O! Tyn y Gorchudd yn dawelwch daufiniog: mae'n golygu heddwch sydd y tu hwnt i ddydd i iaith, ond mae hefyd yn golygu marwolaeth.

Rydwi i fy hun yn rhan o'r hapus dyrfa sydd wedi gadael ardal fy magwraeth yn Arfon ac wedi mynd i weithio i Gaerdydd. Oherwydd amgylchiadau personol, mae'n debyg mai felly fydd hi am y tro.

Mae'r profiad o fyw yng Nghaerdydd, a mynd adref yn rheolaidd i Fethel, ac i weld y teulu yn Dinas Mawddwy, yn brofiad sgitsoffrenig braidd. Prin fod diwrnod yn mynd heibio heb i mi glywed pobl yn siopau Treganna yn brolio eu bod yn dysgu Cymraeg, neu'n ymhyfrydu bod eu plant yn mynd i ysgol Gymraeg. Mae Canolfan Dysgu Cymraeg yn y coleg yng Nghaerdydd bron yn methu â dygymod â'r galw am wersi Cymraeg, ac mae'r myfyrwyr ail-iaith o'r cymoedd yn adran y Gymraeg yn frwd dros yr iaith ac yn optimistaidd ynghylch ei dyfodol.

I'r sawl sydd yn byw yn ne ddwyrain Cymru mae'r Gymraeg yn iaith sy'n ffynnu, y Cymry Cymraeg naturiol yn bobl ddosbarth canol a chanddynt swyddi proffesiynol, a'r 'dyfodol dwyieithog' y mae'r Cynulliad mor barod i'w bedlera yn rhywbeth credadwy. A chan nad oes gan y mwyafrif brofiad o fyw yng ngogledd neu orllewin Cymru, mae datganiadau mudiadau fel Cymuned ynghylch argyfwng y Gymraeg yn creu dryswch ac anghrediniaeth lwyr. Mae'r anwybodaeth, a'r diffyg gwybodaeth, ynghylch sefyllfa bröydd Cymraeg y gogledd a'r gorllewin yn rhemp, ac mae llywodraeth y Cynulliad yn atgyfnerthu'r tueddiad hwn trwy gael cabinet mor dde-ddwyrain-ganolog.

Dagrau pethau yw bod rhai newyddiadurwyr a gwleidyddion yn bwydo ar yr anwybodaeth honno er mwyn rhoi tân i'w hagenda wrth-Gymraeg. Trwy unffurfio unrhyw gymuned mae'n hawdd ei rheoli, ac mae'n hawdd cyflyru ymatebion pobl tuag ati. Mae newyddiadurwyr fel Paul Starling yn ei

erthyglau yn y Welsh Mirror yn portreadu cymuned unffurf o Gymry Cymraeg yn seiliedig ar batrwm Cymry Cymraeg Pontcanna, ac yn defnyddio'r unffurfiaeth honno wrth drafod pob siaradwr Cymraeg yng Nghymru gyfan. Carfan unffurf o bobl ddosbarth canol, freintiedig a chanddynt swyddi breision yw'r Cymry Cymraeg gan Starling a'i debyg, ac mae'n defnyddio elfennau'r portread hwnnw i danio rhagfarn ddofn ymhlith ei ddarllenwyr tuag at yr iaith Gymraeg yn ei chyfanrwydd. Felly y daw ymadroddion fel 'Welsh speaker' yn dermau stigma digon sinistr. Oherwydd y diffyg gwybodaeth am gymunedau Cymraeg yn rhannau eraill o Gymru, ac oherwydd bod y Gymraeg yn iaith rhwydweithiau mewn ardaloedd fel Caerdydd, neu'n iaith sy'n perthyn i agweddau penodol ar fywydau pobl yn unig, mae tactegau fel hyn yn gweithio.

Dyna pahan, yn fy marn i, y mae'n holl bwysig bod Cymuned yn bodoli ac yn parhau i weithredu ac i dynnu sylw at yr argyfwng economaidd a diwylliannol sy'n wynebu llawer o'r bröydd Cymraeg. Yn sicr, mae angen datblygu polisiau a strategaethau sy'n trafod yr iaith Gymraeg ar lefel genedlaethol, yn rhywbeth sy'n perthyn i Gymru gyfan. Ac mae angen llawer iawn mwy o addysg a gwybodaeth er mwyn magu dealltwriaeth ymhlith yr holl Gymry o'r problemau gwahanol sy'n wynebu'r iaith o ardal i ardal.

Ond cyfraniad mawr Cymuned yw ei fod yn fudiad sydd hefyd yn pwysleisio'r lleol ac yn gweithredu'n lleol. Dyna pam mae sefydlu'r tair cangen leol yng Ngheredigion yn ddatblygiad o bwys, fel y mae canghennau Gwynedd hefyd yn gweithredu fwyfwy ar lefel leol, yn ogystal â chenedlaethol.

Nid tansellio cymuned Gymraeg Caerdydd y mae'r sawl sy'n gweld yr angen i warchod y Gymraeg yn ei bröydd cynhenid, fel ardal Dinas Mawddwy, neu Arfon, neu yma yng Ngheredigion. Mae i gymuned Gymraeg Caerdydd ei phwysigrwydd yn sicr. Ond mae angen sicrhau dyfodol ardaloedd lle mae'r Gymraeg yn iaith naturiol trwch y bobl, yn iaith y gymuned yn ei lluosogrwydd, ac yn iaith y norm amlddiwylliannol sy'n bodoli pan fo cymdeithas yn un a chanddi dai a gwaith angenrheidiol i'w haelodau. Dim ond mewn cymunedau felly y ceir y continwmm cymdeithasol angenrheidiol i allu gwrthsefyll yr ymdrechion - ymwybodol ac anymwybodol - i unffurfio'r Cymry Cymraeg, boed hynny i'w rheoli, eu hymylu, eu stigmateiddio ac - yn y pen draw - i'w tawelu.

## Summary

*This is the text of a talk given by Angharad Price at a meeting of Cymuned last year. She explains how the campaign of Cymuned (against colonisation) inspired her to write O! Tyn y Gorchudd, the work that won the Prose Medal at the 2002 National Eisteddfod.*



# STATISTICS, STATISTICS, AND LIES!

## *The census results do not reflect reality The Welsh Language in the 2001 census*

The official figures for the number and proportion of the population of Wales, who can speak Welsh, from the state census taken in 2001, have been now released. For the first time since records began in 1891, when a majority of the population could speak Welsh, the percentage increased slightly from the previous census of 1991, from 18.3% then to 20.5%. The 'increase' was expected since all school pupils now have to study Welsh up to the age of 16 and many non-Welsh speaking parents, particularly those who have moved into Welsh-speaking areas, put down their children as being Welsh-speaking since this is now more prestigious, and in some cases colons feel that claiming their children as Welsh-speaking is some sort of justification of their presence. But all who use the language daily can see that these census figures hide the reality, just as the census figures for Irish-speakers in the 26 counties greatly swell the real numbers, and that the number of people who actually use the language is still declining. In particular, the Mewnlifiad or inflow of English into the Fro Gymraeg or naturally Welsh-speaking areas is rapidly reducing the number of communities where Welsh is the daily language and without which Welsh will become a language spoken only by those particularly interested in it in two or three generations.

The figures are given by county in order of percentage, with the 1991 figures in brackets. The stark difference between the census figures and the looming fate of the language can be seen by comparing with figures of the percentage of primary school children who speak Welsh at home, obtained in a survey in 2002.

It can be seen that only in Gwynedd are the Cymry Cymraeg a clear majority, and that the percentages in the counties where Welsh is extensively spoken are still declining, a picture looking worse when considering the percentages of primary school children speaking it at home. The use of Welsh in the home can be seen to be holding up better in Gwynedd than in the counties where the decline in general is further advanced such as Ceredigion, and the decline in heavily colonised Conwy and Denbighshire is even worse. It is significant and disappointing that in English-speaking counties where there have been many children in bilingual schools for decades such as Caerffili and Rhondda Cynon Taf, the number of children native speakers is still minimal, suggesting that hardly any of the ex-pupils of the Welsh medium schools still in the area speaking Welsh to their children. And the idea that 9% of very Anglicised Monmouthshire are Welsh-speakers, up from 2% in just 10 years, is a joke.

Robat ap Tomas

Administrative county (as since 1996) (1991 figure in brackets)	Percentage of Welsh speakers (acc. to Census 2001)	Percentage of primary school pupils speaking Welsh at home
Gwynedd	68.7 (72.1)	53.7
Ynys Môn	59.8 (62.0)	33.8
Ceredigion	51.9 (59.1)	28.3
Sir Gaerfyrddin / Carmarthenshire	50.1 (54.8)	20.3
Conwy	29.2 (30.6)	8.9
Sir Ddinbych / Denbighshire	26.1 (26.7)	6.9
Sir Benfro / Pembrokeshire	21.5 (18.3)	3.3
Powys	20.8 (20.5)	4.2
Castell Nedd - Port Talbot (Neath - Port Talbot)	17.8 (17.8)	3.5
Maelor (Wrecsam)	14.4 (13.7)	1.4
Sir y Fflint / Flintshire	14.1 (13.5)	1.1
Abertawe (Swansea)	13.2 (13.3)	1.6
Rhondda Cynon Taf	12.3 (9.0)	0.7
Bro Morgannwg (Vale of Glamorgan)	11.1 (6.9)	1.0
Caerdydd / Cardiff	10.9 (6.6)	2.1
Caerffili	10.9 (6.0)	0.3
Torfaen	10.7 (2.5)	0.2
Penybont ar Ogwr (Bridgend)	10.6 (8.2)	0.5
Merthyr Tudful	10.3 (7.5)	0.0
Casnewydd (Newport)	9.6 (2.3)	0.1
Blaenau Gwent	9.1 (2.2)	0.0
Sir Fynwy / Monmouthshire	9.0 (2.1)	0.3
CYMRU	20.5 (18.7)	6.0

## CYMDEITHAS RESPOND TO CENSUS FIGURES

Cymdeithas yr Iaith said that the 2001 Census results, and the enthusiasm of the authorities proclaiming the increase, remind one of the efforts of the Tory governments to play with unemployment figures. The census may show an increase in the number of individuals claiming to 'know' Welsh, but this does not reflect the true condition of the language as to its use and its situation as a living community language. In the long run the best measure of a language's health is not the number of individuals who 'know' it, but the social use that is made of it.

Huw Lewis, chairman of Cymdeithas yr Iaith, said: (translated)

*"Perhaps this 'increase' gives a boasting opportunity to the government and the language quango and enables them to put on a bit of positive 'spin', but the reality that is facing Welsh in communities across Wales is very different.*

*Following publication of the Census 2001 results, it is clear that the people of Wales must make a definite choice. We must accept that only through operating far-reaching holistic policies in the housing, planning, status, education and transport will it be possible to safeguard and develop Welsh. Fragmented support here and there will not suffice; one cannot half-save a language. We can start on this new holistic approach tomorrow with a directive from the National Assembly that 'safeguarding the language and Welsh-speaking communities' is to be one of the key factors of the new Community Strategies of the county councils - one that extends into every department".*

The government have announced an increase in funding for the language, which is far short of what is required.

Cymdeithas yr Iaith believes it essential:

to ensure that everyone has a meaningful right to use Welsh. Only through passing a New Language Act that acknowledges the right to use Welsh in dealing with a public body or private company can this be achieved. A symbolic increase in the budget of the language quango will not be sufficient.

to safeguard and develop viable Welsh-speaking communities. Only through acknowledging the need to intervene in the competitive housing market - e.g. with a Property Act - can this be done. A small increase in schemes to help purchase of homes is not enough.

to ensure that everyone has a chance to learn Welsh. Only through providing sufficient finance for every sector of education

(Continued on page 11)



## CYMDEITHAS RESPOND TO CENSUS FIGURES

(Continued from page 10)

can this be achieved. An increase for one sector only – in this case the nursery level – is not sufficient.

The response of Plaid Cymru President Ieuan Wyn Jones AC to the 2001 census figures:

*"The census figures clearly show that after four years of a Labour Government there are more people in Wales out of work and a higher rate of people suffering from poor health. The results also reveal that Wales has some of the worst levels of people without qualifications. These statistics clearly underline the failings of Labour and demonstrate the choices facing the people of Wales at the National Assembly elections. Plaid Cymru has a radical programme that will ensure a better future and spread prosperity throughout Wales.*

*We welcome the fact that there has been an increase in the number of Welsh speakers throughout Wales. Despite this, in some areas the Welsh language is in a very precarious situation. Plaid Cymru is the only party committed to a truly bilingual Wales. A Plaid Cymru Government will ensure that a comprehensive programme is implemented to protect the position of the language and ensure a further and more rapid increase in the number of Welsh speakers."*

## National Assembly Government objects to Ceredigion UDP

Ceredigion AC Elin Jones, Plaid Cymru, has welcomed the news that the Assembly Government has lodged objections to the draft Deposit version of Ceredigion's Unitary Development Plan (UDP), joining 5000 other formal objections to the UDP.

In response to a letter by Ms Jones, Environment Minister Sue Essex states, 'the Assembly Government has lodged objections to the Deposit Ceredigion UDP, in particular requesting further clarification on the housing projections'

This news is a vindication of Elin Jones AC's opposition to the housing forecast in the UDP, where the Council is recommending to develop 6,000 new homes. Ms Jones has argued strongly against these plans claiming that no research was done at grass roots level into the local need for these homes, and that such growth could be detrimental to the Welsh Language and culture of Ceredigion.

Elin Jones said:

'The County Council must now see that its housing projections are way over the top and need to be reviewed. Thousands of individuals and organisations have

## National Assembly election

The second general election for the National Assembly of Wales takes place at the beginning of May. Labour, three seats short of an overall majority, have governed Wales in coalition with the Liberal Democrats since the first election in 1999. Plaid Cymru, the second largest party, are the main challengers to Labour's attempt to gain an overall majority this time. There is a general view in Wales that the Lab./Lib. Dem. administration has been so unimaginative and subservient to London that it has brought the institution itself into disrepute.

## Cymdeithas condemn school closures

Cymdeithas yr Iaith have condemned the education minister's decision to confirm the closure of more naturally Welsh-speaking schools, this time in Carmarthenshire. It seems that unionists, supposedly trying to save money, are purposefully trying to cut the

# Wales in Brief

heart out of Welsh-speaking communities, as the school at Henllan Amgoed is full beyond its capacity, and the ombudsman acknowledged that the council had misled a public enquiry about the closure of the vigorous schools at Alltwalis and Llanfihangel-ar-Arth.

## 'Iaith Pawb' criticised

The language movement have applauded the Elin Jones AC's criticism of 'Iaith Pawb', the weak proposals for the language published by the government (in Cardiff) in February. Calling for a new language act, she said that they are not doing enough for the younger generation. The plan vaguely wishes for an increase in the numbers of younger people who speak Welsh. But how do the young like to communicate these days? Mobile phones and computers? And these are excluded from the present language act. There is no requirement for Microsoft to provide software in Welsh, and no mobile phone companies provide a Welsh service though service is available in several other languages. In the very fields that interest the young, service is available in English only.

## Councils disregard language policies

A Flintshire man, Dewi Jones from Treffynnon/Holywell, is refusing to pay for parking in a car park until Flintshire council erect bilingual signs in the car park. The council are supposed to have a bilingual policy, but correspondence sent to Mr Jones has been in English only. And in Cardiff, the local Cymdeithas cell is planning a campaign against the numerous English-only signs still being put up by Cardiff county council. Council circulars about street closures etc. are regularly in English only.

## Glyndôr Stamps

The Post Office have yielded to pressure and agreed to produce a set of postage stamps commemorating the 600th anniversary of Owain Glyndôr's uprising from 1400 to c. 1415 by which Wales regained her independence for a few years. However the denomination on the proposed stamps ("1st", "2nd") is in English only, unlike that on standard Welsh definitive stamps.

## New radical weekly paper

A new radical weekly tabloid has appeared, called SEREN ("star") – Socialist, Environmental, Republican News. Launched in April, it claims to be independent of any organisation or party, and a taste may be had by visiting [www.serencymru.org](http://www.serencymru.org).

RaT



# Éire

## stán cornach anallód

Nuair a dúnadh an mhianach stáin dheireanach sa Chorn, mianach South Crofty ag Pool sa bhliain 1998 tháinig deireadh le traidisiún mianadóireachta stáin a bhí ann le 3,500 bliain. Mar is léir ón bhfianaise seandálaíochta bhí an Corn ina dhúiche mianadóireachta stáin ó c.1500 R.Ch. anall. tráth dá raibh - ar feadh tréimhse 400 bliain - d'iompraíodh mairnéalaigh Fhéiniceacha ón gCartaig agus ó Gadir stán Cornach go dtí an Mheanmhuir.

Cumhacht mhór san anallód ba ea an Chartaig a raibh loingeas mór aige. Pobal iad na Féinígh, muintir na Cartaige, a raibh a sibhialtacht bunaithe ar an tráchtáil.

Ní mór a choinneáil in intinn gur ar muir seachas ar talamh a dhéantaí an chuid is mó den taisteal go háiteanna i bhfad as baile. Ní haon iontas é mar sin go mbaineadh longa Fhéiniceacha cósta an Choirn amach agus go dtéidís i mbun trádála ansin.

Cé go bhfuil na Féinígh imithe de dhroim talaimh leis na cianta maireann iarsmaí dá dteanga ar tháibhléid chré, ar leachtanna cuimhneacháin agus ar chlocha. Go deimhin bhí tionchar an-mhór ag an aibítear Fhéiniceach, aibítear 22 litir, ar fhorás na scríbhneoireachta. Meastar gur tháinig na Féinígh ó dheisceart na hAraibe i dtús báire agus gur leath siad soir tríd an Liobáin. Tá an teoiric sin ag teacht leis an bhfianaise theangeolaíochta. Bhunaigh na Féinígh cathair-stáit ar nós Ugarit in aice le Ras Shamra sa tSiria, Tarabulus (Tripoli sa lá inniu), Biblos (san áit a bhfuil Jubail anois) agus Sidon ar ann dó fós faoin ainm Saida chomh maith le Tyrus (Tyre inniu).

D'adhráidís dia na gréine, Baal agus bhí seisean ina dhia na toirní, na tintrí agus an uisce acu freisin. Ba í Astarte nó Ishtar an bandia mór acu. Ba í siúd bandia na gealaí agus na torthúlachta agus d'fhéadaí a rá gur réamhtheachta í don Mhaighéan Mhuire. Bhí an tríú mórdhia acu, Melkart, a raibh an cabhlach faoina choimirce. Bhí dlúthcheangal idir adhradh na trionóide seo agus cúrsaí talmhaíochta. Rinne na Féinígh ceiliúradh ar theacht agus imeacht na séasúr agus léirídis meas ar arán, uisce, bainne, mil agus ar thairgí talmhaíochta eile. I dtús ama dhéanaidís íobairt de leanaí in ómós do Baal agus Astarte ach d'imigh an nós sin in éag ach lean siad d'íobairt a dhéanamh ar ghabhair, ar chaoirigh agus ar uain.

Thagair Ramses III do 'mhuintir na mara' arbh as dúiche na Mara Duibhe iad ó dhúchas, b'fhéidir. Deirtear gur uathu siúd a d'fhoghlaim na Féinígh na scileanna teic-

niúla a bhain le tógáil bád agus le loingseoireacht. Go dtí thart fá 1200 R.Ch. dhéanadh na Féinígh seoltóireacht feadh an chósta ach ansin tháinig fóras ar a gcuid long sa chaoi is go seolaidís caol díreach trasna na Meánmara. Bhunaigh siad coilíneachtaí agus ionaid trádála thart timpeall na farraige sin. Agus chuaigh siad siar thar Charles Ghiobrálta amach ar an Atlantach mór. Thart faoi 1100 R.Ch. bhunaigh siad Gadir - Cadiz i ndeisceart na Spáinne anois - agus dealraíonn sé gur dún nó cathair a bhí ansin ó is é sin is ciall le 'gadir' san Fhéiniceis. Bunaíodh an Chartaig féin c.814 R.Ch. ar mhuarasgall na Tuinéise. Ciallaíonn an Chartaig 'an chathair nua' agus ba í sin láirionad mór na bhFhéiniceach feasta ó b'éigean dóibh teicheadh roimh na hAisirigh, na Babalónaigh, na Peirsigh, na Gréagaigh agus na Rómhánaigh.

Bhí éileamh mór ar stán le haghaidh earraí cré-umha ar fud réigiún na Meánmara agus tháinig na Féinígh i dtír ar an éileamh sin. Bíonn cré-umha déanta as mheascán de chopar agus de stán (sa choibhneas 9:1). San anallód dhéantaí gléasanna troda, uirlisí, monaí gréithre agus ornáidí as. Ar feadh i bhfad ba í an Spáinn an fhoinsé ba mhó stáin a bhí ag na Féinígh ach tar éis tamaill nórth leor sin leis an margadh a shásamh. Ansin chuathas ar lorg foinsí eile.

Más fíor do Pliny (AD 23-79) in Naturalis Historia sheol mairnéalach Fhéiniceach, Himilco, ó thuaidh san Atlantach ar thoir stáin c.550 R.Ch. Thaisteal sé fá chósta thiar na leithinse Ibéirí agus na Gaille chomh fada leis an mBriotáin. Uaidh sin sheol sé go dtí na Silí. B'in tús leis an trádáil Fhéiniceach leis an gCorn. Ní amháin go n-íompraíodh na Féinígh an stán Cornach ar muir ach tá fianaise ann go dtugtaí é ar thalamh trín mBriotáin chomh fad ó dheas le Marseilles.

Ní trádáil aon bhealaigh a bhí ann. Dhíol siad earraí criaga, salann, copar, uirlisí, monaí agus gléasanna troda de réir dealraimh.

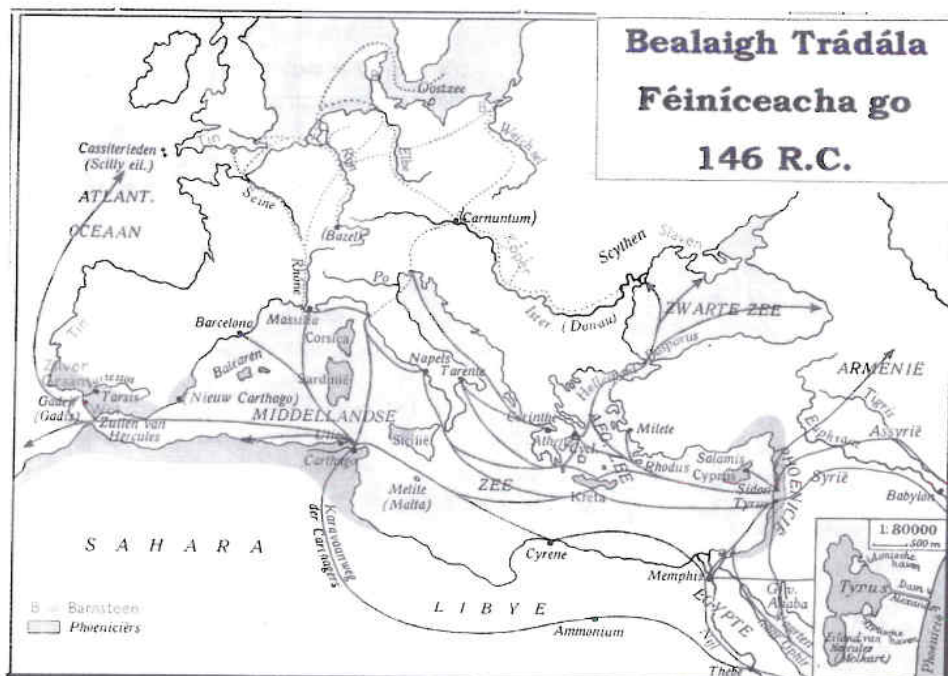
Tharraing na Féinígh éad agus saint na Rómhánaigh orthu féin agus scrios siad siúd an Chartaig sa bhliain 146 R.Ch. De réir a chéile ghabh an Róimh na hionaid trádála ar fad a bhí ag na Féinígh. Faoin tráth a shroich na Rómhánaigh oileán na Breataine bhí sé ina dhlí san impireacht go raibh ceadúnas ón impire de dhíth le mianadóireacht stáin a dhéanamh.

Leanadh den mhiandaóireacht sin sa Chorn. Chomh déanach le 1850 bhí 50,000 mianadóirí stáin agus copair fós sa tír. De réir mar a dúnadh na mianaigh thug na mianadóirí Cornacha a scileanna leo go dtí an Afraic Theas, an Astráil agus na Stáit Aontaithe. Is beag nár mhair an mhiandaóireacht sa Chorn go dtí an mhílaois úr ach, faraor géar, tá an traidisiún sin ar lár anois.

**Taighde, Aad van der Geest,  
Netherlands.  
Athscríobh, C. de Faoite**

### Summary

*This article describes the Phoenicians and their trade routes in the centuries before Christ. Due to the demand for tin in the Mediterranean region these trade routes brought them as far as Cornwall.*





# The Crisis in the Peace Process

*With the Sinn Féin Ard Fheis just complete, March 28 to 30, and the party reaffirming its stance in relation to the Good Friday Agreement, policing and the suspension of the institutions, newly-elected Sinn Féin TD and Ard Chomhairle member Aengus Ó Snodaigh writes on the crisis in the peace process.*

The Peace process is in crisis, the institutions are suspended and there is not yet an acceptable policing service or a representative criminal justice system nor is there equality. On May 29 Assembly elections will take place in the shadow of the crisis in the peace process. While the past year has predictably been one of ups and downs for republicans with the high point of the year marked by the election results in the 26 Counties, the next two months will be a crucial period for republicans.

The British government suspended the political institutions on 14 October 2002. In doing so they were acting at the behest of the leadership of the Ulster Unionist Party and in clear breach of the terms of the Good Friday Agreement. People will make their own judgement as to the bearing of the forthcoming election battle between the DUP and the UUP in the decision to suspend. Later in October the British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, came to Belfast and admitted that his government had not fulfilled their obligations with respect to the Agreement. He went on to call on all parties to the Agreement to engage in what he described as Acts of Completion.

Sinn Féin has consistently called for both governments to produce a comprehensive implementation plan to address all the broad range of issues required to bring about the full implementation of the Agreement.

Sinn Féin set out for all the parties our view on all the issues that needed to be addressed.

## *These included:*

The political institutions and the democratic rights of all sections of the electorate; Equality and Human Rights; Victims of the Conflict; The Irish Language; The use of flags and emblems for public purposes; The issue of arms; Demilitarisation; Policing and Justice; Transfer of powers on policing and justice; Prisoners.

While Sinn Féin was in touch with both governments throughout October and November this current negotiations phase did not begin until the start of December and negotiations picked up pace in early January and since then we have been involved in intensive discussions on all the issues with all the parties, but particularly with the two governments and their officials.

One session of negotiations in Belfast between Sinn Féin and the two governments on the 20th of February lasted 15 hours.

During March 2003 significant progress was made, particularly on policing and justice issues, but unionists' focus has remained the exclusion of Sinn Féin from Ministerial office, from government and from the political institutions.

Sinn Féin is of the view that the more progress we make the more intense will become the efforts of the opponents of change.

The suspension of the institutions by the British government has of course been central to this current crisis. Nor indeed is this suspension crisis new. It is the 4th time this has happened in breach of the Agreement. The British government arbitrarily took this power onto itself. Sinn Féin is confident that, as a result of its endeavours, that it will go.

Recently the issue of sanctions outside the terms of the Agreement has become a part of the story, part of the crisis. To be clear on this at the Ard Fheis Sinn Féin reiterated that it would not be held responsible for any

words or deeds other than our own. The Sinn Féin electorate should enjoy the same democratic rights, entitlements and treatment as all other sections of the electorate. Sinn Féin is totally opposed to all sanctions outside the terms of the Agreement.

Progress has to date been made on Policing, Justice, Human Rights, Equality and on the Irish Language and on other issues.

## *Policing*

In the most recent discussions, commitments have been secured for new legislation regarding democratic accountability, in addition to the raft of legislative amendments we secured at Weston Park, we have additional amendments which requires the British Secretary of State to consult with the Ombudsman, the Human Rights Commission and the Equality Commission on the key areas of policing objectives. Change has also been forthcoming in relation to Codes of Practice over which the British Secretary of State formally had a blank cheque.

Other areas that have been addressed range from demilitarisation of the PSNI (Police Service of Northern Ireland), to the defortification of police stations and to the objective of an unarmed police service, and the creation a human rights ethos.

Outstanding issues which we continue to press on, are the future role and power of the Special Branch, the issue of plastic bullets and the achievement of representativeness in line with our and the people's demand for a new beginning to policing.

The British government has also agreed in principle to the transfer of power on policing and justice from the British Government to the Assembly and the all-Ireland Ministerial Council, though we are awaiting a defined time frame.



*Martin McGuinness addressing the Sinn Féin Ard Fheis.*



## Criminal Justice

The whole issue of criminal justice has been reopened and there is a commitment to new legislation covering a Judicial Appointments Commission; the need for the Director of Public Prosecutions to refer to the Ombudsman any matter which indicates criminal offences by the police; a new independent mechanism to deal with specific complaints against the DPP and other issues relating to criminal justice agencies.

Commitments have been given by the British and Irish Governments to speedily resolve the issue of people on the run as a result of the conflict and we are looking forward to their return home to their families. While on demilitarisation discussions are not closed.

On Human Rights and Equality issues it is now expected that momentum will be given to the Bill of Rights and there will be increased powers and resources for the equality Commission and the Human Rights Commission.

Sinn Féin had in the renewed negotiation called for a renewed focus on tackling sectarianism and the regeneration of areas of greatest need.

## Irish Language

On the Irish language it is expected that the outstanding commitments in the Good Friday Agreement be fulfilled in respect of the fund for Irish-language film and TV production and the availability of TG4; the reversal of the Irish government's recent cut-backs of Foras na Gaeilge's funding.

Sinn Féin has reiterated its call on the Irish government to expedite the implementation of the recommendations to provide representation in the Oireachtas for Irish citizens in the north through their elected representatives. It is important that all Irish citizens are encouraged and enabled to play an active role in the democratic life of the nation. The Irish Government, obviously, has the primary responsibility for achieving this democratic development and we call on the government to expedite the process to do this.

Anything less would be unforgivable!

## LATE NEWS

In mid April the IRA issued an unpublished statement to the Irish and British governments on its position. This statement would only be published when the two Governments made public their blue print for their proposals for reinstating the Executive and the Assembly. At time of going to print the position is that they are both saying that clarifications sought and provided did not satisfy them. What this means really is that the Ulster Unionist Party leader Trimble whose has to face another meeting of his council many of whom want any excuse to lock Sinn Féin out of the Executive does not have enough to save his neck!

Ed.

# OUR GREATEST HUNGER

by Pat Burke

"Talk of famine is greatly exaggerated. We all know that Irish men can live on anything, and there is plenty of grass in the fields, even though the potato crop should fail". - the Duke of Cambridge, Jan. 1846. "Ireland is in your hands. If you do not save her, she cannot save herself. I solemnly call on you to recollect that I predict with the sincerest conviction that one fourth of her population will perish unless you come to her relief". - Daniel O'Connell, at Westminster, 1847. The Great Famine has affected the course of Irish history like no other similar occurrence. Even today, the thought of over 1 million Irish people starving to death and another million and a half emigrating still shocks us. What caused the "Curse of Black '47" to leave such an indelible mark on the Irish nation? For the years 1845 to 1849 appear to have brought a level of death and despair so terrible, that by 1851 old Ireland was changed utterly!

Though, over many centuries, famine, disease and destitution were regular visitors to the emerald isle. The Black Death reached Ireland in 1348. In a few weeks, the ports of Drogheda, Dublin and Dalkey were totally destroyed. The mortality rate in the towns of Ireland was 'terrific' and there was a great flight into the country!

Fr. Clyn of Kilkenny described the plague as, "so contagious that those who touched the dead or persons sick, were straightway infected themselves and died." At the end of the 16th century, following the Desmond and O'Neill wars, the Elizabethans carried out what we now call 'total war' in Munster, the Midlands, Connacht and Ulster. The historian Lecky spoke of towns, villages, farmhouses and castles being razed to the ground!

After the 1641 Rising, the Old Gaelic clans were dispossessed. The 'Curse of Cromwell' brought 17th century ethnic cleansing to Ireland. Slaughter and transportation reduced the population by 20%. There was a dreadful potato famine in 1740 and '41. Accounts tell of ditches filled with corpses, of whole villages destroyed by fever. Death toll estimates were as high as 400,000. There were widespread typhus and smallpox epidemics. A Cork physician, Dr. Rogers, estimated that two out of every eleven cases was fatal. George Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne, predicted that, "The Irish nation will probably not recover from the incredible havoc of this famine for a lifetime". None of these disasters, great as they were have had an effect on the Irish psyche like the Great Famine. Strangest of all, perhaps, there seems virtually no folk memory of the calamitous famine of the 1740's. Why? What is rarely commented upon, is that the Great Famine coincided with a hurried communal language shift among the Irish peasantry. As a result of an unnaturally abrupt break with their past, a poor starving people found themselves in a cultural social vacu-

um! In this new situation, for the first time, a demoralised and disoriented race began to emigrate, in their hundreds of thousands. Since early Irish history, old manuscripts have alluded to the anguish of leaving Ireland. Until the late 18th century, emigration as we now know it, did not exist. Those leaving were young men studying for the priesthood or those who volunteered in Catholic European armies. They were both political and religious exiles. Most Irish people were unwilling to leave home, having a deep and sentimental attachment. To quote the Evening Post of June 20th, 1816; "One of the peculiarities which distinguish the character of the native Irish is a vehement and in many cases absurd attachment to the soil on which they were born. This applies more to Catholics for the principal emigrants are the Presbyterians of the North". The years following the Napoleonic wars saw a large population increase, especially among the rural poor of the west and southwest.

The subdivision of land into minute uneconomic holdings was a cause of concern to some in the British administration and more so to many charitable bodies. So much so, that several emigration

schemes were launched. But in the heartland of Gaelic culture the prospect of leaving Ireland was not favourable. For William Forbes, in his book 'Ireland and Irish emigration to the New World from 1815 to the Famine', noted the bind of the people to the land as a considerable difficulty in Connacht and Munster when they were offered emigration. That bind was to be broken forever when the Great Famine struck. The spalpeen, the cottier and small tenant farmer were all but wiped out in that five year period. In 1841 there were over 300,000 small holdings of 1-5 acres, in ten years they had been reduced to just over 88,000. In this maelstrom, the native Irish, now, a confused, leaderless, mass of people broke with tradition. Acting out of character and in unison, they entered the workhouse and fled the land! Like the Ulster Scots before them, they crossed the ocean to America. Large congested areas of the country were soon denuded of people. Emigration and migration to the towns and cities became the norm. Folklorists have noted that despite our rich treasure trove of Irish song, there are virtually none relating to the Great Famine. That is the haunting folk memory of the "Great Hunger". A state of depression, guilt and shame affected those who survived and continued to live in Ireland in its wake. Rural communities saw their brightest and best leave as quickly as possible. Later and fewer marriages with a consequential low birth rate meant that Ireland's population continued to decline.

Between 1861 and 1914, a staggering 3 million emigrated. Alcoholism, mental ill-

(Continued on page 15)



ness and chronic depression showed a marked increase in the latter half of the 19th century. The stereotypical image of the 'fightin', drunken Irishman, speaking his peculiar Hiberno-English patois became commonplace in this period. It was only when the 'Celtic Renaissance' occurred that the Irish nation began to recover. It says something for those involved that they not only helped reconstruct a battered and bruised Irish nation, but that having restored some of the pride and self-respect that had formerly existed, they, then led their country to independence. Which at least slowed down emigration and helped alleviate the Great Famine's effects. The 'Shadow of the Famine' had a terrible influence on Irish life. Unlike any previous catastrophe, the lack of leadership at the time, the loss of self respect and the breach with their traditions by the mass of the people set this particular cataclysm apart to cause it to be regarded as our "Greatest Hunger".

## A Defective Bill – little real support for Irish

The so-called language Bill was due to come before the Senate in early April. This weak Bill, which is drafted in such a way as to leave far too much up to the discretion of the Minister, contains some provisions which could actually weaken the constitutional status of the Irish language. Senators have put down some forty amendments. One of the most controversial provisions objected to by Irish Language organisations, which two Senators have proposed be deleted, is that which would prevent a citizen taking a civil case if the State had not lived up to its obligations under the Act. Other amendments strengthen the requirement for public bodies to provide a scheme to ensure services in Irish for citizens and would oblige companies to continue a correspondence initiated by a citizen in Irish through Irish.

Another amendment would require companies to give equality to Irish on all stationery and signage. One of the most important amendments of the many from Senator Joe McHugh is that which would change 'can (do)' to 'will (do)' – this would mean the Minister would have an obligation for certain actions. A further amendment calls for the appointment of a Language Commissioner within three months of the passing of the Bill.

Comhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge (Coordinating Body for Irish Language Organisations) expressed dissatisfaction with Minister Ó Cuív's attitude to the amendments. An Comhdháil stated that not only was the Bill not granting rights but it taking away the long standing right of TDs and Senators to speak in Irish in the Dáil and Senate. The latest version of the Bill confirms that service in Irish will only be available at the will of the Minister and the State, which has long been evading its responsibilities. It called on the Minister to rethink the structure of the Bill and to give proper leadership to the Gaeltacht and Irish language communities.

## One Step Forward and Two Steps Backwards

In the last issue of CARN we reported the measure introduced by Galway County Council, on foot of a motion by Councillor Pól Ó Foighil, not to allow building of houses in the Connemara Gaeltacht for people not fluent in Irish. This measure might have had some effect in stemming the colonisation of the area by monoglot English speakers with its consequence adverse effect on the Irish language in schools and in community life.

Unfortunately the same County Council has now reversed this decision. Not only that but the requirement in the previous 1997 County Development Plan for a Language Impact Statement for all planning applications has been abandoned (retained only for housing schemes). It should be mentioned of course that the County Council never enforced that requirement in any serious way. Indeed the Council itself did not submit one for a housing scheme in the middle of the Gaeltacht, in An Cheathrú Rua, leading to the striking down of the planning permission for that scheme in the High Court.

That political parties can not be depended on to protect the Gaeltacht is clear as the policy in relation to Connemara was formulated by the seven councillors from the area before it was passed by the overall council. The new policy on rural housing in theory allows building only by locals, those working in the area and returned immigrants. The practice has shown that there are many in the Gaeltacht already who have no compunction in proposing for profit large housing schemes which will have an extremely detrimental effect on the remaining weak fabric of Irish in an embattled Gaeltacht. Another chance lost alas to stem the tide!

## Irish Language Spell check

Microsoft launched an Irish Language spell check software package in February. It was developed in cooperation with Trinity College University, Dublin and Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann (Irish Linguistics Institute). It can be downloaded free from the website of Microsoft, Ireland. It can be used with Office XP and is aimed at a range of Irish Language users from learners, writers and academics to those working through Irish. It is a significant step in the development of Irish and all associated with it are to be congratulated.



*Bhí sléibhte Derbyshire i Sasana beo le cabaireacht i nGaeilge san Earrach. D'eagraigh 'Coláiste na nGael' deireadh seachtaine do Ghaeilgeoirí agus bhí ranganna, léachtaí agus siúlóidí ann trí radharcanna áibhéile. D'fhreastaíl seasca duine ar an ócáid. Bhain Liam Ó Cuinneagáin as Oideas Gael agus Údaras na Gaeltachta fíorshult as casadh le Gaeilgeoirí agus foghlaimoírí na teanga. Duirt Liam:*

*'Chomh fada agus atá grúpaí ann a eagraíonn imeachtaí samhlaíochta tá todhchaí ag an Ghaeilge. Is féidir le díograiseoirí in Éirinn, i Sasana nó in áit ar bith eile, tacaíocht chumachtach a thabhairt dár dteanga dhúchais.'*

*Imeachtaí eile: Coláiste na nGael, Durham 5-7ú M.F. // Lá Fhéile Inis Meáin, St Albans, 20ú M.F. // Féile Idirnáisiúnta Teanga na Gaeilge, An Ísiltír 25-27ú D.F. Tuilleadh eolais: Dónal +44 (0) 208 348 5016.*





# Kernow



## NOWODHOW DA RAG AN YETH KEMBREK

Towl an governans Kembrek henwys 'Iaith Pawb' (yeth pubonan) a dhispleg y fydh spenys moy mona poblek yn blydhynow ow tos rag krevhe an yeth yn teyluyow hag yn trewow, ri spas dhe voy tus dhe dhyski Kembrek ha gul dhe dhiwyethogeth bos degemmers avel ewnder yn bywnans poblek an pow.

Der an teyr blydhen y fydh spenys 40 milvil a Euro rag an Kembrek : 14 milvil rag an diskas, dres oll rag skolyow-meythrin, 16 moy rag *Offis an Kembrek* ha 2 rag dyllans lyvrow Kembrek.

Dyllys yw a-dro dhe 600 lyver yn Kembrek pub blydhen. Gwerthys yw a-dro dhe 1200 dasskrif a bub lyver. Gwayn war werthas an lyvrow a vydh res dhe Gonsel an Lyvrow may hallo skrifysi dylllo lyvrow gans yalghasow a-dro dhe 10,000 peuns. Y'n maner ma y fydh dyllys moy lyvrow yn Kembrek hwath ha war destennow nebes studhys po dyllys yn Kembrek bys y'n eur ma. Mona a vydh res ynwedh rag gwruthyl bagas-gwari rag gwariva genedhlek yn Kembrek.

Mes nyns yw lowen pubonan yn Kembra gans kynnigow an governans. Rag *Cymdeithas yr Iaith* (Kowethas an Yeth) yma edhomm a lagha nowydh rag Kembrek. Res via beghya gweythvaow privedh dhe wul devnydh an yeth kenedhlek a'n pow, henn yw an yeth Kembrek. Res yw gwitha ranndiryow may ma Kembrek kewsys erbynn bushys a Sowsnegoryon na yynno dyski Kembrek. Toellys yw an UCAC (kesunyans lavur dyskatoryon) na vo gwrys gwellheansow lowr wosa an skol-veythrin ha na vo dyskys dyskatoryon dhe dhyski dre Kembrek.

José CALVETE.

*Dhiworth erthygel Iwan Kadored-Bremañ/Courtesy Bremañ*

### Summary

*According to the project of the Welsh Assembly, Iaith Pawb (Everyone's Language), public money will be spent (40 million) to improve the status of the Welsh language and to make bilingualism a legal right.*

## RYDH VYDH AN MENHIRYON YN BRETEEN VYGHAN!

Ervirys veu gans barr menystrel Naoned (hanow tre Nantes yn bre-tonek) degynsow yn mis Genver dhe nagha dhe dowl tornyasel henwys 'Menhirland' yn Karnag (hanow tre Carnac yn bretonek). Sevys veu an towl ma nans yw unneg blydhen. Menyster a-barth gonisogeth Pow Frynk, *Jean Jacques Aillagon* o erbynn an towl ynwedh. War-lergh an menyster, re gostek o an towl, a-dro dhe 15 milvil a Euro. Annedhysi randir Karnag hag eseli kowethas 'Menhirs Libres' (menhiryon rydh) o erbynn an towl, ha lemmyn lowen yns gans an ervirans ma ha gans aga thrigh!

José CALVETE.

*Dhiworth Bremañ/Courtesy Bremañ*

### Summary

*In January last the administrative tribunal of Nantes in Brittany decided to cancel the 'Menhirland' project in Carnac - a tourist project initiated 11 years ago. Even the French Minister of Culture, Jean Jacques Aillagon was against it, as it was too expensive and out of date. The inhabitants of the Carnac area and the members of the association 'Menhirs Libres' are happy with this decision and their victory!*

## OBITUARY: ROYSTON GREEN, R.I.P.

### International Socialist and Committed Supporter of the Celtic League

"Royston Green, the first Secretary of the Cornwall Branch of the Celtic League, passed away on the 5th October 2002. Roy, who was in his early 80's was Branch Secretary from 1962 to the early 1970's and kept in contact with Branch activities until his death.

Fortunately, in September 2002 all Branch documents and papers in Roy's possession relating to the activities of the Cornwall Branch during his time as Secretary, were passed on to be archived at the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, where they are now kept, along with other material from the Celtic League. As Roy commented back in September, he was pleased that a resolution he had made in the 1970's, to archive material from all Branches in one place, was finally being implemented.

Below are some extracts from the funeral address given by Fr. Ian Tucker, Team Vicar, Redruth Ministry at the burial of Roy at Carnmenellis Churchyard on Friday 11th October 2002, along with some additional information that Roy passed on to me at our last meeting.

Roy was raised in Somerset and Dorset into a farming family. He was a pupil of Yeovil Grammar School and then moved on to Exeter where he gained his degree.

Roy loved Cornwall and regularly visited his relatives near Bodmin as a child and a young man and always wanted to live there. In fact some of Roy's first memories was as a child in Cornwall.

In 1946 he married his wife Blanche, his lifetime companion who died in 1999 with whom he shall be laid to rest with his son David who died some 20 years ago.

As a young man, Roy's interest in politics led him to join the Communist Party, of which he remained an active and devoted member all his life. Roy was instrumental in forming the Cornish Branch of the Communist Party.

In the post war years, Roy became a teacher, a profession to which he was completely dedicated. So much so, that family holidays often included invitations to boys from underprivileged social backgrounds in the north, to join Roy, Blanche and their two children for holidays in Scotland and Ireland.

Roy and the family returned from living in St Helen's, Lancashire to Cornwall in 1959. Here in Cornwall he taught Geography at Cornwall Technical College. His love of Cornwall and its traditions, history and culture must have been instrumental in Roy studying the Cornish language of which he became a Bard of the Gorsedh in 1964.

Roy's Bardic name was Trevesyk or "Countryman". Roy was active within Mebyon Kernow - the Party for Cornwall as well as the Celtic League, the subjects of which were passions of Roy.

In 1972, Roy and Blanche travelled to East Germany where he taught English until his retirement in 1976.

Roy loved Ireland and in 1961 bought a cottage there. He last visited Ireland in March this year, but didn't get to visit as often as he would have liked to.

Roy died at his house, aptly named "Tranquilla", in Carnmenellis, Cornwall and leaves a daughter, Jenny and a grandson, Michael who still live in Cornwall"

Rhisiart Tal-e-bot

In addition to Roy's work for the Cornish branch and also his lifelong dedication to the International Socialist cause he also carried on an active role on the League General Council holding the post of Treasurer for many years. It was in this role that I, initially as Assistant Secretary General and subsequently got to know Roy. His commitment to the Inter Celtic cause was unswerving and he was very much to the fore just prior to his death in reviving the Celtic League branch in Cornwall.

He will be sorely missed.

Bernard Moffatt



# Campaign for St Piran's flag wins through

On the 19th November 2002, Paddy MacDonough was fined £300 Stg and a Community Service Order was imposed on him, for the criminal damage of the brown tourist signs, which can be widely seen throughout Cornwall.

When arrested towards the end of summer 2002, Paddy MacDonough admitted to the police that he had sprayed over the Tudor Rose symbol on all signs throughout Cornwall and had replaced it with the flag of St Piran.

He later justified his actions by saying that he felt the Tudor Rose was a visual symbol of English imperialism in Cornwall and that he believed that direct action had become the only option open to him in his pursuit of justice.

Paddy MacDonough said that he was frustrated by the lack of action on the part of the Council in Cornwall, to change the Rose symbol to the flag of St Piran. The flag of St Piran was the suggestion made by a majority of people who entered a Cornwall County Council run competition to decide a suitable alternative to the Rose symbol. Despite the results of the competition, announced early last year, the Council remained unresponsive and seemed determined to avoid the issue passing the responsibility for the decision over to the Westminster Government, claiming that the Home Secretary needs to ratify the change of symbol on the sign for it to be officially used.

Like increasing numbers of people in Cornwall, Paddy believes that the Westminster Government is a remote institution that is archaic in its democratic outlook and unsuited to Cornish governance in the twenty-first century. If decisions, as simple as deciding what symbol should be put on a brown tourist sign, are made by one person, is it any wonder that people like Paddy are becoming increasingly frustrated by the English democratic system?

Below is the statement (unpublished) he made to the press, as to the reasons why he felt democracy had failed:

*The people of Cornwall have as much right as anyone in these islands to demand good governance, vital facilities and equal opportunities ... Currently, in Cornwall, [the poorest place in Britain] young people emigrate in their droves and for many reasons, mostly never to return.*

*Our fishing, farming and mining industries*

*are either in terminal decline or have vanished. Tourism offers badly paid and seasonal work and the lack of affordable housing means that homes are out of the reach of most local people.*

*Cornwall has had to accept second best for too long.*

*Our present institutions of governance are inadequate. Therefore Cornwall needs a powerful political vehicle - our own Assembly, so we can make the real changes*



*necessary to revitalise our economy. I believe this will give our young people the opportunities they deserve and to give them hope for the future.*

*Despite over 50,000 people signing a DEMOCRATICALLY PROCURED petition for an Assembly for Cornwall and the Prime Minister's word that "Assemblies will be implemented where there is popular demand" the wishes AND RIGHTS of the people of Cornwall have been dismissed. Instead, the Government is trying to swallow Cornwall up into a huge amorphous South West region, where we will have little, or no, say.*

*On behalf of those 50,000 people...and one of the people responsible for organising the petition, I feel it is my duty to protest in the strongest of terms at the total lack of democracy on this subject.*

*I have written to over 600 MP's, hundreds of overseas Politicians, County Councillors and even Human Rights groups in Europe, to no avail. I have organised and participated in demonstrations against the imposition of a South West Assembly - spent nearly a year on the streets of Cornwall with the petition, helped collate and hand over the petition to Tony Blair - all to ensure that the voice of Cornwall is heard. But I feel I have been ignored.'*

*I believe that democratic change will be a long and fitful process for Cornwall, unless individuals like Paddy, organisa-*

*tions like the Celtic League or a constitutional body like the Cornish Stannary Paliament dare to act in an independent and thoughtful way, through meaningful acts of civil disobedience along constitutional lines.*

*I hope that democracy one day will succeed in Cornwall, but I get the feeling that it won't be under an English democratic system.*

**\* Cornwall's Councillors have finally succumbed to pressure and have agreed that the Tudor Rose symbol should be removed from the Brown tourist signs in Cornwall and replaced with the flag of St. Piran.**

**In a letter to the Celtic Congress, Peter Moore, from the department of**

**Planning Transportation and Estates at Cornwall Council stated that "this process took a considerable time, but was worthwhile in that it gave us a very clear result in that the most acceptable theme was undoubtedly the flag of St. Piran".**

**The winning design came from a schoolgirl from Marazion and featured a St. Piran's flag waving in the wind.**

## Victims of State Persecution in Cornwall

Members of the Cornish Community are offering their financial support to people who are prosecuted by the State of the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland, for democratic actions of civil disobedience.

Pawl Dunbar, Managing Director of Gynn ha Du in Lyskerry, started collecting money when Paddy MacDonnough was fined £300 for the criminal damage of the brown tourist signs, late last year.

The money collected will be put into a proper fund with trustees, under a legal framework. Any advice or ideas (especially on keeping such funds safe from sequestration) should be sent to Gwynn ha Du, 4 An Arked, Stret Veur, Lyskerry, Kernow, PL14 3JB or telephone 01579 347373. In addition to this, any contribution towards the setting up of this fund should also be sent to the above address.



# NEWS IN BRIEF

## End of Solidarity?

At their AGM in March 2003, Cornish Solidarity questioned their ability to carry on as a Cornish pressure group. In a short meeting, members were informed that Solidarity had met all its initial aims and that the Chairperson had decided to stand down. However, the Chairs position and several other key positions within the organisation had not been filled. Consequently, the organisation could not viably carry on in its present capacity.

It was suggested that the forum would meet up again in the next couple of months to decide for certain how Solidarity will develop, if at all.

In recent months, Cornish Solidarity had developed into a discussion forum, bringing together members from different organisations to discuss common issues of concern to all.

## Sense of Place

A new project is being spearheaded by Cornwall LEA "to link schools, communities and local history in a creative way and help Cornish school children grow up with a strong sense of their own culture and heritage."

Will Coleman, the Director of the project, commented that, "*Cornwall is a distinctive place. We have a fascinating history and a rich and diverse cultural heritage. We would like our children to have an understanding of their special place in the world*".

## Schools ethnicity census

Towards the end of 2002 in Cornwall (and elsewhere), the Department for Education and Skills and Cornwall County Council ran an ethnicity census on students in Cornwall's educational establishments. Unfortunately, Cornwall County Council failed to include a *Cornish* ethnicity tick box, despite having the opportunity to do so.

Calls are now being made to the DfES to re-constitute the Pupil Ethnic Background Monitoring Survey, so that Cornish ethnicity can be registered. (Contact [celticleaguekernowbranch@hotmail.com](mailto:celticleaguekernowbranch@hotmail.com) for copies of more detailed correspondence between Cornish activists and the DfES and Cornwall LEA)

## MK joins with the EFA

Mebyon Kernow-the Party for Cornwall have been granted observer status of the Democratic Party of the Peoples of Europe - European Free Alliance, DPPE-EFA, for a year, as a precursor to becoming full members.

The DPPE-EFA is a European political party that unites nationalist, regionalist and autonomist parties in the European Union in order to work towards practical initiatives at a European level.

## Kernow Branch donates money to Skoazell Vreizh

At the Kernow Branch meeting of the Celtic League on Wednesday January 2003 our members agreed to donate a sum equivalent to £50str, from Branch funds, to Skoazell Vreizh / Breton Aid. This was agreed to in recognition of the good work that Skoazell Vreizh does for the Breton POW's (and their families), held in captivity by the French authorities.

Members of our Branch of the Celtic League are kept up-to-date with developments and our members are encouraged to maintain contact with the prisoners.

Sue Bowen, Branch Secretary, said, "it's about time that the Bretons were released by the French authorities. Holding the prisoner's for this amount of time cannot be justified and more should be done by all Branches of the League to aid their plight."

## Cornish villages over-run with second homes

There are now 10,787 second homes in Cornwall, according to 2001 census data just released. This means that almost 1 in 20 homes in Cornwall are owned by people from outside and used only for holidays.

This has seriously undermined the viability of local schools, shops and bus services in some communities and has largely contributed to the dramatic rise in house prices in recent years. This has meant that in winter months, some villages are virtually lifeless, as young people become completely priced out of the market and rented accommodation has become increasingly scarce.

Unfortunately despite efforts being made by the local authorities, things can only really change in Cornwall if legislation is passed in the Westminster government restricting the sale of properties.

Rhisiart Tal-e-bot



Candidates of Mebyon Kernow - the Party for Cornwall, gathered in Fraddon, Cornwall on Sunday 23rd February for a photo shoot, ahead of the May 2003 district council elections. Mebyon Kernow are putting up over 25 candidates in the elections - which is a record for the Party.

Dick Cole, the leader of the party said: "Mebyon Kernow - the Party for Cornwall has a strong team of talented local candidates throughout Cornwall. People throughout Cornwall now have the opportunity to vote for a Party whose priority is the people of Cornwall - not political point scoring or reporting to party headquarters in London. With Cornish self-government high on the political agenda, we will continue to use every option at our disposal to push this campaign forward and that includes these very important local elections."





## IMPIROILEE YN EASH NOA

Bunnys lieh-cheead blein er dy henney as ad gobbraghey dy follit marish ny Frangee as ny h-Israellee, hoie ny Sostnee er yn Ammyr Suez dy gheddyn greimurree. V'ad corree er y fa dy row Nasser, fer-toshee ny h-Egyptee ec y traa v'ayn, er ve daaney dy liooar yn Ammyr Suez y ashoonaghey son y cheer echey hene. Heill ram sleih sy Vretyn Vooar dy row shen slane scammyltagh. Va Arabee nyn riftanyen sollagh, fo-leih nagh dod oo cur treisht erbee ayn. Smooinnee reiltys Hostyn (marish y daa reiltys elley) dy jinnagh ad goaill yn Ammyr 'erash' er egin, as hug ad sidooryn stiagh. Va'n Vretyn Vooar scoltit eddyr adsyn v'ayns foayr jeh shoh as adsyn va noi echey. (Va foddey ny smoo ayns foayr jeh sy Vretyn Vooar eisht na adsyn t'ayns foayr jeh smaghtaghey yn Earack ec y traa t'ayn.) Haink meeillaghyn dy leih er ny straidyn - son as noi. Va mish my studeyr ayns Lerpoyll ec y traa v'ayn. Myr poblaghtagh aeg va dy bollagh noi'n Impiraght Ghoaldagh, hooill mee ayns Lerpoyll marish ymmodee sleih elley dy hoilshaghey dy row shin noi'n toiaigh impiroilagh er yn Eegypt. Adsyn v'ayns foayr jeh, v'ad gyllagh stoo goll rish 'Woggyn baney Nasser!' noi ainyen, soilshaghey yn kynneaghys ta goll er grein-naghey ec yn impiroilaghys dy mennick.

Va'n reiltys Americanaagh noi 'n toiaigh er Suez as begin da ny Goaldee, Frangee as Israelee tayrn ergooyl. Bleeantyn lurg shen, huit yn impiiraght Rooshagh veih my cheilley, as shimmy peiagh va smooingaghtyn dy row eash ny h-impiraghtyn ersooyl dy bollagh. Agh cha row noadyr: va'n Impiraght Americanaagh cheet rish.

Dynsee mee lessoonyn scanshoil ayns lhing Suez, as dynsee mee lessoonyn elley mysh daa vlein yeig er dy henney, tra va mee foast gobbraghey ec Scoill Ylcheirdagh Lerpoyll as va'n chied Chaggey-Gulf fo raad. Hug reiltys America yn Scoill Ylcheirdagh er list doo: dooyrt ad dy row Rheynd Jeshaghteyrys Lectragh gynsaghey da studeyrn Earackagh yn aghat yannoo fiooseyn ry hoi culleeyn cheshveanagh! Va shoh cho ommidjagh as dy row sleih sy Scoill garaghtee. Agh cha row ad garaghtee tra dooyrt reiltys America nagh dod y Scoill Ylcheirdagh goaill ymmyd jeh culleeyn Americanaagh erbee, goaill stiagh co-ea-rooderyn as cooid vog. Va'n Scoill er ny dooney sheese, bunnys.

Hirr skimmee yn Scoill cooney er reiltys y Reeriaght Unnaneyssit, ren gra nagh row shen red erbee bentyn roosyn (!). 'Gow-shiu dys y Consul Americanaagh ayns Manchuin', dooyrt ad. Shen na va jeant. Dooyrt y Consul, 'Cha noddym hene jannoo veg. Gow-shiu dys leighderyn ayns New York.' Shen ny red ad, as deec y Scoill meeillaghyn dy phunt dy scapail veih list doo

va currit ry cheilley ec bonkanyen. Begin da ny Goaldee croymmey sheese roish niart Americanaagh.

Y red smoo haink magh ass y skeeal shoh: va'n Reeriaght Unnaneyssit er ve aym jeh'n Impiraght Americanaagh rish bleeantyn dy liooar, as foddey yn reiltys Americanaagh jannoo red erbee t'eh laccal sy Reeriaght Unnaneyssit, bunnys. T'eh jeeaghyn dy vel Tony Blair toiggal shoh feer vie as t'eh jannoo e chooid share myr guilley-drid y reiltys Americanaagh. T'ad loayrt dy daaney as dy caggooil ayns ny Steatyn Unnaneyssit nish mychione yn Impiraght oc as yn agh nee ad smaghtaghey cheer erbee nagh vel biallagh roosyn. Son shickyrys, she sleih meen as onnorail y chooid smoo jeusyn Americanaagh, agh t'ad goll er reill nish ec possan keoi.

Bentyn rish yn Earack, ta sleih ennagh er ghra dy lhisagh ny Celtiee ve neuchommeeagh - cha lhisagh ad pohldal my h-Americaane as cha lhisagh ad pohldal ny h-Earackee. Agh cha nel eh cho aashagh as shen. Ta ram jeh ny h-Earackee er ve caggey son y seyrnsys oc hene as cha nee son y jaghteyr

agglagh shen Saddam Hussein. Goll rish millioonyn dy leih elley, ta ny h-Earackee er ve surrannish sheellogheyn as sheellogheyn kyndagh rish yn impiroilaghys. Lhisagh ny Celtiee ve noi'n impiroilaghys neesht - she red olk t'ayn ren jannoo assee mooar da ny Celtiee as nyn gultooryn as jengaghyn. Myr shen, cha nodmayd ve neuchommeeagh. Ga dy vel Celtiee dy liooar er ngoaill aym ayns cur yn impiroilaghys er e hoshiaght ayns ny bleeantyn t'er ngoll shaghey (dy mee-arryltagh, ny keayrtyen), ta caa ain dy ve er y cheu chiert bentyn rish yn impiroilaghys nish. S'treih lhiam gra dy vel yn impiroilaghys shen cheet voish reiltys America son y chooid smoo. Agh shen yn aghat lesh impiiraghtyn - ta'n niart kiart, ta sleih berchagh cheet dy ve ny s'berchee as ta sleih boght cheet dy ve ny s'boghtey. Gyn ourys erbee, shimmy Americanaagh mie ta gearree sharaghey yn seihll liorish geddyn rey rish jaghteyryn, tranlaasee, torchagh, meechairys, as myr shen. Agh cha nod oo jannoo shen liorish marroo ram sleih oney, stroie cheeraghyn elley as torchaghey sleih ta noi ayd. Shegin dhyt ve surrannish as prowal cultuoryn elley y hoiggal syn ynyd jeh aghat dy sonnaasagh. Yn aghat ren ad soie er yn Earack, hug eh er Earackee va noi Saddam caggey er e hon.

Eer ayns Mannin raad ta sleih dy liooar credjal ny ta screcut ayns ny pabyryn-naight Sostnagh yn Daily Mail as y Sun, va (as ta) ymmodee sleih noi soie er yn Earack. S'treih yn red eh nagh vel Mannin ny h-ashoon neuchroghagh as dy vel shin fo smaght y



*A section of the 100,000 strong anti-war demonstration in Dublin.*

Reeriaght Unnaneyssit bentyn rish cooishyn eddyrashoonagh.

As lhisagh reiltys Nerin goaill nearey dy lhig ad da etlanyn-caggee Americanaagh goaill ymmyd jeh purt-aer Shannon as ad goll dy hoie er yn Earack. Bee eh doillee dy ghra dy vel Nerin neuchommeeagh nish, ga dy vel Arabee dy liooar coontey ram jeh ny Yernee.

T'eh jeeaghyn nagh dynsee Bush as Blair veg veih caggaghyn elley, goll rish y caggey ayns Nerin twoaie er y gherrid. Ayns ny pabyryn Sostnagh t'ou dy mennick lhaih cre cho mie as ta armee Hostyn er y fa dy row ad caggey ayns baljyn ayns Nerin twoaie - 'cha nel shin goll rish ny h-Americaane bolvaneagh shen nagh vel cliaghtit rish caggey ayns baljyn'. Agh cha nel oo lhaih stoo goll rish, 'Ren shin ooliley ny reddyn aggairagh ayns Nerin twoaie. Hooar shin lessoonyn gonnagh ayns shen: neemayd ymmyd jeh shen syn Earack .... graih veen, cha lhisagh shin er ngoll stiagh!'

Kyndagh rish Ossama Bin Laden, Bush, Blair as Saddam Hussein, ta'n seihll ny smoo gaueagh na v'eh, as ta shen goaill stiagh Seihll Beg ny Manninee myrgeeddin.

### Summary

*Concerning the conflict in Iraq, some people have said that the right policy for the Celts is to be neutral. But, while not supporting Saddam Hussein, it is surely right for Celts to take an anti-imperialist stance, if only because of their history.*

**Brian Stowell**



# Phil Gawne Seeks Election to House of Keys

*On May 15th there will be a bye-election in the Rushen constituency, in the south of the Island, for a single seat in the House of Keys. (Manx Parliament)*

Well-known Manx language activist, Phil Gawne, has put his name forward as a candidate in the election.

Phil is currently employed as *Yn Greinneyder*, (Manx Heritage Foundation's Manx Language Development Officer) and has been a Rushen Parish Commissioner for the past two years.

Phil Gawne, 38, lives in the heritage village of Cregneash with his wife Anne Kissack and young children Ewan and Catreeney, who were reared as Manx speakers. Along with others, Phil established the Mooijer Veggey playgroups around the Island, where more than 100 pre-school-aged children now learn Manx.

Phil has lived most of his life in Rushen, spending a short time at the University of Liverpool where he gained an honours degree in Biochemistry.

Having just returned to the Island after studying at Liverpool University, Phil went to work as a trainee accountant and one of the first experiences he had was assisting in the



Savings and Investment Bank liquidation in 1981. This showed him very clearly the less savoury aspects of an industry which was poorly regulated.

During the late '80s Phil was involved with FSFO – a non-violent nationalist group. The FSFO campaign arose from a feeling that politicians were more influenced by business interests than the interests of their own people. The most significant issue was the lack of affordable housing and concern about the undue influence of the finance sector.

The campaign, which ended with an arson attack on an uncompleted luxury home in

Tromode in 1988, led to the imprisonment of three FSFO campaigners (one of them Phil Gawne) for eight months.

In announcing his intention to stand Mr Gawne said, 'I believe there are many significant issues facing the Isle of Man and I feel that with my background and experience I can contribute to a positive and successful future for our Island.'

'I think that balancing the need for a sound economy and sustainable growth against the pressures to our infrastructure caused by unrestrained population growth, remains the most difficult challenge ahead.'

In his manifesto Mr Gawne lists the following core issues that he would be committed to should he be elected -

- Strong, Secure, Sustainable and Diverse Economy
- More Manageable Population Increases to Protect Our Way of Life
- Imaginative Solutions to Affordable Housing
- Quality Education and Health Services
- Support and Protection for Manx Culture and Environment
- Workable Solutions for Faltering Traditional Industries - Farming, Fishing and Tourism
- Support for Initiative and Enterprise in and out of Government
- Less Administration and More Action
- Engagement with Young People

## Manx Government's Language Policy Two Faced?

At the start of this year the Manx Government included increased support for the Manx language in its policy statement [Isle of Man Government Plan], which identifies *Positive National Identity* as a central aim of Government. Then, in early February it went a step further, reaffirming its support for Manx by signing up to the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. At this stage the government has opted to sign Part Two of the Charter, and Chief Minister Richard Corkill, MHK has indicated that the government will keep the question of Part three under review.

The Charter as it will apply to Manx commits Government to basing its policies, legislation and practice on the following objectives and principles:

1. The recognition of Manx as an expression of cultural wealth;
2. The need for resolute action to promote Manx in order to safeguard it;
3. The facilitation and / or encouragement of the use of Manx, in speech and writing, in public and private life;
4. The provision of appropriate forms and means for the teaching and study of Manx at all appropriate stages;

Only days after the Manx Government



Mr. Bill Henderson, MHK.

pledged enhanced commitment to the language. Bill Henderson, MHK, (Member of the House of Keys) was barred from using Manx by Tynwald's President, Mr. Noel Cringle.

In a bid to boost national pride Mr Henderson, also a member of the

Celtic League, decided to translate a much-used phrase into his native tongue for the sitting. When asked to table questions members normally state 'I beg leave to ask the question standing in my name'. Mr Henderson used the Manx translation 'Ta mee shirrey kied yn 'eisht y chur ta fo m'ennym'.

Mr Henderson was astounded when, after using the phrase for two questions, Mr Cringle instructed him not to use the Manx language.

Mr Cringle referred to standing order 3.23(5), which states 'a term or expression in another language cannot be used in conducting the business of Tynwald'.

In a press release following the ban Mr Henderson said, 'I am absolutely astounded that there are still prohibitive, antiquated rules in existence that clamp down on Manx culture stemming back to colonial days. It is a national disgrace and I vow to change this.

It's no wonder national pride is not as

strong as it should be when parliamentary procedures are not seen fit to change in order to promote our culture. Manx politicians should be leading our Island's identity and cultural promotion at all costs, not hiding away, acquiescing to the ancient wishes of Westminster.

Mr Henderson immediately wrote to Tynwald's standing orders committee demanding the rule is reviewed as a matter of urgency as he felt that the rule was in conflict with government's policy of promoting Manx culture via its policy statement and under the European Charter.

Mr Cringle later said that he was sympathetic to the increasing use of Manx in Tynwald provided it is limited to set titles and phrases. Indeed, he argued, a rigorous application of standing order 3.23(5) could rule out the use of titles such as Eaghtyran (President) and Shirveishagh (Minister), as it makes clear that English is the only language for sittings of Tynwald. Mr Cringle felt that it was important to bring to members attention that full sentences in Manx breached Tynwald rules.

Following extensive media coverage and public support for Bill Henderson's stance, Tynwald's Standing Orders Committee are reviewing this matter.

Clearly Tynwald's 'rules' do not comply with the spirit or indeed the requirements of the European Charter. If the Government's pledge is to be taken seriously it should drop the archaic rule and by its actions enter into the true spirit of the Charter.



# STATE OF THE NATION

## WE HAVE GROWTH - WE HAVE WEALTH

### - WE LACK POLITICAL DIRECTION

When the Isle of Man Chief Minister, Richard Corkill MHK (Member of the House of Keys), chose to speak out recently on the 'State of the Nation' it was no surprise that he addressed his comments to a 'business breakfast' rather than deliver them directly to the Manx Nation.

An alternative view is set out below.

By his action the Chief Minister was, albeit inadvertently, reinforcing the view amongst the wider Manx public that they are divorced from the political process and its decisions.

Manx public opinion was critical sixteen years ago when the old post-colonial administrative structures of government was swept aside and replaced by a new Ministerial system.

Despite the criticisms the new system did have the potential to deliver what its predecessor had not i.e. a coherent and cohesive link between governments and those they serve. The Ministerial system was also well placed to capitalise on the new wealth, which the Island was starting to generate from financial services business and ensure this prosperity was channelled for the good of all. Indeed, the government of the day seizing the initiative indicated that its objective would be to do just that by creating a 'Prosperous and Caring Society' implicit within which was shared wealth and social cohesion.

However, when the current Chief Minister rose to address his chosen audience (the select of the business community) it was clear that this early vision of Ministerial government, shared wealth and social justice, had not and cannot be achieved by the processes inherent in the current system.

Were the Chief Minister honest about the 'State of the Nation' he would have had to admit to serious shortcomings.

Social divisions are exemplified by a government policy to retain low wages, keeping statutory minimum wages set at a derisory level particularly when matched against the salaries of the Chief Minister's chosen audience at his 'breakfast brief'.

In addition the Isle of Man's appalling housing record obvious ten years ago is only now starting to be addressed. However it is too little and too late and in any case the accelerated construction programme is less directed towards alleviating the suffering of those, a Social Services Chief recently admitted were, 'living in tents' and more towards stimulating the demand of incoming residents, fuelling Island population growth.

Growth itself is no bad thing particularly for a community that in the immediate post-war period endured great privation. The income generated through growth,

used wisely in tandem with social programmes, can deliver much that is good. However, the architects of that initial Ministerial government's 'Prosperous and Caring Society' could not have appreciated that the endgame of their social experiment would have been, in part, so negative.

They also promised improved Social legislation and rights for working people. These are now, a full decade and half later, starting to materialise. But in all honesty the Isle of Man still falls short of either United Kingdom or European social legislative provision as with reform of Human Rights each step towards equality and justice is conceded grudgingly.

This cycle of negativity could be broken. What the Island needs is vigorous, critical but positive debate, particularly in the corridors of power.

However, does the Chief Minister really think that he contributes to that process by pontificating on the 'State of the Nation' to a chosen few at a secluded rural hotel?

The 'Political Health of the Nation' is directly correlated with the 'State of the Nation' and in that regard our political health is critical!

An intellectual vacuum exists at the heart of Manx politics, best evidenced by the poor turnout at elections for both local and National government. What solution does the Chief Minister advance to resolve this crisis? None!

Could (should) the Island's media do the government's job and sell Manx politics to an increasingly disillusioned electorate?

A senior print journalist suggested to me recently that Manx politics and the utterances of politicians 'don't sell papers'.

The one area where there is significant coverage i.e. the Islands radio station, would also probably ditch its political coverage commitment if it was not for the significant financial subvention which keeps it afloat. However, is anyone listening or more pertinently does anyone believe what they hear?

The political vacuum that is Manx politics is enlivened occasionally when 'maverick' MHKs attempt to expose the shortcomings of the system. However, any encouragement or confidence this might engender has been neutralised by the manner in which this occasional breath of fresh air is trashed by the Council of Ministers (CoMin).

CoMin also reduces political life to its lowest common denominator by the manner in which it attempts to control elections to Tynwald's (the parliament)

upper chamber, the Legislative Council. Such chicanery leaves a political 'bad taste in the mouth'.

So what of the State of the Nation? Our Nation!

We have growth, which although reduced from its peak in recent years is still the envy of other States. We have wealth, generated by this growth. However, we do not have a clear idea of how these advantages can be used for the good of all.

We lack political direction!

**Bernard Moffatt**

*(President of the Isle of Man Trades Council and a prominent member of Mec Vannin, the Manx Nationalist Party)*

## GAOL FOR TREASURE LOOTERS - BUT BRITISH INSTITUTIONS ARE WORST CULPRITS

In an almost breathtaking example of hypocrisy the United Kingdom Culture Ministry is to introduce a Bill - The Cultural Properties (Offences) Act - to crack down on the trade in stolen artefacts and antiquities. They are threatening to gaol those who profit from the trade and sale of ancient treasures.

The move, whilst welcome, in addressing the International trade in such items once again however highlights that some of the worst examples of cultural theft and expropriation have been undertaken by the British government itself and the Institutions its Culture Ministry oversees.

As the new legislation is unveiled a member of the Manx Tynwald (parliament) accused the United Kingdom of cultural theft. Bill Henderson, MHK, is supporting the long-standing campaign by the Celtic League to have artefacts looted by British institutions from the Celtic countries returned to their countries of origin.

Mr. Henderson has also pledged to continue the battle throughout the next twelve months if necessary forcing a debate on the issue of such cultural theft. The Celtic League sincerely hope that Mr. Henderson's campaign is taken up by National Parties in Scotland and Wales and also that political parties in Ireland seek restitution of items expropriated during the years of British rule there.

**Bernard Moffatt**



## THE BANNING OF ALL THE POLITICAL EXPRESSIONS OF THE BASQUE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT

### *THE NEW STRATEGY OF THE RIGHT WING SPANISH GOVERNMENT*

Recently, the process to ban the political party BATASUNA by the Spanish government has been the news in the newspapers and media, all around the world. A supposedly "democratic" state was trying to ban a political party that was the second force during the last local elections in the Basque country. A political party with a considerable support in the Basque country (around 15 MPs in the Navarra Autonomous Government and the Basque Autonomous Government, an MP in the European Parliament and more than 60 Local Mayors, - Batasuna doesn't participate in the Spanish Parliament elections-). A political party that represents the political expression of the masses of the Liberation Movement and motor for a democratic change in the Basque Country. After four days of deliberations (of the 20 days allowed), the Spanish Supreme Court unanimously ordered the outlawing of the party.

Why has the Spanish government promoted now, after 25 years, the banning of Batasuna?

First of all, we must say that Batasuna is not the only organization that has been banned.

To understand the present situation, we must remember that, in April 1995 ETA spread a peace proposal, known as the "Democratic Alternative". This proposal was sent to the Basque Country for the discussion of the masses and to the Spanish government to analyze it. The proposal expressed the ETA's goodwill to achieve peace through a democratic process and dialogue. In so far as the conflict is political, it is necessary to solve the political matter pending; the Basques' voice should be respected, the Basque people should be given the right to speak. It is from this democratic starting point that the Basque people through a democratic and participative process will be finally able to freely choose what kind of relations we want between us and between the Spanish and French governments.

The Spanish Popular Party (a right wing party whose Honorary President is Mr. Fraga Iribarne former Security Minister during the Franco dictatorship and whose present President Mr. Jose Maria Aznar's father was also member of the fascist movement) simply ignored this offer. In addition to this,

they closed any way towards understanding. In 1997, putting pressure on the Government of the Dominican Republic, three political refugees were expelled from this country, refugees who had been appointed as ETA's official spokesperson in the "talks in Alger" in 1989, between the Government and ETA and who were deported in this republic just after they failed.

The aim of the Popular Party has been and is to destroy the whole liberation movement, not only ETA (a political organization which has used the armed struggle since it was formed in 1958) but also all the different expressions of the Basque Patriotic Left. In that way, in 1997, the government prosecuted, detained, and jailed the whole leadership of Batasuna (23 members) after being accused of "having links with terrorism". The only thing they had done was to attempt to spread a video with the peace proposal "Democratic Alternative". The Spanish Supreme Court sentenced them to four years of prison. This sentence was denounced by the majority of the Basque people, even by the parties of the Spanish state (United Left), several political parties and MPs in Europe and all over the world, various Nobel Prizes and intellectuals, and human rights organizations.

But in 1998 after some meeting and an agreement with the Basque Nationalist Party (a Christian democratic party) and EA (a little nationalist party) ETA announced a cease-fire for more than 20 months, where they asked the Spanish government to respect the aims and decisions of the Basque country. There was only one meeting (in Switzerland) between the delegates of ETA and the government. The will of the government was clear when they arrested the representatives of ETA in the talks.

In 1998, the government started a criminal process against different organizations of the liberation movement, arguing that all of them are part of ETA. All the movement is a terrorist group; we even speak of a daily newspaper, a human rights organization, or a group that promote the civil disobedience.

The process started as we said in 1998, arresting members of the political organization KAS, later called EGIN (this is a Marxist inspiration political organization whose objective is the Independence and Socialism and whose cadres are usually members of

different organizations of the liberation movement). The organization was declared illegal arguing EGIN and ETA are the same organization. Later, during the same year the Spanish government arguing the same banned the daily newspaper EGIN, the radio EGIN, and the magazine Ardi Beltza, arresting the editors and directors. Then, it was the youth league of the liberation movement HAIKA, later called SEGI, and their leadership was also arrested. Askatasuna, a human rights organization that support the release of the more than 600 political prisoners and their families, and that acts against torture, was banned too. There are more: the Judge of the Special Antiterrorist Court acted against some cultural organizations, an Internationalist organization, a group that supported the civil disobedience... At the moment more than two hundred people are prosecuted by the Spanish Antiterrorist Special Court in Madrid. Many of them are still in prison and all of them are waiting for the trial.



*Demonstration against banning of Batasuna.*

It is in this context and after September 11th that the government decided to use all his capacity and change the Political Parties Act. This question is important because we can see that the government is not using only the criminal process against Batasuna. To do that, it was not necessary to change the Political Parties Law, just to declare that Batasuna and ETA are the same and introduce also Batasuna in the big process that we have explained. They need to change the act so that they are sure it is not going to be possible for the patriotic left to participate in the next elections. The new act bans all political organizations that are and work against the values of the Spanish Constitution. One of these values is Spanish Unity. Also, it is possible to ban a political organization if this organization doesn't condemn a terrorist attack. But what is a terrorist attack? Are all the liberation struggles terrorism? Who decides if an attack is terrorist or not? Not to condemn an action can be morally blamed but not to say something can't be a reason to ban an organization. We are not speaking of supporting an



attack but not condemning it. But the important question is that this act is an ad hoc act, promoted with the only objective of banning the National Liberation movement. That is its objective, no other.

This act has been criticized by the majority of the Basque people, the majority of the Basque political parties, intellectuals, some Spanish parties (it has even the absolute support of the Socialist Party) and human rights organizations like Amnesty International.

The act passed in July and in August the government started the process of banning, a special civil and non-criminal process. But it was not enough; the government is in a hurry. The sentence banning Batasuna by the new Political Parties Act would only be on the next March.

So, in August, the Judge Garzon -the same judge that in the process 18/98 has ordered several indictments against the different organizations- started criminal law proceedings to stop activities of Batasuna attributing Batasuna to allegedly have a part in the terrorist network led by ETA-KAS- EKIN.

The judge has ordered Batasuna's activities to be stopped temporarily for three years and for its premises to be closed. Also, it is not possible to Batasuna to organize any marches, meetings, press statements, posters with the logo, interviews....

At the end of August, police forces went into Batasuna headquarters in different cities to carry out the order issued by the judge to close the premises. The supporters who tried to avoid the closings were beaten, not only by the Spanish police force but also by the Basque autonomous police.

Marches against the banning were forbidden, even when they were not promoted by members of Batasuna. The Police broke up a demonstration of more than 40.000 people behind a slogan calling "Up Basque Country". Amnesty International, who asked for freedom of expression, condemned this action.

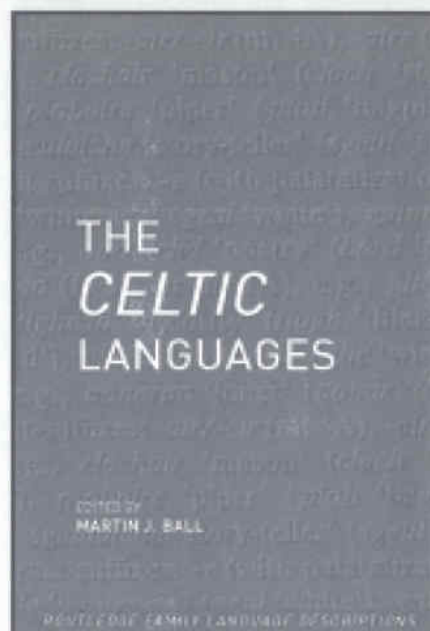
At this moment, only the elected members of the parliaments and city councils can continue working -as individuals, not as members of Batasuna- in political affairs. It is clear that the Spanish government is not going to accept any new party that the government can consider is representative of the liberation movement.

We expect that, in the coming weeks, more people will be arrested. The recent detention of five members of the NGO Askatasuna, which supports the struggle of the political prisoners, is an example.

If we add to this situation the increasing use of arrest and torture, it is clear that the minimum democratic conditions for the development of political activities have disappeared in the Basque Country and that we are living one of the greatest anti-democratic phases since the death of the dictator Franco, by the hand of the neo fascist right wing Spanish State.

But, as the revolutionaries all around the world have taught us "there is no easy walk to freedom".

Office Of International  
Relations of Batasuna



**Paperback** - 696 pages (23 May, 2002)  
**Routledge**, an imprint of Taylor & Francis  
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This is the new and first time paperback edition of a very interesting book providing a very useful and convenient overview of the linguistic features of the whole range of Celtic languages.

This book describes in depth all the Celtic languages from historical, structural and sociolinguistic perspectives, with individual chapters on Irish, Scottish Gaelic, Manx, Welsh, Breton and Cornish. It is arranged in four parts.

**Part One 'Historical aspects'** covers the Continental Celtic and Insular Celtic, P and Q Celtic. this chapter deals with the origin and history of the Celtic languages, their spread and retreat, present-day distribution and a sketch of the extant and recently extant languages. The contributors to the Part One are **James Fife, Joseph Eska and D. Ellis Evans and Karl Horst Schmidt.**

**Part Two 'The Goidelic Languages'** describes the structural detail of each of the Goidelic languages, i. e. Irish, Scottish Gaelic and Manx, including their phonology, mutation, morphology, syntax, dialectology and lexis. The contributors to Part Two are **Gearóid Mac Eoin, William Gillies and George Broderick.**

**Part Three 'The Brythonic Languages'** describes the structural detail of each of the Brittonic languages, i. e. Welsh, Breton and Cornish, including their phonology, mutation, morphology, syntax, dialectology and lexis. The contributors to Part Three are **T. Arwyn Watkins, Janig Stephens and Ken George.**

**Part Four 'The Sociolinguistics'** provides wide-ranging sociolinguistic detail, such as identifying areas of usage, maintenance and each language's prospects for survival. The contributors to this part are **Máirtín Ó Murchú, Kenneth Mackinnon and Robert Owen Jones, Humphrey Lloyd Humphreys, Ken George and George Broderick.**

This book is an invaluable reference tool for both students and teachers of linguistics, especially those with an interest in typology, language universals and the unique sociolinguistic position, which the Celtic languages occupy. Each chapter is accompanied by a substantial bibliography and there is a good index of names and subjects. It will also be of interest to those concerned with the sociological aspect of linguistic minorities and linguistic difference and particularity.

This book has just one shortcoming - it has not been updated. The figures and census, found in it, are dated of the beginning of the 90's whereas some Celtic countries have experienced some drastic changes such as the Welsh and Scottish devolutions and whereas according to the last census of 2001 some languages have suffered decrease in the number and percentage of speakers such as as Scottish Gaelic whereas Welsh shows encouraging signs of growth. The picture however is much more complex than it at first appears. In Scotland whilst decline has continued it is not as rapid as that in the previous decade and there is some cause for optimism that the recent boom in Gaelic medium education may ultimately arrest and reverse the decline. There are also indications that the language is now starting to acquire a more general spread across the country. In Scotland, the 2001 census confirmed that the language is still in decline. The number of Gaelic speakers fell by 11% over 10 years to a figure of 58,650. This is the first time that the number has fallen below 60,000, bringing Gaelic close to the figure at which it is thought a language can no longer survive.

That situation was mirrored in the more encouraging statistics from Wales, which showed that more than 20% of people in Wales now speak Welsh. Figures revealed that 20.5% - more than one in five - of the population are Welsh speakers. This compares with 18.5% of Welsh speakers in the 1991 census. In addition, more than 28% were able to understand Welsh. Figures indicated an increase in those speaking Welsh, but the breakdown of data shows that the language is losing ground in its rural heartland, while gaining strength in urban areas.

José CALVETE

*American Branch Internet Site*

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



# The Celtic Fact

## New States On The Way

It is presently fashionable to describe nationalism as outdated and a thing of the past however commentators, especially in Western Europe should know better. Apart from the rise of many new nation states in eastern Europe during the 1990s it would appear that the Basques and also the Scots are particularly determined to establish their own sovereign states in the next decade or so even though this wasn't supposed to happen.

The Basque Government is proceeding with steps on a referendum for independence while the Scottish Nationalist Party is clarifying and outlining the steps that will be taken on the road to independence. Catalonia is at present governed by a pro independence government but is moving more slowly on the question.

From the Celtic perspective the implications of a new Scottish state are obvious. There would immediately be increased pressure to form sovereign Welsh and Breton states. We have already seen how nationalist sentiment has greatly increased in even the Manx and Cornish contexts. The United Kingdom, France, Belgium and Spain are the last great multinational states of Europe and may yet be fated to fragment as the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia did for similar reasons. We have absolutely no reason to suppose otherwise. Spain and the UK are particularly vulnerable but France will have a tough job containing its own Basque population if the Spanish Basque country gains independence as it very well may.

The fact of the matter is that multinational states such as these as well as Canada, Switzerland, Indonesia, India, as well as many African and middle eastern states have a built in instability which can only be settled by the establishment of smaller states which do not ignore the realities of language, tradition and history.

Likewise Celtic nationalism can no longer be dismissed as an eccentric fringe movement. If present trends continue we can expect a Scottish state, a united Ireland and very possibly new Welsh and Breton states within the next 10-20 years.

Stefan Merlot

## 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: Stg£12; €20; US\$30.00 (US funds, cheques drawn on a US bank). Europe: Stg.£15 (airmail); Outside Europe: Stg.£18.00 (airmail).

For information about the Celtic League contact secretaries:

**ALBA.** Iain Ramsay (Acting Secretary), 22 Denholm Gardens, Greenock, PA16 6RF, Scotland.

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

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

**ÉIRE** Pádraigín Mylevreeshey 33 Céide na Grianóige, Ráth Cúil, Co. Átha Cliath.

**KERNOW** Sue Bowen, Venten Lynnow, Trevalgar, Bos Castle, TL35 ORG.

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

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

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

**INTERNATIONAL BRANCH** Mark Lockerby, 12 Magherdonnag, Pony Fields, Port Erin, IM9 6BY, Isle of Man.

**GENERAL SECRETARY & P.R.O.** Bernard Moffatt, 11 Cleiy Rhennee, Kirk Michael, Mannin. Tel - UK (0) 1624 877918

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

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

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### celtic league internet site

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

E-mail General Secretary:  
[b.moffatt@advsys.co.im](mailto:b.moffatt@advsys.co.im)

E-mail Assistant G.S.  
[mkermode@mcb.net](mailto:mkermode@mcb.net)

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