

# cayn

A LINK BETWEEN THE CELTIC NATIONS

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CELTIC LEAGUE







## COTHROM NA FEINNE

Tha ar cànan Gàidhlig sa Gàidhlig, Gaelic sa Bheurla Gaelic ach bu choir l a bhi 'Scottish' mar a bha i.

Mata, bha cànaichean eile ann an Alba sna làithean a dh'aom, ach tha iad a-nis cho marbh ri sgadain ...air diochumhe. Thàinig ar cànan gu h-Alba corr is dhà mìle gu leth air ais. Tha feadhain ag ràdh gun d'fhàinig i a Eirinn a-mhàin. Ach bha sgoilear, José, ann am Portugail ag innse dhuinn gun d'fhàinig i a Portugail!

Bha Portugail pairt de Ghailicia uair, a' ciallachadh, "Tìr nan Gàidheal" air an taobh tuath an iar na Spainne. Thàinig na Ceiltich ann, na Gàidheil agus na Breatannaich. Dh'fhadaich na Breatannaich ar daoine thall thairis. Tha làraichean aca ri fhaicinn san taobh de Portugail gus an latha an diugh. D'am b'ainm ...Citânia de Briteiros.

Theich na Gàidheil sna bataichean aca anns an t-sruth a tha a' ruith air fhad Phortugail gus a tha iad a' ruigsinn Eirin is Alba an iar, (sa Bheurla, Lusitanian passage no current)

"Mata," arsa sinn, "a-reir Brosnachadh Obair-brothaig 1320, thàinig sinn as an Spainne agus tha na h-Eirinneach ag ràdh gun d'fhàinig na Milesians on Spainne gu h-Eirinn! Chan eil fhios againn ach sa bhliadhna 843 AD rinneadh Coinneach MapAilpin na rìgh thairis air na h-Albannaich agus-mar sin steidhich e rìoghachd na h-Alba.

"Hud, hud," arsa José, an sgoilear Portugalach, "rinn na Romanaich, Alba, nuair a thog iad Balla Hadrian san taobh tuath de Shasuinn."

"Co dhuibh no co dheth," arsa sinne, "sa bhliadhna 1018 bho'n a bha iad na Gàidheil, na h-Albannaich, buadhach aig Cath Carham, ràinig iad na crìochan a tha eadar Alba is Sasunn gus an latha an diugh.

Uime sin tha ionad d'am b'ainm "Ord" san taobh deas Bearraig Tuath no Berwich-on-Tweed agus "Ord" eile san taobh tuath de h-Alba ann an Cataibh.

Sa bhliadhna 1058 no rudeigin mar sin, rinneadh Calum Ceann-mór, Ard-rìgh na h-Alba agus bliadhnachach an deidh sin, phòs e Mairead a bha a-reir sinne "Mairead nam Mallachd" ach a-reir luchd na Beurla, "Saint" Mairead.

Cha do chord ar cànan ri Calum is Mairead, b'fhearr lea luchd na Beurla agus sna h-eaglaisen Ladaìn. Gus a sin san Eaglais Cheilteach againn bha a' chànain againn, a' Ghàidhlig. Uime sin, thug iad ùghdarras ha

h-Eaglais do Laidean an aite na Gàidhlig.

Cuideachd, thug Calum is Mairead a h-uile dreuchd do luchd na Beurla a bha na fogarraich on Ceannsachadh Normanach a rinn Uilleam Ceannsachaiche thairis air Sasunn sa bhliadhna 1066.

Sa bhliadhna 1496 thàinig Achd an Fhoghlaim a-mach. Bha an t-Achd sea ag ràdh gum feumadh am mac a bu sine aig gach ceann-cinnidh aig aois ochd no no naoi gu sgoil Ghallda far am biodh teagasg tre na Beurla. Bha leisgeul aig luchd na Beurla bum biodh na gillean inbheach fada nas fhearr deagh cheartas a thoirt sna cuirtean-lagha aca!

Gus an d'fhàinig am bàrd Gallda, Gavin Dubhghlas (1525) bha "Scots" no "Scottish" ag ciallachadh "Gàidhlig" sa Bheurla. Tha fios againn mar a bhrath Seumas VI Alba nuair a fh'fhàs e Rìgh na Sasuinn. cuideachd, sa bhliadhna 1603. Thug e Achd an Fhoghlaim 1616 a-mach, dh'fheumadh daoine a bha gu math dheth, na paisden aca a chur do sgoiltean far a bhiodh iad ag ionnsachadh a h-uile càl tre na Beurla.

An deidh Bliadhna Thearlaich (1745-6) tàinig Achd on Parlamaid Westminster a-mach, a' toirt am fearan uile gu leir gus a' cheann-chinnidh. Gus a seo cha robh aige ach an tuathanach no farm aige.

Bha cinn-cinnidhean ann a bha santach agus chur iad am-meud mal nan cruitearan cus no eadhon chur iad a seilbh air sgath nan caoraich. Leis a sin thàinig "Fuadach nan Gàidheal". Bha Diuc Cataibh as miosa a-reir aithris.

Ach cha do sgair na Fuadachan sin, gus a' bhliadhna 1886, leis a' chiad Achd nan Croitear.

Ach annp a' bhliadhna 1872 Achd an Fhoghlaim air bhonn. Dh'fheumadh a h-uile leanabh a dhol don sgoil, ach b'e Beurla a-mhàin cànan an fhoghlaim. Cha robh àite no inbhe aig a' Ghàidhlig...a h-uile càil tre na Beurla. Bha sgoiltean Ghàidhlig ann ach leis ap t-Achd so bha iad dùinte no bha gach facal ceadichte bha Beurla. Fhuair seanair an sgiobhaiche slaiseadh leis a bheilt, fàisg air a h-uile latha a bha e aig an sgoil bhon a bha e a bruidhinn na Gàidhlig! Mhair an t-Achd 1872 fad corr is ceud bliadhna. Ach tha dòchas ann a-nis dhon a tha Pàrlamaid againn a-ris an deidh trì ceud bliadhna. Chi an leughadair ann an CARN mu dheireadh (Am Foghar 2005) staid na Gàidhlig an latha an diugh fad a nas fhearr.

Ach tha obair mhór, mhór againn ri dhèanamh gusa bheil gach leanabh feadh Alba uile gu leir ag ionnsachadh a h-uile cuspair tre na Gàidhlig, a' Chanain Albannach, a' chanain againn fhin.!

### Summary

*The history of the Scottish language over the last thousand years has been one largely of suppression. But now there is some degree of hope with a sympathetic Parliament, after 309 years. Also it has the power to implement our aim of having every child and young person taught through Scottish which was and is the proper name of our language. The Hungarian language is not called in English or French or German etc. "Magyar" In other tongues it is known as Hungarian! As Dr Samuel Johnson put it ... "Schools are erected in which English is taught...There is no tracing ancient nations but by language and therefore I'm always sorry when language is lost, because languages are the pedigree of nations."*

**Gilleasbuig MacMhuirich no  
Mac al phearsain  
Gilleasbuig Lachlainn 'Illeasbuig**

## Why support Gàidhlig?

Many Scots laugh at Gàidhlig, because of centuries of brainwashing and snobbery. One of the best weapons in any imperialist's arsenal is mockery; as soon as the subject feels inferior, and embarrassed about their own native culture, then he has won. Ignorant of our own history and literature, we can't really know what happened, except from the conquerors' point of view. Strangely enough, folk don't feel so shy about being anglicised, or Americanised. It's incredible that in the 20th c. Highland children were still being taught in a language they didn't know, and in one case in Lewis, a human skull was hung around the neck of those who dared to use their native language. Many weren't even taught to read it I need not explain the Clearances, or Culloden. English was introduced by law, education and force, 'choice' came after.

Yet Gàidhlig and the Left haven't always been best friends. Most fair people realise that the value of something isn't its price tag. Saving our language won't stop poverty or homelessness etc, but it does create jobs, and it costs far less than the monarchy or dropping bombs on Arabs! Which would you have? It's an anchor in the storm of bland, corporate 'globalism'.

Urdu more important? It is important, but the dirty lie that Gàidhlig only belongs to whites, or worse still only white Highlanders,



is one of the most racist out there. But consider that Chinese, Urdu and Hindi have the biggest film industries in the world, and at least four state governments behind them. Gàidhlig has none of this. Not all supporters and speakers are/have been white or Scottish born. In the last few months alone, an anti-Gàidhlig letter was ripped to shreds by a Mr Wang in one of the major papers, and the late Karachi born radio presenter Ali Abassi was an enthusiastic supporter of the language. I've met Polish, German, Russian and Greek learners amongst others. In Lewis there has been a family of Asian speakers for decades. Whoever sees it as chauvinist, wants it to be chauvinist! Many immigrants to Scotland also come from countries exploited by England, as we are, and some have had their languages destroyed in the same way.

A Mafia? This is a general problem. Scotland is full of Mafias, look around. Most of them use English, but is anyone complaining about that? It's just one more gravy train, and the Establishment isn't that pro-Gàidhlig. The former head of Highland Enterprise said it should 'die by the fireside'. The Western Isles council had a policy of 'benevolent neutrality'. Benevolent neutrality never did anything anywhere! The only reason Thatcher did anything is because she feared a repeat of Welsh incidents. (See we can help each other!). We must deal with all nepotism! Lanarkshire Mafia and all...

Not relevant? Have a look at a phone book

or map from Scotland or Scots dictionary, all are full of words & names from Gàidhlig, and not all from the Highlands. We use Gàidhlig words every day without realising it, like trousers, bog, slapper, grotty, slogan & braw to Iain, Alistair & Donald from Banff, Kilmarnock & Dumfries. There's thousands of examples. Scots grammar is influenced by it too, which makes it easier for us to learn. Everywhere south of the Orkneys has spoken some Gàidhlig, and many urban Scots come from Highland & Irish origins. It even seems to have got south of the border. A Northumbrian king was a noted Gàidhlig poet, and Lindisfarne was a mere offshoot of Iona. Geordie has Gàidhlig words in it! Even up 'til after the Union, the majority of Scots could speak it, including in the SouthWest and even Fife & Stirlingshire. We have eyewitness accounts to back this up. Robert Louis Stevenson, a West Lothian native includes a Fife Gàidhlig speaker in Catriona ('Tam Anster' Ch. XVI). It is still spoken in parts of Perthshire, and survived in Arran, Aberdeenshire & Angus until the late 20th c. The earliest known book in it comes from Deer in Buchan, and is kept in a Cambridge library's vaults. It is the link between Highlands and Lowlands. But when people pronounce Leuchars as "look ass" and Nessie lives in a 'lock' (in the canal?), things are far gone.

Is it really insular? As a modern European language no. As a Celtic language, it's a

reminder of our solidarity with our comrades in Ireland, Wales etc. It's a very positive link with Ireland, beyond sectarian bigotry and religion. A Gàidhlig speaker can read Irish and Manx with only a little difficulty, although talking is another matter. Some even argue the three to be one language. It should be remembered too that the Ulster Protestants have a Gàidhlig background, and that most native speakers have Protestant backgrounds. It is a potential bridge between the communities, and lets us see them beyond a Brit mindset.

Two centuries ago there were nine languages in these islands. Now there are just five, and four are in danger. How can we preach multiculturalism and then allow cultural genocide right here? It's hypocrisy... Hundreds of languages were sent to the brink in North America and Australia by British imperialists. That any survive at all is anti-colonial defiance. Every new speaker of Gàidhlig is a smack in the Unionist pus and the aristocracy that's tried to wipe it out for centuries. That's why our children who have to know it... 'Young learning is beautiful learning' according to a proverb in the language. When they know it better than we ever will, and pass it on, we have won.

*Tir gun teanga, tir gun anam.*

Ray Bell

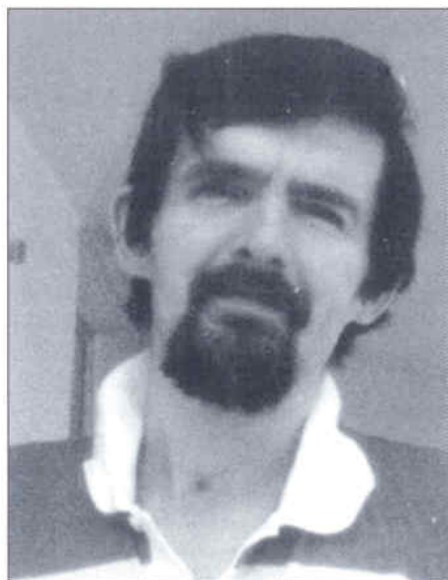
## Uilleam MacCaluim / Bill McCallum 1947-2005

Celtic League member Bill McCallum passed away on 2 September 2005. Bill was interested in home rule for Scotland and for all other fourth world nations from a very young age. He traced much of his interest to an article which appeared in the Daily Express in the 1950s about a fluent Cornish speaking couple who married through the medium of the language.

Bill studied law at Glasgow University and worked at Glasgow Corporation (and later Glasgow District Council) in the Town Clerk's Conveyancing Department and later Glasgow District Council from 1967 until taking early retirement in 1996.

Bill had many different interests. He was interested in history, politics and world affairs. He loved books and had an extensive library. He was passionately interested in languages and particularly in minority languages. He especially loved Esperanto which he spoke fluently and Gaelic which he learned to read and write fluently. He was interested in all the Celtic languages and had a particular soft spot for Cornish. He was strongly opposed to linguistic imperialism and to the worldwide spread of the English language.

Since he retired he had been working on an



extensive Gaelic dictionary which his son Alasdair is going to complete. Just before his death, he had been learning Chinese, Latin and Ancient Greek.

Bill was a member of the SNP and of the Celtic League since he was a boy. He frequently wrote articles for Carn on Gaelic

related issues and said that the happiest day of his life was 11 September 1997 when Scotland voted decisively for Home Rule. He also believed firmly in the rights of all stateless nations worldwide and supported the autonomy movements and language movements for all small and endangered languages for all small and endangered nations worldwide whether close to home such as Wales, Cornwall or the Isle of Man or further afield such as the Baltic States and Kosova. Bill was also committed to a range of other progressive causes related to the environment and social justice.

Bill suffered from a neurological condition which affected his mobility from the late 1980s onwards and for which he had major surgery in 1988. This meant that his daily activities were restricted and that he was unable to undertake all the things he would have liked. However, he contented himself at home with his books and his computers. Unfortunately, over the last year, his general health deteriorated, culminating in his admission to the Royal Infirmary at the end of August. He is survived by his wife Maureen and children Alasdair and Mairead.

Alasdair MacCaluim



# GAELIC NEWS

## Scottish Executive takes action on Gaelic teacher supply

The Scottish Executive has accepted the findings of a report commissioned to address the national shortage of Gaelic teachers. The Gaelic Medium Teachers' Action Group recommends the appointment of a Gaelic teacher recruitment officer, the expansion of part time and distance learning options for teacher training, the abolition of course fees for part-time Gaelic teacher training students and the provision of support to enable Gaelic speaking teachers to transfer to Gaelic medium education.

One method of increasing the number of Gaelic medium teachers is notable for its absence from the report, however. This is the option of using immersion courses to enable existing teachers to learn Gaelic. Activists have criticised this decision and argue that no large scale expansion in Gaelic medium education will be possible unless this measure is adopted.

## Gaelic Television Channel by 2007?

The Scottish Executive has agreed to raise its contribution to Gaelic broadcasting from £8.5M to 11.5M per annum in order to break the deadlock over a Gaelic television channel.

Moves towards a Gaelic channel have been difficult and protracted due to a longstanding funding dispute between the UK Government and the Scottish Executive as to who should foot the bill. While broadcasting is the responsibility of the UK Parliament, the funding of Gaelic broadcasting is devolved to the Scottish Parliament.

In April the UK Government's Department of Culture, Media and Sport announced a one-off payment of £250,000 as their contribution to the establishment of a channel. This was followed by an announcement from the UK broadcasting regulator Ofcom that the commercial broadcasters Scottish and Grampian Television were to be freed from most of their obligations to show Gaelic programming in peak time in return for making a contribution of £1.2M to the proposed channel over 3 years.

The small amounts contributed by the UK Government and the commercial broadcasters have been widely criticised by the Gaelic community and meant that available funding was insufficient to establish even a basic service. The Scottish Executive's announcement that it is to fill the funding gap should now enable the creation of a Gaelic channel broadcasting around 90 minutes per day by 2007.

## Western Isles Pilots Opt-out system for Gaelic education

Comhairle nan Eilean Siar, the local authority serving the Outer Hebrides, has agreed to pilot a new enrolment system for Gaelic medium education (GME) in five areas in the Western Isles. All children in these areas will be automatically enrolled in GME and parents will have to opt out should they wish their children to be educated through English. In these areas GME will be available in all local schools whereas English medium education will only be available in one school in each locality.

The schools included in the pilot are Staoinibrig in South Uist, Brèascleit on the west side of Lewis and Paibeil, Loch nam Madadh and Càirinis in North Uist.

At present GME is only available in some schools in the Western Isles and parents must choose to specifically opt in if they wish their children to be educated through the language. The result of this system is that less than 1/3 of children in the Western Isles are currently educated through the medium of Gaelic.

This pilot has been introduced as part of the council's Gaelic policy which states that it will aspire to provide GME as the principal means of tuition in the first two years of primary school. If the pilot is successful then it is anticipated that it will be extended to cover the remainder of the Western Isles and to continue all the way to primary seven.

## Dedicated Gaelic School for Skye?

Highland council is currently holding a consultation on the proposal that Sleat primary school in the south of the Isle of Skye should become a Gaelic only school. In recent years the number of pupils in the Gaelic medium stream in the school have outnumbered those in the English stream.

Sleat is a particularly important area for Gaelic as it is home to Gaelic college Sabhal Mòr Ostaig and has experienced a local renaissance of the language with many Gaelic speakers and learners from other parts of Scotland moving to the area. Activists see a Gaelic only school as an essential step to develop the language locally. This move has not won universal approval however, and some local parents have formed a group to oppose the designation of Sleat Primary as a Gaelic school.

Although there are many Gaelic medium units within English medium schools in Scotland, there is at present only one Gaelic school, Glasgow Gaelic School. This is shortly to be joined by another school in Inverness and, as indicated above, by several schools in the Western Isles.

## New Gaelic Orthographic Conventions Launched

An updated set of Gaelic Orthographic Conventions were launched by the Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA) in December 2005.

While the spelling of Scottish Gaelic, unlike that of many other minority languages, has historically been largely standardized, there have been some uncertainties and areas of variation. The first set of Gaelic Orthographic Conventions were launched in 1981 and have been almost universally adopted for Gaelic writing and publishing. With the increasing use of Gaelic for official documents, however, it became clear that there were many gaps in the conventions where clarification was necessary. The new document seeks to clarify grey areas and to fill gaps not identified in the original document.

While GOC 2005 has been widely welcomed for its contribution to Gaelic spelling, it does not consider issues of grammar. Increasing use of high register Gaelic in official documents has led to growing calls for a standard official Gaelic grammar similar to the Irish *Caighdeán Oifigiúil* (official standard) in order to tackle grammatical grey areas at a high level.

Màrtainn MacLeòid

**IT'S TIME FOR  
SCOTLAND TO  
LEAVE THIS  
POTENTIAL UK  
POLICE STATE**

The British State is a threat to the liberties of ordinary Scots. The UK and US have both shown contempt for international law by pursuing an illegal war in Iraq and thereby stirring up huge resentment in the Arab World.

Scottish soldiers are dying as part of a British force in Iraq to prop up the US's access to middle eastern oil supplies. Yet Scotland is awash with oil (though the profits from it have been stolen by the UK Government) and we have no interest in invading other countries.

All these actions are supposedly about defeating terrorism. In fact by ignoring international law the UK and US are making international terrorism much more likely and at the same time they are using the threat of terrorism as an excuse to undermine our basic rights.

When the House of Lords declared that detaining foreign suspects without trial was



illegal the British Government decided there was a simple solution and they have now successfully removed the right to trial for all terrorist suspects whether they are British citizens or not.

Moves to remove basic rights from terrorist suspects are not new though the latest proposals are the most extreme. Since 1974 ever more draconian "anti-terror" legislation has been passed, and with every amendment more 'special powers' are handed to the Government with progressively less regard for the rule of the law.

Over 97 per cent of those (mostly Irish) people arrested under the original Prevention of Terrorism Act, were never charged. The Guildford Four and Birmingham Six are the most obvious examples of miscarriages of justice for innocent people who happen to be in the wrong place at the wrong time.

This latest bill will allow Terrorist suspects to be detained indefinitely without trial and without any evidence produced in justification. The basic principle of 'innocent until proven guilty' has been removed.

Furthermore, a draconian system of effective house arrest can now be introduced on the orders of a Judge based on the suspicions of MI5. Let's not forget that this is the paranoid and unaccountable secret organisation who has bugged numerous serving Government ministers and who according to ex Spy Peter Wright "burgled their way across London" on a daily basis.

The most worrying fact however is that these powers could potentially be used against anyone who opposes the Government. Already the BNP and Animal Rights Activists have been identified as possible targets.

"Speaking after the Home Secretary Charles Clarke, announced new laws to control the movements of terrorist suspects, Mr Clarke's adviser, Stephen McCabe, told The Scotsman he saw this extending to other groups suspected of using violence to further their ends. The Labour MP said: "We can envisage this applying to animal rights extremists and the far-Right, for example."

"These people are locked up because we believe they are a genuine danger based on what we think is pretty reliable evidence, even if it cannot be divulged in a court of law." (1)

In truth, this could affect any political activist who the Government disagrees with. I can't stand the BNP but they are a registered political party. The Tories are actively playing the race card at the moment, so really there is only a difference in degrees between the right and far right of the political spectrum.

Who decides who is a threat and who isn't? Who watches the watchers?

The rules on 'national security' are purposefully vague and cover anyone who is "a threat to the economic interests of the UK".

MI5 have long considered trade unionists to be a legitimate target because they perceive unions to be an economic threat to the UK. In reality they may be a threat to employers but they are an enormous benefit to ordinary workers!

The Scottish Parliament has rejected ID cards outright and its democratic decision should be respected. Unfortunately, the Government is prepared to tell fairly obvious lies over their proposals. In a letter to myself dated 12/08/2003, Beverley Hughes, the former Home Office Minister said: "The Government has made clear that it does not consider that an entitlement card scheme would have a significant effect in combating terrorism in the United Kingdom."

In the same letter she also said that the Government would not be consulting on a compulsory scheme. In fact the Governments proposed ID card scheme would have been compulsory by 2013!

Tony Blair, Charles Clarke and David Blunkett have all subsequently made an explicit link between ID Cards and Terrorism despite the home office's own official advice.

The Government has also deliberately overestimated the amounts of terrorist suspects in an attempt to scare people into supporting their plans.

"There are several hundred in this country who we believe are engaged in plotting or trying to commit terrorist acts," Mr Blair told Radio 4's Woman's Hour. (2) A similar claim was made by the ex head of Scotland Yard to the 'News of The World'.

However a 'senior security source' quoted in The London Times newspaper said that these figures were based on numbers of people who travelled to training camps in Afghanistan and Pakistan, prior to September 11.

Of those only 25 or 30 who are known to be in Britain, with some of those in prison in Belmarsh. The source said the Prime Minister's estimates of the scale of the terrorist threat was sloppy. "It is irresponsible and likely to scare people unnecessarily," the source said. (3)

A further major problem of ID cards is that they are likely to increase the police harassment already suffered by ethnic minorities.

Writing in the Scottish Left Review Aamer Annwar pointed out the full extent of the current discrimination against "Muslims and people of middle eastern appearance."

"Home Office figures revealed that stop and searches of Asians under new anti-terror laws soared 302 per cent in a year. The total number of stop and searches under counter-terrorist legislation more than doubled from 8,550 to 21,577. Anti-terror searches of blacks rose 230 per cent, from 529 to 1,745, and of whites 118 per cent, from 6,629 to 14,429.

Some 8,000 people have been stopped under the new anti-terrorism powers. Yet only 170 people have been charged as a

result. Just two of those have been convicted. Both were for possession of a small amount of cannabis, which hardly amounts to a 'terrorist threat'." (4)

Anti Terrorist experts doubt that the newest bill will even make any improvement in the Government's ability to fight terrorism. Professor Paul Wilkinson, chairman of the Advisory Board of the Centre for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence at St Andrews University, strongly attacked the proposals recently in an article entitled "Wrong weapon in the battle against terrorists".

He said the proposals were being "rushed through with inadequate time for proper consideration of their implications for civil liberties and their potential efficacy in preventing terrorism."

He added "not only [would the proposals] once again involve the UK in derogating from Article 5 of the European Convention on Human Rights and would hence be ruled unlawful by the judges, it would also be dangerously counterproductive."

He ends his article by writing "I do not believe we should be passing legislation which undermines a basic civil liberty and which, in any event, is unlikely to make any useful contribution to the prevention of terrorism." (5)

Labour have now been forced (through a lack of parliamentary time available before the election) to drop their proposals, however given that these plans have been raised, dropped and then resuscitated on a number of occasions it is a virtual certainty that they will be brought back soon after the election.

If the unlikely happened and the Conservatives did get in then it is almost certain that very similar proposals would be introduced. The Tories originally considered the idea during the Thatcher Government but decided at the time that it would be too expensive. Given his past actions as Home Secretary we cannot expect a Howard Government to be any improvement in terms of civil liberties to the current Government.

Detention without trial, house arrest and compulsory ID cards are not the actions of a democracy. There is only one sure way of escaping from this potential UK police state and that is by voting for Scottish independence as soon as possible.

Sources:

- (1) 'BNP and animal rights activists face house arrest'  
(The Scotsman 27th January 2005).
- (2) and (3) Times (London) –  
1st March 2005
- (4) A permanent state of terror?  
by Aamer Anwar SLR Issue 23.
- (5) Wrong weapon in the battle against terrorists by Paul Wilkinson The Scotsman 10th March 2005





# Breizh



## An treuzkas e Bro-Gembre

E 1997, ur wech deut en-dro Strollad al Labour e penn ar galloud e vez kinniget gantañ e vefe savet ur vodadenn zilennet evit Bro-Skos ha Bro-Gembre. Gant ar Frankizourien-Demokrated e vez kinniget treuzkas an holl galloudoù d'an div vro, dre an « Home Rule ».

D'ar 24 a viz Gouere e vez kinniget an rak-tresoù treuzkas evit an div vro. Mouzhiet e vez d'an 18 a viz Gwengolo gant ur goulenn hepken e Bro-Gembre a-zivout krouiñ ur Vodadenn Vroadel Gembre. N'eus an hanter hepken eus an dud enskrivet a ya da votiñ, hag en o zouez n'eus 50,3 % hepken eus ar voterien o votiñ evit ar « Ya ». D'an 31 a viz Here 1998 e vez embannet al lezenn a-zivout gouarnamant Bro-Gembre.

Ur Vodadenn Vroadel (ha n'eo ket ur Parlamant) a vez savet e Bro-Gembre. Dilennet eo evit pevar bloaz, 60 kannad enni (40 kannad dilennet er 40 pastell-votiñ a vez dilennet enno kannaded Parlamant Breizh Veur, hag 20 kannad all dilennet war listennoù er 5 pastell-votiñ a vez dilennet enno kannaded Parlamant Europa). D'ar 6 a viz Mae 1999 e vez dalc'het an dilennadeg gantañ, gant 47 % eus an dud enskrivet a ya da votiñ : 28 sez a ya gant Strollad al Labour, 17 gant ar Blaid Cymru, 9 gant ar Virourien ha 6 gant ar Frankizourien.

N'he deus Bodadenn Vroadel Gembre galloudoù lezennel a renk kentañ ebet. Ne c'hell ket sevel tailhoù, na cheñch ar mod sevel an tailhoù. Galloud he deus koulskoude e-keñver al lezennoù treuzlatet gant Parlamant Breizh Veur. Ne c'hell hepken votiñ lezennoù-seveniñ (galloud lezennel a cil renk) hag embann reolennoù war dachenn ar galloudoù miret eviti. Barregezhioù a oa bet treuzkaset da Vro-Gembre war an diorren ekonomikel, al labour-douar, ar bevañs, ar peskerezh, ar c'hoadoù, ar galloudoù lec'hel, ar yec'hed hag ar selvioù sokial, al lojant, an endro, ar steuñviñ, an dezougen hag an hentoù, an arzoù, ar sevenadur hag ar yezh, ar glad, ar sportoù hag an diduamant. Ne c'hell ket kemm framm ar strollegezhioù lec'hel war he zerouer ; n'he deus barregezh ebet war ar justis na war surentezh an dud. E karg emañ eus ar selvioù foran hag ar politikerezh a denne a-raok d'ar Sekretourva-Stad karget eus aferioù Bro-Gembre (*Welsh Office*). Deut eo ar *Welsh Office* da vezañ ar *Wales Office*, renet gant ur Sekretour-Stad, hag a ra

war-dro ar barregezhioù n'int ket bet treuzlatet d'ar Vodadenn Vroadel. Renet e vez ar Vodadenn hag he gouarnamant gant ur Ministr Kentañ (bet ar Sekretour Kentañ a-raok miz Here 2000), e penn ur C'habinad eizh ministr (bet sekretourien). Rankout a ra ivez Sekretourva Bro-Gembre degas d'ar Vodadenn gembreat ar peadra ret, votet e-barzh boujedenn Breizh Veur. Degaset e oa d'ar Vodadenn ur voujedenn a 8 miliard a Lurioù e 1999, a 12 miliard e 2005-2006 (= 16 miliard a Euroioù, da lavarout eo 24 gwech boujedenn Rannvro Vreizh evit ur boblañs damheñvel hag un terouer bihanoc'h) : 13,5 miliard a vo e 2007-2008.

Mont a ra war gresk boujedenn Bodadenn Vroadel Gembre, e-giz ma ya war ledanaat he barregezhioù. Dre-se e vez savet kudenn astenn holl galloudoù Bro-Gembre. E miz Gouere 2002 e oa bet savet gant Gouarnamant ar Vodadenn ur bodad-labour dizalc'h, kadoriet gant Lord Ivor Richard, bet penn Kambr al Lorded, diwar-benn ar galloudoù ha reolennoù ar mouezhiañ, gant ar pal bezañ asur e c'hell ober he seizh gwellañ evit interestoù pobl Vro-Gembre. Rentet en deus e skrid-danevell e miz Meurzh 2004. Aliet en deus he defe ar Vodadenn ar galloud lezenniñ war tachennoù a zo, ar re all o chom gant Parlamant Westminster; aliet en deus ivez e vefe cheñchet ar mod mouezhiañ abenn dilenn hervez ar c'henfeur. E-barzh al levr gwenn, « Ren gwelloc'h Bro-Gembre », embannet d'ar 15 a viz Mezheven tremenet, en deus gouarnamant Breizh Veur nac'het e vefe cheñchet ar mod mouezhiañ. Kinniget en deus memestra un hent hanterek etre stad an traoù a-vremañ hag ur Vodadenn Vroadel gant an holl galloudoù lezenniñ e-giz Parlamant Bro-Skos.

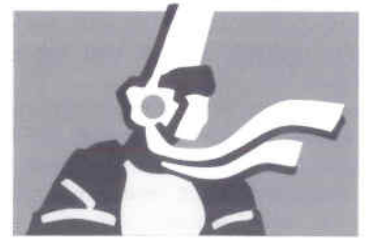
Adal embann al Levr gwenn he deus ar Blaid Cymru, tu eneb er Vodadenn, rebarbet krak-ha-krenn. D'an 2 a viz Eost o doa renerien Strollad Bro-Gembre, da vare an Eisteddfod vroadel, lañset ur c'hampagn hag ur skrid-goulenn evit ur gwir Parlamant.

### Summary

*In the last issue, (Carn 131 pg.6) the writer gave an historical background towards devolved government for Wales. This article, discusses progress after 1997 when devolved government became a reality.*

**Yves Jardin**

PAYS BIGOUDEN



BRO VIGOUDENN

## Jakez Derouet wins Design Competition

Celtic League Breizh Secretary, Jakez Derouet, won an award with his design in the Vro Vigoudenn competition for a new logo for the region. The logo, incorporating an impression of dance, impressed the jury who awarded Jakez the 1000 prize. He stated he was delighted to have won as his grandfather came from the fishing port of Enez-Tudi and went to work in the fishing industry in Naoned and his mother worked in the canning industry. In the course of his professional life as a graphic designer His design incorporated the warm colours of the region and the feature of a forward looking woman made a particular impact with the jury which was restricted to eminent people from the cultural, economic and political fields across the region. It will be used by 75 firms, 26 clubs and a large number of cities in the Vro to promote a new image of their region to their different partners, customers and tourists. Congratulations to Jakez and best wishes in his retirement for lots of fun and painting!

**Gi Keltik**



## Kampagn skoazell Diwan evit dazont ar skolioù

Appeal for the Breton language.  
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however little.

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# Ar Vro Bagan... 40th Anniversary!

The Ar Vro Bagan (AVB) cultural centre is already well-known for its many theatre productions. It's their most important activity « e-Breizh ». However, AVB also promotes the Breton language in other ways. First of all it is involved in teaching theatre in the bilingual schools and secondly it presents a renowned play for theatre each year. Its third activity is the production of Breton texts which are included in the summer (outdoors) shows for tourists & people of the Vro Leon & Breizh. After more than thirty years of theatre AVB reached half a million spectators including many Breton speakers. This incredible feat was possible because Goulc'han Kervella, Manager of the AVB, is very prolific and very well organized with an enthusiastic team of 5 professionals, 33 Breton speakers and 100 comedians. In order to thank all of the people involved as well as the spectators AVB organized a programme over three weekends in October 2005. They started with a walk between Plouneour and Plougerne, on the 2nd October, on the 15th the activities centred on the history and political challenges of AVB and at the end of October a film showed most of the plays of the troupe, as well as a Fest-Noz...

In order to understand the success story of AVB we must have a look at its history...

In the sixties the church was in control of the society. This arrangement was very strong in the villages of Brignogan and Kerlouan, in the Vro Leon area. Also, one must remember, to understand this period, that the french state was coming out of a colonialist civil war in Algeria (1962). At the time the church used to help poor people all over the world. A lot of the priests came from the Vro Leon known as « the priests' land ». On his return from Peru one of the priests, Youenn Troal, started the cultural centre, like most of the clergy he was opposed to communism during the cold war...

In the club-house, the teenagers and the students learnt about their own culture language, Breton folk dances, folk songs, as well as the economic and social challenges in farming, tourism & so on. After 1968, the period was very exciting especially in the farming industry in which the J.A.C. movement (Jeunesse Agricole Chretienne) started a strong and dynamic opposition to the communist trade-unions (CGT+CGT-FO+...). At the same time AVB reorganized its cultural centre. They also produced a



**Goulc'han Kervella, leader of AVB, with the cast at the end of last summers show:  
'Pecheurs de goemons... Gwerz ar Vezhinerien'**

newspaper named: « an Avel »... (the wind). When the Breton paramilitary (FLB) blew up a french TV-pole in central Brittany, in 1984 a few leaders of AVB were arrested. Back home they met with strong opposition in their families and villages... A lot of them left at that time. Fortunately a dozen of the Christian leaders stayed and were strong enough to explain their pacific goals to the population. They expressed strong opposition to the paramilitary who stood for Paris & against Breizh, as usual...cf.: Roc-Tredudon, Roazhon, Kevter, etc...).

AVB survived this upheaval because they worked hard on theatre activities, with their new manager Goulc'han Kervella from Plougerne. There was a steady increase in public support in Vro Leon as more and more people attended its shows every year. Slowly but surely they gained the spirit of their land of Leon. The psychiatrist, manager & writer of the plays successfully brought together the mood of the period with the Christian philosophy of the people. Outdoors shows were held in summer when the weather was fine, like « La Passion Celtique », Liberta », Tristan & Iseult » with an average of one hundred comedians on stage helped the many spectators (700 to 1400) to learn more about their Celtic culture. These shows paved the way for the successful indoor staging of the more complicated plays like « the stars & the plough », « Ar mestr » or « Amoko-2 ». The success story of the last thirty years is also due to the real will to keep our language and roots alive in the modern world.

In order to survive financially during the winter, (between shows) the professional team teaches theatre activities to children in

bilingual or french classes. Despite AVB's success as Breton theatre troupe it's still difficult to for them to play on national french stages. That's to say in the large cities of Brittany where the french Jacobin-Republican (J.R.) lobbies are still in control of the situation. They are still very opposed to any kind of minority group within the European community. The state of France has not signed the Charter for lesser used languages. AVB has to work hard to keep control over its own productions and to remain free from any outside control. Indeed this struggle must continue if we are to save our language; Brittany needs the help of AVB for the foreseeable future. The next challenge for AVB is to find young professionals to make sure that the troupe will keep going on & on...

**Gi Keltik**

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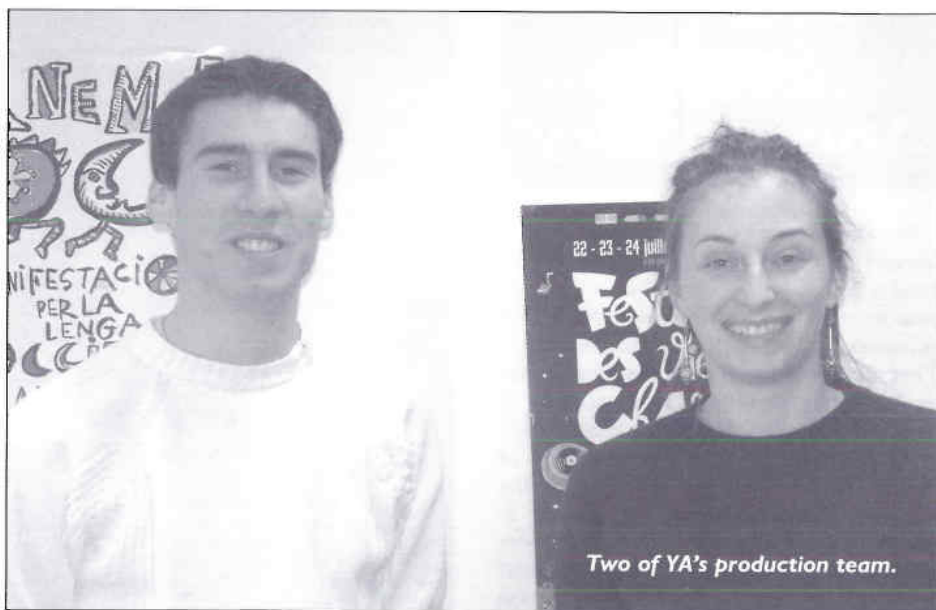


# YA! The First Breton Weekly – 100%... e-brezhoneg

Twenty five years after the monthly newspaper, bremañ (cf: Carn129) appeared, the weekly: Ya! was born in the spring of 2005. The new hope began with the arrival of the left wing at the Council of Breizh in 2004. When bremañ started it was very militant because it began at the time of the nuclear fight of Plogov. Ya! is less aggressive on economic and social issues...

The project started in 2004, when Yann-Fanch Jack, the active president of KeltVimpBev, began to gather subscriptions. They needed at least 300 subscribers in order to have a full-time journalist and a model-maker (=maquetist) to work along with a team of five workers who would produce cartoons (Rouzig, Louarnig & Meurlad) as well as books and videos in Breton for children and teenagers. Today the number of subscribers has exceeded 900. YA!... Is doing well.

Issue No. 21 started the Celtic new year r with extra pages for the Karaez (Goul al levriou e-breizh) Book Exhibition. Gwenaél Dage, the young journalist and producer printed the first 12 page edition, with 'la Setmana' from Oktaña which prints YA! An eight page weekly is already a challenge. Fortunately a few people help every week. The priest, Job an Irien and the president of Ti ar Vro Leon Harve Lossec do a lot...hopefully, they will keep going, in order to give time for the journalist to travel and make contacts throughout Breizh. One of the challenges is to create a newspaper for



Two of YA's production team.

Breizh. Uhel (EAST) as well as Breizh-Izel (WEST) where 300,000 people still speak Breton.

The name YA! appears in a green square on the top left of the cover. Inside the name is in black and white...of course. A title of the main article with photos appears on the front cover along with the title of a regular feature which looks at different challenges faced by Brittany today.

There are a number of other regular features including Berr ha Berr (news in brief), a

cartoon by the famous caricaturist 'NoNo'. Political, social, religious matters are also covered with reports from the sporting world, travel, TV etc. On the whole YA! is visually attractive with many photos and cartoons (Boullig ha Billig).

So YA! is yet another positive development and give us hope for the future of the Breton language.

Gi Keltik

## Three new bilingual dictionaries

*Published by the breton editions "Yoran Embanner".*

These 3 mini-dictionaries are: Breton/Portuguese, Breton/Welsh, and Cornish/English. This last one "Kernewek/Sowsnek and English/Cornish" was compiled by the well known author Dr Ken George under the auspices of the Cornish Language Board/Kesva an Taves Kernewek. Although this dictionary contains a surprising number of words for its size, they have necessarily been selected from a larger corpus. To a large extent the choice of words is reflected in the sister dictionary containing Breton and English.

For the 2 other new mini-dictionaries Yoran Embanner was helped by Ofis Ar Brezhoneg. Rhisiart Hincks and Fulup Travers compiled the Welsh and Portuguese dictionaries respectively.

Yoran Embanner is now planning on publishing 2 more dictionaries for the end of 2006: a Scottish Gaelic/English and a Scottish Gaelic/German. Price of the published dictionaries 6 Euro.

**Contact for sale: Coop Breizh, Kerangwenn, F- 29540 Spezet/Speied**

**E-mail: coopbreizh@wanadoo.fr**





## Parchu'r anthem genedlaethol

Yn dilyn arolwg negeseuon testun gan ITV Cymru, lle'r oedd 99% o'r negeseuon o blaid dysgu'r anthem genedlaethol i blant ysgol, cyflwynodd Gweinidog yr Wrthblaid dros Ddiwylliant, Owen John Thomas AC, Ddatganiad Barn yn y Cynulliad Cenedlaethol ym mis Tachwedd oedd yn dweud y dylai pob plentyn yng Nghymru ddysgu 'Hen Wlad Fy Nhadau' yn yr ysgol.

Dywedodd yr AC Plaid Cymru o Gaerdydd:

"Byddai hyn yn bwysig iawn unrhyw adeg, wrth gwrs. Fodd bynnag, mae'n arbennig o bwysig ar hyn o bryd gan y byddwn, y flwyddyn nesaf, yn dathlu 150 mlynedd ers i Evan James a James James gyfansoddi'r anthem ym Mhontypridd. Mae'n un o anthemau enwocaf y byd, sy'n anfon ias i lawr eich asgwrn cefn. Ni ddylai unrhyw blentyn adael yr ysgol heb gael y cyfle i ddysgu'r anthem hynod hon. Dyna'r deyrnged fwyaf y gallwn roi i'r cyfansoddwyr, Evan James a James James."

Hefyd, mae Owen John Thomas wedi ysgrifennu at y Post Brenhinol i ofyn iddynt ystyried comisiynu stamp arbennig i ddathlu 150 mlynedd ers cyfansoddi Anthem Genedlaethol Cymru. Cyfansoddwyd Hen Wlad Fy Nhadau gan Evan a James James tra'r oeddent yn cerdded ar hyd glan yr afon ym Mhontypridd ym mis Ionawr 1856 ac fe'i perfformiwyd am y tro cyntaf yng Nghapel Tabor, Maesteg yn yr un flwyddyn. Dywedodd Mr Thomas, "Rwy'n teimlo'n gryf y dylai hyn gael ei ddathlu ledled Cymru ac y byddai stamp arbennig yn deyrnged briodol iawn i gyfansoddwyr ein Hanthem Genedlaethol."

Cysylltodd Mr Thomas â'r Post Brenhinol ychydig flynyddoedd yn ôl mewn ymgais i gael stamp i goffáu chwe chan mlyneddiant sefydlu Senedd Owain Glyndwr yn 2004. Comisiynwyd stampiau ond pan gawsant eu cyhoeddi, 'roeddent yn dangos golygfeydd yng Nghymru, ond dim golwg o Owain Glyndwr.

Dywedodd Mr Thomas, "Yn ystod fy ymgais i sicrhau stampiau arbennig ar gyfer Owain Glyndwr, dywedodd y Post Brenhinol wrthyf fod y



Owen John Thomas

broses ddewis yn un hir iawn, gyda sawl cam. Fodd bynnag, ers yr ohebiaeth honno, 'rwyf wedi sylwi bod y Post Brenhinol wedi comisiynu stampiau arbennig ar fyr rybudd ar gyfer priodas frenhinol, buddugoliaeth Lloegr yng Nghyffres y Lludw, a buddugoliaeth Lloegr yng Nghwpan Rygbi'r Byd. Mae'n hen bryd, felly, i hanes Cymru a diwylliant Cymru dderbyn yr un gydnabyddiaeth."

### Summary:

*The Shadow Culture Minister in the Welsh National Assembly, Plaid's Owen John Thomas from Cardiff, called in November for all school children in Wales to have to learn the National Anthem, Hen Wlad fy Nhadau, and for the Post Office to produce a stamp next year to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the composing of the anthem by Evan and James James from Pontypridd.*

Cymuned have launched a new English-language website to help spread the anti-colonisation message throughout the English-speaking world. [www.NotEnglish.com](http://www.NotEnglish.com) complements the Welsh-language website [www.YnyFro.com](http://www.YnyFro.com) that Cymuned had set up earlier. A launching event was held in Cardiff in November last year when Cymuned received an unprecedented expression of support from the non-Welsh-speaking public. Many of the ideas of Cymuned, especially those concerned with jobs and housing, are just as relevant to English-speaking communities outside the Bro Gymraeg as they are to the Welsh-speaking communities of the Bro. The intention is to increase support for the Bro Gymraeg among non-Welsh-speakers by offering ideas and support for them in their own communities.



The website NotEnglish.com also makes the important point that recognition and conservation of the Bro Gymraeg is vital for strengthening the language nationally, and it does not mean ignoring areas outside the Bro Gymraeg. The existence of a thriving Bro Gymraeg area will encourage the language in the rest of Wales by giving possible learners and school-leavers somewhere they know they can go to use Welsh.

A sticker campaign has been started to publish NotEnglish.com. The site is well worth a visit.

Robat ap Tomos

## Assembly officials prepare to face direct action

Officials at the National Assembly sent an e-mail to Assembly staff in October warning of possible action by 'Welsh language protesters', meaning Cymdeithas yr Iaith.

The e-mail said "We have received information from South Wales Police instructing the Welsh Assembly Government of a substantial threat from Welsh language protesters.

"They have already daubed graffiti at Cathays Park.

"They have issued a statement of intent to enter Welsh Assembly Government buildings and daub paint once inside.

"You need to make staff aware of this and the need for vigilance is paramount. If you suspect anyone is about to behave in this manner, lock the entrance and inform the police on 999."

This official concern is clearly connected with the unwillingness of the government to acknowledge the need for a new Language Act.

A Cymdeithas spokesman said in response, "Not only have they sent this 'warning' out to Assembly employees, but older members of our society tell me that there was more police surveillance during the rally we held in Cardiff last week than has been witnessed since the investiture of Prince Charles in the Sixties.

"Video cameras were widely used, and the police had images of most of the Cymdeithas leaders on file. This shows a total lack of understanding of Cymdeithas yr Iaith's long tradition of non-violent direct action."



## League AGM delegate taken to court twice for not filling in English forms

One of the Cymru branch delegates at the 2005 Celtic League AGM, Mair Stuart from Sain Tathan in Bro Morgannwg/the Vale of Glamorgan, was summonsed to appear in court by two different authorities for not filling in English forms that should legally have been available in Welsh.



Mair was summonsed to appear in court in November by Bro Morgannwg council for not paying the council tax. Mair had been requesting a Welsh form from the council for 3 years but the council had said that such were not ready in Welsh even though the council's Welsh language plan obliges them to provide them. The magistrates refused the council costs, accepting that there wouldn't have been a court case if the council had fulfilled its duties by providing a Welsh form.

Mair said, "When I started writing to the council they answered in English only. By now, I have had some Welsh correspondence from them, but once again, I am facing a court case because important forms are not available from the council in Welsh. It is high time for a stronger Language Act so that difficulties like this do not keep occurring."

On the 31<sup>st</sup> of October, Mair was arrested, for painting a slogan on the Assembly government building in Caerdydd/Cardiff as part of Cymdeithas's campaign for a New Language Act. At the police station, Mair was told that the police were willing to release her with an official caution. She was given an English form to fill in to acknowledge the caution, and was told that they did not have a copy of the Welsh version of the form. As a result of declining to fill the English form, Mair was summonsed to appear in court instead of being given the caution. The Crown Prosecution Service later dropped the case.

Mair said after being summonsed, "The behaviour of the police in this case is disgraceful. I would not have had to go to court at all if South Wales Police had had bilingual forms. This all shows how ineffective the 1993 Language Act is, and how a new one is needed. I have to face a court case because that is easier for the police than finding a Welsh form for me to sign. This all shows how worthless their Language Plan is too."

**Robat ap Tomos**

## The case for a New Welsh Language Act

### The case for a New Welsh Language Act

The need for a new Welsh language act was once again in the summer shown by the chain stores in Bangor city centre. While the language quango were congratulating themselves on persuading Marks & Spencer to put bilingual signs in their new branch in the city, round the corner Woolworths were refurbishing their branch and replacing bilingual signs with English-only signs. A little further away the supermarket Morrisons, who have taken over Safeways, were replacing bilingual signs with English-only signs in the Bangor branch. Without legislation, it is impossible to be guaranteed respect for the language from big business.

Cymdeithas yr Iaith chairman Steffan Cravos appeared in court after painting a slogan on the walls of Morrisons Bangor. He said, starting with a quote from the now-First Minister Rhodri Morgan:

"We shall be abstaining tonight because we hope to have the opportunity before long to do the job properly. That will be done when we revisit the question of a Welsh language measure when we are in Government." So said Rhodri Morgan MP on the eve of the Westminster vote on the Welsh Language Act 1993. Twelve years on, the Assembly Government intends to scrap the Welsh Language Board giving First Minister Rhodri Morgan a real opportunity to honour his words.

"Support is now gathering for new and radical legislation on the Welsh language. Alongside the rallies and direct action, John Elfed Jones, former Chairman of the very first Welsh Language Board, has stated that the time has come for a new Welsh Language Act. Professor Colin Williams, a leading world expert on minorized languages and language planning, has recently set out forward-thinking statutory measures that include a Commissioner for the Welsh Language. The Labour peer Gwilym Prys Davies, along with over a hundred other prominent figures in Wales, has put his name to an advertisement which calls for official status for the language, unequivocal rights to receive services, goods, and information in Welsh, and a right to Welsh medium education for all children and young people in Wales. Hywel Williams MP is soon to publish a draft Welsh Language Bill.

In this context, it makes little sense for Alun Pugh, Minister for Culture, the Welsh Language, and Sports, to allege that those who call for new legislation are "blinkerered" and that he "can not believe there is widespread support for it".

One of Alun Pugh's main arguments is that establishing basic statutory rights for people to use Welsh would create a "litigious future for the language" and we would be "in

danger of damaging the positive perception of Welsh". Unfortunately for him, the Assembly Government's own official documents include the Welsh language as an integral part of the equal rights agenda. In all other areas of equality - race, gender, sexuality, disability - the Government recognizes that relying on people's goodwill doesn't work. The tough regulations issued recently by the Westminster Government for the Disability Discrimination Act 1995 and the Employment Equality (Sexual Orientation) Act 2003, show that Labour view legislation as a key component in empowering people to be treated fairly and without prejudice.

At the heart of Cymdeithas yr Iaith's campaign is the recognition that current legislation is outdated and needs reforming. The Welsh Language Act 1993 is exclusive to public bodies. Increasingly, the private and voluntary sectors have taken on former public sector roles. The growth of technology and the effects of increasing globalization also need to be addressed - current legislation has nothing to say about the way internet services are provided; banks, for instance, may well have some bilingual forms but internet banking is in English only.

What we want is a legal requirement on all who operate in Wales to do so bilingually. Such a requirement should be regulated rigorously and be accompanied by comprehensive Government support and guidance with a phased introduction. The response received from the mobile phone company Orange is typical; "There is no obligation on us to provide services in Welsh". Yet Alun Pugh naively makes this judgement; "Major companies like Tesco and Ikea are happy to work on extending bilingual provision without the stick of legislation". The tokenistic exceptions of sporadic and piecemeal developments to which he refers prove the rule; unless private companies are required by law to operate bilingually, they mostly choose not to do so.

Using Welsh in all aspects of life across Wales needs to be normalised. Most children in Wales are taught Welsh at school and increasing numbers wish to access Welsh medium education. If future generations are to use Welsh outside the school environment, there is an obvious need for fresh and strong initiatives made possible by a new legislative framework. To take an example from the world of work, public bodies are required to publicize job opportunities bilingually. However, in reality the language of work in most local authorities is mainly English.

Official status for the Welsh language would boost people's confidence and clarify their expectations when documents written in Welsh are refused or when health and social



# Cymdeithas is non-violent – Cravos is not guilty

Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg chairman Steffan Cravos appeared in court in Hwlfordd/Haverfordwest on the 17th of November as a result of a Cymdeithas protest against Radio Carmarthenshire over a year earlier. He denied the charge of causing bodily harm, and was duly declared not guilty by the court.

Following the verdict Steffan Cravos issued the following statement:

*"I'm extremely pleased that the Court found me not guilty. I'm a member of Cymdeithas yr Iaith which is a non-violent organisation and the protest held at the Radio Carmarthenshire studios back in 2004 was a non-violent protest. We were protesting then because of the lack of Welsh-language provision on Radio Carmarthenshire and because the station was showing complete and utter disregard to the linguistic nature of Carmarthenshire. Radio Carmarthenshire still stand accused and the campaign against Radio Carmarthenshire will continue."*

Sioned Elin, the Cymdeithas regional chairman for Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire, added:

*"Cymdeithas yr Iaith is a non-violent organisation and the protest that was held in Radio Carmarthenshire's studios back in 2004 was a non-violent one. We were protesting then about Radio Carmarthenshire broadcasting almost entirely in English,*



**Steffan Cravos**

showing a total lack of respect of the (Welsh-speaking) nature of the county.

"Cymdeithas yr Iaith have sympathy for Ms Amy Bowen who was injured either accidentally or as a result of our activists being pushed out of the studio by radio station

workers. Ms Bowen and the prosecution accepted that there was no intention to cause injury, but Cymdeithas accept that the injury would not have happened were it not for our protest.

"Though we have sympathy with Ms Bowen, Cymdeithas condemn the arrogance of Keri Jones (the Manager of Radio Carmarthenshire) that was shown once more in the court. It became obvious in his evidence that he had refused to allow the defence lawyer into the studio to see the place of the incident. In the same way he had refused a request from Rhodri Glyn Thomas AC (Assembly Member for Carmarthen East & Dinefwr) for a meeting to discuss the use of Welsh on Radio Carmarthenshire. Since Jones had refused to discuss the station's unwillingness to use Welsh, direct action became necessary."

## 'CARDIFF 4' NOT GUILTY



**Demonstration outside the Courthouse in Cardiff**

### **The Case for a New Welsh Language Act** *continued from page 10*

care services are not available in Welsh. Such a provision coupled with establishing a Commissioner for the Welsh language would mean that all people in Wales would have access to a champion for the language.

Crucially, the spirit of any new legislation must be inclusive and enshrine the principle that the Welsh language belongs to all people in Wales and its future is of concern to the whole nation. Alun Pugh condescendingly suggests that a new Welsh Language Act would "alienate the 80% of people in this country who have not been fortunate enough to learn both our national languages". There is no evidence to support this view and it is surely scandalous for Alun Pugh to be so divisive. It is our belief that everyone in Wales should be able to learn and use Welsh not as a matter of privilege or luck but as a fundamental right.

All the opposition parties in the Assembly have now voted to block the scrapping of the Welsh Language Board because Alun Pugh has failed to convince them that he has the vision to fill this statutory void. The Fforwm he has set up is no more than a talking shop. Stop patronizing us, Mr Pugh. It's time for you to start listening!"

**Robat ap Tomas**

Four members of Cymdeithas yr Iaith were found not guilty of criminal damage at Cardiff magistrates' court on the 23rd of November even though they acknowledged that they had painted 'Deddf Iaith Newydd - Dyma'r Cyfle!' (A New Language Act - Now's the opportunity!) on the walls of the government building in Cathays Park.

The 4 were Lowri Larsen of Caernarfon, Menna Machreth of Llanddarog, Carmarthenshire, Lois Barrar from Ffos y Gerddinen/Nelson, Glamorgan, and Gwenno Teifi of Lanfihangel ar Arth, Carmar. The case was thrown out because the prosecution had not prepared their papers in time. Hedd Gwynfor, Cymdeithas yr Iaith Vice-Chairman, said: "The slogan 'Deddf Iaith Newydd - Dyma'r Cyfle!' has been painted on the walls of the government building in

Cardiff week after week to stress that now is a golden opportunity to introduce a New Language Act because legislation has to be brought before Westminster to dissolve the language quango.

"The authorities have been rushing to get these cases through the courts in order to stop the direct action. In this first case, they have failed and it's 1-0 to Cymdeithas. Our action will continue to impress the seriousness of the situation on those in power in the Assembly and also to increase the awareness of the people of Wales.

"We are especially grateful to Owen John Thomas AC for coming to the court to testify that the Assembly government are hindering democratic debate on the need for a new Language Act."



# Éire

## An Saol Ó Dheas Uainn

Fuaireamar cóip den iris *Táin: The Australian Irish Network* a fhoilsítear sé uair in aghaidh na bliana ó **P O Box 2618, Fitzroy 3065, Victoria** ar \$5.50 an t-eagrán. Tá suíomh idirlinn acu fosta [www.tain.net.au](http://www.tain.net.au).

An t-eagrán atá againn tugann sé suntas don dealbh atá tógtha le gairid i Rockingham (gar do Freemantle) an áit as ar sheol an *Catalpa* lena lasta de príosúnaigh Fíneacha sa bhliain 1876. Ormond Waters a scríobh an t-alt. B'é ba mhó is léir a bhí taobh thiar den iarracht. Dealbhadóirí Éireannacha lonnaithe san Astráil, Joan agus Christie Smith, a rinne an píosa taithneamhach –callta ag dul san aer 'na Géanna Fiáine'.

In eagarthocal faoi taobh den dealbh 'Stopping the Deliberate Forgetting' (arbh fhiú dúinn féin sa bhaile suntas a thabhairt dó fosta!) deir said 'The proud memory of such history enables those who are today more prosperous to understand the continuing need for workers organisations

of mutual support' Is follas nach ag díriú ar an tréimhse thart atá *Táin*.

Ach ní ar chúrsaí na hÉireann amháin atá an iris dírithe ná ar na hÉireannaigh san Astráil amháin. Ar leathanach 3 mar shampla tá nóta fa dtaobh den dialannaí Albannach Georgina McGrae ar leanbh gréine de chúigiú Iarla Gordon í; ar leathanach 4 tá fógra do shuíomh idirlinn [www.australiancelticstiger.com.au](http://www.australiancelticstiger.com.au) 'an on line directory identifying the resources of the Australian Celtic Community' á eagrú ag Kevin McCarthy agus fógra eile do shaotharlann 'Remembering Lives' san Celtic Club i Melbourne; ar leathanach 5 tá fógra d'imeacht eile eagraithe san Celtic Club céanna agus leathanach iomlán de fhógraí d'imeachtaí san Celtic Club céanna atá i leathanach 9.

I measc ma seiminear fógraithe in Ollscoil Melbourne bhí *Sinn Féin Bretons – Breton Militants and Ireland from 1916* á stiúradh ag Dan Leach ar 18ú Deireadh Fómhair agus ceann eile ag an Dr. Val Noone ar an 8ú

Samhain' *Sunburst Gaelic: Hobby, Dream or Cultural Lifeline?* Ar leathanach 11 tá fógra do ranganna Breathnaise san Caulfield South Community House agus san Celtic Club ( cá heile!), Tá fógra do Celtic Clothing and Gifts ag [www.totallyceltic.com](http://www.totallyceltic.com) ar leathanach 18 agus ceann ar leathanach 19 do 'Seventh Annual Lake School of Celtic Music, Song and Dance' i Koroit ag tús mhí Eanáir seo chugainn.

Dírthe ar Ghaidhlig atá leathanach 22 agus a leath de leathanach 23 le haltanna ar Scots Gaelic i Canberra CD, fadhbanna chroí i nGaeltacht nah Alban; 'O mo dhuth aici, O my Country where do you stay? le Rob McCoy. Fógraítear Celtic Folk Show chuile Luain ar radio éigin agus oícheanta Breathnaise chuile Mháirt san Celtic Club.

Agus mar bhuai bhí 'Festival Divers na Celtic Nations' ann i mí Lúnasa. Bhí 'Cornish Singers' ann, 'Manx Music', an 'Victoria Welsh Choir', 'Breton Music' agus oirfidí eile ón Iodáil agus ón Spáin. Tharla san uilig san MooneeValley Racing Club i Moonee Ponds.

### Summary

*This article outlines the contents of an issue of Táin: The Australian Irish Network which deals not only with Irish and Irish-Australian matters but also provides information on the other Celts.*

Pádraig Ó Snodaigh

## Amhránaí Tradaisiúnta Cónaitheach

Ceapadh Pádraigín Ní Uallacháin i bhFómhair 2005 ina hEalaíontóir Cónaithe in Ionad Filíochta Séamus Heaney Ollscoil na Banríona, Béal Feirste. Is í an chéad Amhránaí Tradaisiúnta Cónaitheach ar an ollscoil í. Tá an post a mhaoiniú ag an ollscoil agus ag Foras na Gaeilge go Méan Fómhair 2006

Tá Pádraigín Ní Uallacháin ar dhuine de na ceoltóirí traidisiúnta is bisiúla agus is cruthaithe i Éirinn. Bíonn sí le cloisteáil ag canadh ar an tsean-nós ach is ionduil go mbíonn sí ar an ardán le tionlacan ón sárcheoltóir agus giotaraí Steve Cooney. D'oibrigh sí agus thaistil sí leis na blianta leis an gcumadóir agus cheoltóir snagcheoil iomráiteach Palle Mikkellborg. Chuir sí go suntasach le gach gné cruthaitheach de thraidisiún na hamhránaíochta in Éirinn. Is seoid í a céad albam, *A Stór is a Stóirín* a tháinig amach ar lipéad Gael Linn i 1994 ( dlúthdhiosca dúbalta a atheisíodh le déanaí ag Gael Linn). Ar na halbaim eile aici ar lipéad Gael Linn tá: *An Dara Craiceann*, (1995) *When I Was Young*, (1997) agus *An Dealg Óir*, (2002).

Is í Pádraigín a scríobh an duaisleabhar *A HIDDEN ULSTER* (Four Courts Press 2004), saothar scoláireachta a chuireann síos ar phobal, ar amhráin agus ar thraidisiúin a ceantar dúchais Oiriaila (oirdheisceart chúige Uladh).

Cé gur amhránaí traidisiúnta í fógraítear ré nua beoga don amhránaíocht i nGaeilge. leis an dlúthdhiosca nua *ÁILLEACHT* (CEFCD 187 Gael Linn 2005). Bailiúchán dá cuid cumadóireachta comhaimseartha féin atá ar an albam seo agus is í an chéad bhean in Éirinn í chun a leithéid a eisiúint.

*Pádraigín Ní Uallacháin was appointed last autumn as the Traditional Singer in Residence in the Seamus Heaney Centre for Poetry, School of English QU Belfast 2005-6. The role will be to provide a focus for a series of explorations and lines of communication between Irish traditional singing and wider cultural concerns on campus, in the Belfast community, including links between Ireland and Scotland. She will be conducting a series of events and presentations for students and staff at Queen's University during the academic year. Links will be formed with other*



Pádraigín Ní Uallacháin

departments including the School of Music and the Department of Irish and Celtic Studies at Queen's. She will be available for presentations in the wider community on an outreach basis. This residency is funded by Foras na Gaeilge in association with the School of English, Queen's University Belfast. Pádraigín Ní Uallacháin recently released a CD *Áilleacht* (Beauty), of her own newly composed songs. Her first album in 1994, *A Stór is a Stóirín* (a double CD recently reissued by Gael Linn) is regarded as a jewel and classic in Irish song recordings. She is the author of the award-winning book *A Hidden Ulster* (Four Courts Press 2003) a scholarly work on the people, songs and traditions of her native Oriel. Her other albums on the Gael Linn music label include *An Dara Craiceann*, (1995) *When I Was Young* (1997) and *An Dealg Óir* (2002).



## Proposal to Sideline Irish in Second Level Education

In November the Fine Gael leader, Enda Kenny, announced a proposal at the party's annual conference that the Irish language be no longer a necessary subject for second level studies leading to the Leaving Certificate but be made optional. This announcement was made it seems without any consultation. The president of Conradh na Gaeilge, Dáithí Mac Cárthaigh, stated that he was surprised and sorry to hear about this policy which went against Fine Gael traditions and that such a policy would do damage to the Irish language (it may be mentioned however this reference to FG tradition is not totally true as while the party's predecessor introduced measures to promote Irish in the early days of the State Fine Gael was the party which did away with the requirement for Irish for entry to the State service in the seventies). If Enda Kenny's proposals are adopted Conradh na Gaeilge said, "Irish will go the way of Latin in our Education system for the reasons set out below. Our system needs reforming in order to teach Irish and other languages effectively and pleasurably" The following reasons were listed;

student will be left with no choice but to choose the other subject, thereby denying such students the choice of studying Irish.

4. Many schools would discontinue teaching Irish for the Leaving Certificate.

This policy, if it were to be implemented, would be a retrograde step not only regarding the teaching of Irish but also to teaching of other languages, which goes against the policy of The Council of Europe and the European Union; that all citizens have proficiency in three languages. Conradh na Gaeilge fully endorses this European ideal.

We understand that there is a need for change and the following are Conradh na Gaeilge's policies regarding this question.

1. All language teachers at both primary and post-primary level to have attended a year long immersion course in that language's heartland as part of their training. 2. One subject along with Irish to be taught through Irish to all pupils/students. 3. One subject to be taught through a third language to every second level student.

• The realisation of an Irish language syllabus (1) for native speakers and (2) for learners. • The realisation of intense 'catch

Official Status to Irish in the EU! One group which took immediate action was the relatively new organisation 'Na Gaeil Óga' who organised a march to and protest at the Fine Gael offices.

In a debate with the Fine Gael leader, Enda Kenny, in January, the Minister for Gaeltacht Affairs, Eamon Ó Cúiv, said there would be no change in Government policy in relation to Irish on the Leaving Certificate.

"Irish reflects a unique heritage and a world heritage which we hold in trust," he said. "It is only right that every child being educated in Ireland should have the right to be taught both languages in the first and second level systems."

There had been monumental mistakes in relation to Irish tuition, but it was not the abysmal failure that had been portrayed. Some one million people said they knew Irish, and 100,000 said they spoke it daily, according to Census figures, and the growth in Irish medium schools showed that there was a continued demand for Irish language tuition. However the Minister acknowledged that a radical review of Irish Language teaching in Irish schools is necessary.

### Na Gaeil Óga: Youth Conference

"Ní neart go cur le chéile" or 'Strength in Coming Together' was the theme of the Youth Conference "Young People and the Irish Language" organised by Na Gaeil Óga, in Trinity College in Dublin at the end of January.

The aim of the conference was to inspire young people to use Irish by informing them of their rights with regard to the Irish Language, the role of the Irish language in the Irish education systems, and the importance of promoting the language amongst the growing immigrant communities in Ireland. Youth organisations, Irish language student societies, Na Gaeil Óga members, young people and members of the Irish language community will be attending the Conference.

Ciarán Mac Fhearghusa, Na Gaeil Óga Chairperson, says that "Irish is increasingly becoming sexier, more interesting and more enjoyable mainly as a result of the current boom in the social calendar of the Irish language community. We must build from this by making young people aware of their rights in relation to Irish and aware of an ever-growing and vibrant Irish language youth movement if we are to secure the future of the language for the next generations."

Na Gaeil Óga is an politically independent youth movement, that aims to develop social and activism based links between youth organisations and individuals interested in Irish.



Members of 'Na Gaeil Óga' assembling outside TCD prior to their protest march to Fine Gael offices.

1. There have been problems in the teaching of mathematics in recent years. A new syllabus is being designed to combat this problem. Would this approach in the case of Irish not be a preferred solution?

2. Irish like any other language is a skill to acquire by practice. You cannot cram a language. Students would be under tremendous pressure in the context of the points system, to choose a subject that can be crammed. Irish is not a cramming subject.

3. If students are forced to choose between Irish and other subjects required for their chosen careers (for example biology or chemistry in the case of medicine) the

up' courses in Irish for pupils who attended school overseas. • The realisation of State examinations in the major languages of the immigrant communities."

An Conradh called for supporters and the public to write to Enda Kenny T.D.(Dáil Éireann, Baile Átha Cliath 2) in support of the Conradh's position.

The debate on this proposal is only heating up now and there seems to a flow of articles in the print media since from bodies who have little regard for the Irish language but are only too happy to exploit the failures of the educational system to reduce its status – quite ironic in view of the granting of



## The North – Assembly back in 2006??

It is now eight years almost since the Good Friday agreement on the North was signed. There have been many twists and turns in the implementation or indeed non-implementation of the Agreement since, many of them related to the reluctance of the Unionists to accept the ramifications of the Agreement and their attempts at 'claw back'. In that eight year period the political landscape in the North changed with the emergence of Ian Paisley's Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) as the main force in Unionism, Sinn Féin's success in becoming the party on the nationalist/ republican side with the biggest representation and the standing down of the IRA with a final act of decommissioning of its arsenal. While some developments were predictable one sure thing about the working out of the process is that it has never ceased to contain hidden surprises.

In October 2002, in the so-called 'Stormontgate' affair raids took place on the Sinn Féin offices at Stormont and elsewhere (see Carn 129). The British government and the Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI) accused Sinn Féin of operating a spy ring, masses of documents and computers were seized. The affair led to the fall of the Local (Northern) Assembly and its power sharing Executive. Three people were charged, one of them being Denis Donaldson, head of Sinn Féin's office at Stormont, and it was stated that all would be prosecuted. Then in early Dec. 2005, at a court hearing, all charges against the men were dropped!

Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams called for an end to 'political policing' and stated there never was a spy ring and that the allegations were spread by police elements hostile to the peace process. He said there were those within the Special Branch (old RUC Special Branch), some still active in the PSNI, who continue to be at war with Irish republicans and who opposed Sinn Féin and the peace process. Unionists demanded the Public Prosecutions Service (PPS) justify its decision. The only explanation offered was that 'prosecutions of the offences in relation to the accused were no longer in the public interest'. Irish Taoiseach Bertie Ahern said 'after hundreds of troops descending on Stormont for what was stated to be irrefutable evidence, I do not quite understand it'. As this came after a meeting with British Premier Tony Blair he did obviously did not get any enlightenment there and said that Blair claimed to know nothing about it.

Hardly had the dust settled on this when, within a few weeks, Denis Donaldson confessed (to Sinn Féin initially before they went public) to having been a paid British spy for twenty years! He was apparently informed by his Special Branch handlers that he was about to be 'outed' as an informant in a Sunday newspaper and that his life would be

under threat. He expressed regret for his actions and said he had been recruited by British intelligence after having 'comprised himself at a vulnerable period in his life' in the 1980s. He adamantly maintained that there was never any Sinn Féin 'spy ring' in Stormont.

The real effect of these events is difficult to interpret. One interpretation of the matter is that the dropping of the Stormontgate charges was to protect Donaldson's role. The PPS had applied for a public immunity order, a gagging order, which would have allowed them to withhold certain evidence while pressing the charges. When this was refused the risk was too high. Then it was decided that Donaldson had outlived his usefulness. When told he was to be 'ousted' he was apparently offered protection. The implication here of course was that if he disappeared into a protection scheme the inference would be that his life was at risk from a still active IRA.



Rev. Ian Paisley

The International Monitoring Commission (IMC - not part of the Good Friday Agreement but set up later by the two governments to report on IRA and loyalist paramilitary activity and dependant on security and police reports) was then due to report early in the New Year. If this report confirmed no activity on the IRA side fresh impetus could be given to efforts to get the Local Assembly and Executive back in operation. If however the IMC reported that a senior Sinn Féin ex-member was being and had to be protected it would be taken that the IRA was still active. However Donaldson chose to go to Sinn Féin and confess rather than into any protection scheme and that put paid to that. Nevertheless rumours and speculation continued to abound with claims of more spies to come and more dirty tricks from British Intelligence.

The report of the IMC was published in early Feb. It claimed that while the IRA had been acting largely in accordance with its stand down statement of July last (and the IMC accepted that that was its strategic intent) it was still engaged in intelligence gathering, involved in criminality and - a key issue - that it had reports that the IRA had not handed over all its arms last September. This set it up in direct conflict with Gen. John de Chastelain's Independent International Commission on Decommissioning (IICD) who in their report, published about the same time, contradicted the IMC. In fact Gen. de Chastelain stated that aware of such suggestions the IICD had

assessed matters with senior Gardai and again with the IRA. The IICD concluded '*in the absence of evidence to the contrary the Sept 26th, assessment regarding IRA arms remains correct*'. Sinn Féin dismissed the IMC report and accused its authors of political bias. Martin McGuinness said the report 'was the work of an anti republican body which is little more than a proxy for securocrats and political detectives'.

As might be expected the DUP and Ian Paisley sized on the IMC report as vindication of their stance. At the party's conference Paisley said the DUP wanted complete IRA disbandment, standing down was not sufficient. He also took the opportunity to insult Irish President Mary McAleese saying she was dishonest and 'hated Northern Ireland'.

Talks initiated by the Irish and British governments between themselves and the parties on an individual basis - which were supposed to lay out a strategy to get the institutions functioning again - began in early Feb. Sinn Féin's Gerry Adams had called on the governments to 'make it clear' to Ian Paisley that the object of the forthcoming talks is to fully restore all the institutions of the Belfast Agreement. After the first round of talks, at which the Irish Foreign Minister, Dermot Ahern, is said to have rebuked Paisley for his comments on the President, any early recall of the Northern Assembly was ruled out. In light of progress to date, the IMC report and Paisley's attitude future movement is likely to be just as torturous as past. Even seasoned commentators are expecting no outcome before autumn. So can we expect an Executive and Assembly in 2006? Don't hold your breath!

### Decision to refuse 89-room Aparthotel in Connemara upheld

Bord Pleanála has upheld a decision to refuse planning permission for an 89-room aparthotel in the Connemara Gaeltacht village of Spiddal due to the adverse impact on the Irish language. The board also believes the scheme would result in an 'over - intensive and inappropriate' form of development in a small village, and would introduce an 'incongruous and discordant element' to the location.

The original proposal was refused permission by Galway County Council on five grounds, including adverse impact on linguistic and cultural heritage and inappropriate density. Galway's county development plan includes grounds for refusing any development which will have a significant negative impact on the Irish language in the Gaeltacht. Recent residential schemes planned for the Connemara Gaeltacht have included conditions that a percentage of homes must be sold to competent Irish speakers.



# Lessons of the Irish Ferry Dispute



*The Isle of Inishmore which was tied up by officers action at Pembroke Dock*

The bitter Irish Ferries dispute, which was finally resolved in the run up to Christmas, tells much about the attitude of some Irish employers, their intent to exploit cheap labour and their attitude to reasonable pay and conditions achieved over successive wage agreements by their workers. Although the company which owns Irish Ferries, Irish Continental, is very profitable they wanted to make even more profit and decided to go about this by bringing in low cost East European labour with the displacement of their unionised Irish work force of over five hundred on the Irish Sea routes between Ireland and Britain. It may be mentioned that company had already implemented such a scheme on its route to France.

In September last, the staff on the Irish Sea routes had been given two weeks to accept a redundancy offer of eight weeks pay per year of service. Alternatively, they could keep their jobs but on reduced pay and altered conditions. Two of the eight weeks of redundancy payments were described by the company as 'goodwill' payments, conditional on staff co-operating with the change over to agency crews.

Ships officers, who are members of Siptu, refused to sail the vessels since November 24th, when security personnel, disguised as passengers, boarded two ships to begin implementation of the company's outsourcing plan. They were followed on board the two ships, The Isle of Innismore and the Ulysses, by agency workers who were due to replace existing staff. In the Isle of Inishmore, in Pembroke Docks, the ship's officers barricaded themselves into the control room.

This action by Irish Ferries prompted the following from Taoiseach Bertie Ahern, concerned about the impact of the dispute on

industrial relations generally at a time when new national talks were scheduled to begin 'I can understand why companies want to restructure and there are case studies for decades about how you do these things, but if you were to go out and try to invent in the year 20005 a ham-fisted way of upsetting everybody, this is a very good case study.'

With the stand off continuing Siptu members in Rosslare took support action at the end of November and the Irish Ferries ferry MV *Normandy* coming from France, was not allowed to dock. Irish Ferries retaliated by threatening to take one of the ships, the Jonathan Swift fast ferry sailing from Dublin to Holyhead, out of service for all but the summer months and to make 'immediate lay-offs' as a result.

The Seaman's Union of Ireland (SUI) representing the ratings (deckhands) called for management and Siptu to move towards resolution of the dispute. SUI general secretary Robert Carrick said he was consulting members about the latest development. The vast majority of SUI member had applied for redundancy, but Mr Carrick said that many did so only because 'a gun was put to their head'.

The Irish Congress of Trade Unions (ICTU) organised a day of protests in support of the Irish Ferries workers and to highlight wider concerns about exploitation of migrant workers and the displacement of jobs. It was held on Friday Dec. 9th and the depth of public feeling on the issue was demonstrated by the high turnout at the protest marches in nine cities and towns across the State. In Dublin, tens of thousands took part in the biggest trade union demonstration since the tax marches in 1979. Estimates of the turnout varied but ICTU put it at between 80,000 and 100,000.

As the march moved through the city to

Dáil Éireann (where it was addressed by Trade Union leaders) it was applauded. In the other cities and towns crowds of up to fifteen thousand turned out. Speakers at the rallies said that the issue which triggered the Irish Ferries dispute, displacement by cheaper migrant workers, was already widespread. Hundreds of thousands of others were affected – the hotel and catering industries, the bar industry and construction industries were riddled with it.

Meanwhile, under pressure, Irish Ferries had finally agreed to go to the Labour Relations Commission after an invitation was issued by its Chief Executive. After several weeks of intensive efforts a deal was brokered. The main points were:

- ♦ Irish Ferries can proceed with its plan to outsource crew on its Irish Sea vessels BUT its new seafarers must be paid at least the Irish minimum wage (those in senior positions will receive more) – **this is about twice what had been proposed.**
- ♦ Crews will also have significantly more time off than originally planned.
- ♦ Pay and conditions of seafarers will be underpinned by a binding agreement grounded in Irish law.
- ♦ Existing ships officers and ratings who wish to remain with the company will have pay and conditions protected.
- ♦ The new company will 'reflag' its vessels to another state. (There had been fears that if this happened a legal agreement would be unenforceable but having taken legal advice Siptu was assured that this could be grounded in Irish law).
- ♦ Industrial peace is guaranteed for at least three years, with any issues in dispute going to binding arbitration.
- ♦ The firm will achieve savings of €11.5 million a year, rather than the €15 million expected under the outsourcing plan.
- ♦ All personnel, on returning to work, to be treated 'as if the dispute had never happened'.

The lessons are clear for the Irish work force affected by changing circumstances. Existing pay and conditions can be maintained if a firm stance is taken and backed by the broader trade union movement now that they have woken up to their responsibilities. It is equally important that immigrant workers are assured of at least the same minimum pay and conditions as Irish workers. These issues have to be dealt with and copper fastened in any new national wage deals.

Some of those who choose to ignore the effect of open access into Ireland from the Eastern European accession states on the wages and standards of Irish workers seem to have got a wake up call. Labour party leader, Pat Rabbitte, called for a green card system to be examined. The level of debate on these issues may be seen by the fact that this modest proposal was promptly deemed racist (!) by the Government parties.



In an open letter to RTE's interviewer, Aine Lawlor, Antony Coughlan of National Platform commented on the events and attitudes as follows:

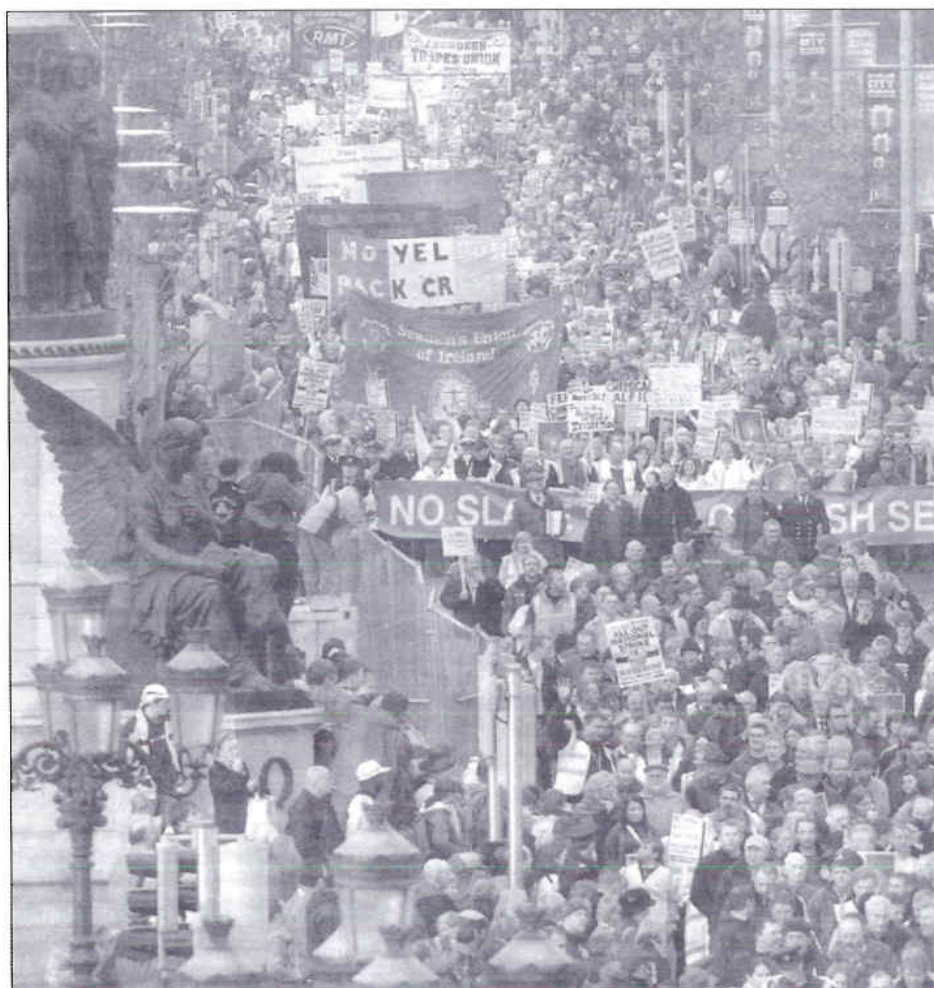
*I was amused to hear you interview ICTU's David Begg on "Morning Ireland" today re the Irish Ferries dispute and to hear him expatiating on what he termed the problems that arise from merging an Irish labour force of 2 million with an East European labour force of 70 million. The thought crossed my mind that maybe you would suggest that David Begg was encouraging "racism" and "racist" sentiment by drawing attention to such problems.*

*I remember well your putting this suggestion to me when I tried to draw attention to exactly this situation in an interview with you on the same programme at the time of the second Nice Treaty referendum in 2002. I sought to point out on that occasion that merging a labour market of 2 million with one of 70 million would lead to significant immigration to Ireland from the poorer countries of Eastern Europe, that this would inevitably have a downward effect on Irish workers' wage-rates and working conditions, and would make it difficult to maintain even the minimum wage rate for many people working here. During the Nice referendum*

*I also remember David Begg implying that it was encouraging "racism" to suggest that it would be difficult to maintain high-quality wage and working conditions in face of significant immigration, when he and I spoke together at the Magill Summer School in Donegal. Mr Begg and such other Yes-side worthies as Proinsias de Rossa and Minister for Europe Dick Roche produced ludicrously low estimates at that time of how many workers would come to this country if we were one of only a handful of EU States to operate an "open door" policy from Day One of EU enlargement. See some of their estimates below. They threw insults about "racism" and "racist" at anyone who questioned their dogmatic assurance that no serious problems could arise.*

*The problems arising from Gama, Irish Ferries, the widespread violation of our minimum wage laws in the construction and some service trades etc., are occurring in a context where Ireland has an economic boom and there are plenty of jobs available. Can you imagine how hard it would be to maintain Irish workers' wages and standards in the event of an economic downturn? Being unable to prevent downward pressure on Irish workers' wages and working conditions due to their uncritical embrace of uncontrolled EU immigration,*

*David Begg and others will now fall back on seeking to maintain the Irish minimum wage level, even though many immigrants are willing to work for less than that. Trying to maintain different national minimum wage-levels in a 25-Member EU in which there is total free movement of labour is a bit*



**A section of the large ICTU Irish Ferries workers support march in Dublin.**

*like trying to enforce one minimum wage rate in Kerry, but a different one in Limerick next door, and a different one again in Tipperary and the other Irish counties. One can attempt it with an army of Labour Inspectors, but widespread evasion is inevitable.*

*I can imagine the day will come when some attractive Czech and Polish radio presenters, as articulate as your good self but willing to work for less money, will appear on RTE's current affairs programmes as a result of the station being affected by "the bracing winds of competition" in the labour market which David Begg and others have helped let Irish workers in for.*

*In late 2002 I was present at the National Forum in Europe in Dublin Castle when David Begg told those present that he supported the proposed EU Constitution. This was before that Constitution had even been signed and when its final provisions were not yet publicly known. Mr Begg's commitment of support was given without any policy discussion on the matter in ICTU's affiliated trade unions. If the French had voted Yes to the EU Constitution last summer and we had had the referendum on it that was planned for here in October, one can be confident that Mr Begg would have been urging Irish workers to vote for it, with much fatuous talk about the "European social model", only for them to regret*

*bitterly doing that later when it was too late. The establishment economic wisdom is that the wave of Eastern European immigrants (Polish, Latvian, Lithuanian) has helped maintain Irish economic progress (and never mind the social cost in their countries of original, as outlined in recent TV reports, for example, of whole villages denuded of their youth in Latvia, reminiscent of Ireland decades ago).*

*A more long term view has recently emerged however in the report of the National Economic and Social Forum (NESF) published in early February. It said that Ireland has to wean itself off its dependency on immigrant workers and focus on retraining large numbers of unskilled and unemployed workers.*

*The report stated that the cost of future immigration will be increasingly shouldered by the government, and not private companies, as the cost of housing, educating and integrating workers from abroad escalates.*

*The average age of future immigrant workers is likely to rise above 30 years, the level at which it now stands and the cost to the public services will rise accordingly. It also seems that the €1 billion the state spends on returning Irish people to the workforce could be much more effectively used.*





# Kernow



## Studh trist

Awos oll aswonnvos agan yeth, yma Kernow ow sedhi downna a-dhann gwel. Travyth a vo gwrys y'n ternas erbysieyth ny vir orth studh anfeusik genesigyon an vro. Ny yllir dismygi aberveth yn soedhvaow towlenna marnas an linenn usyes a dhyskir. henn yw kavoes sita ha delinya kylgh adro dhodho. Pub tra arall a omsyw. Leow ober ha daffar edhommek a bub sort a vydh desedhys y'n sita ha'n pow efan a vydh kudhys a dreven koskti.

Dar, ny dhesedh henna dhe wlas a'n hen batron keskar keltek? Ny'gan deur mann! Rag provia arveth ny yllir gweles pella es tournyaseth. Agan diwysyansow hengovek a vydh gesys dhe goll onan hag onan heb travyth y'ga le saw gorvarghasow hag oberow pes isel yn park karavan.

An gwiryonedh yw, heb y vos statys yn tyller vyth, bos mynnas an governans lenwel Kernow a dus dhiworth ken rannow a Bow Sows rag esya aga hudennow. Nyns eus preder gwir adro dhe wellhe savon bywa kernowyon agan honan.

Y feu govynnys orth an mynistrans yeghes prag yw le an gront dhe glavjiow hag erell yn Kernow es dell yw yn rannow kehalval yn Pow Sows? An gorthyb o: drefenn bos kost bywa isella omma. Styrians henna yw: drefenn agan oberoryon dhe wonis rag arvethow isel. Yndella rychys Breten Veur a vydh rennys yn dann vaystri 'Lavur Nowydh'.

Marth yw gweles milvilyow dedhewys orth hwel sten, marow hedhyw yn jydh, rag y efanhe dhe voy tornysi: nyns o kwestyon, hedra ve yn ober, a ri gront an par-na a alla martesen y witha yn fyw!

Nowodhow da a'y wosa: Kernow a veu breusys boghosek lowr arta dhe dhendil mona 'amkan onan' dhiworth Brussels. Piw a woer? A allsa pobel Gernow dervynn desedhans gwel?

### Summary

*Despite the belated recognition of one distinctive feature of Kernow, (the language), the economic and social concerns of Cornwall, a dispersed population on the ancient Celtic model, do not receive much attention. The economy is forced to conform to the standard city-based pattern this centralises facilities in city centres, which, in the case of East Cornwall, means outside Cornwall altogether. The countryside is reserved for dormitory estates or second homes ridiculously over-priced for an area designated once again as so poor on a European scale as to be allocated Objective One funds.*

*It is to be hoped that the Cornish will demand a more sensible and more just distribution of these funds, which have not been used to support existing industries but almost exclusively on tourist developments. Just how much the welfare of locals is taken into account can be judged from this question and answer: A Cornish politician: Why are Cornish healthcare facilities granted less money per head than similar English ones? Ministry of Health: Because costs are lower in Cornwall, i.e. you have very low wages. That is how Great Britain's riches are shared out under 'New Labour'. The wealthy receive more and the poor, less!*

**Julyan Holmes**

## Flag fiasco



Mebyon Kernow  
The Party for Cornwall

The recent fiasco involving the Cornish Flag and planning law shows just how out-of-touch central government is when it comes to Cornwall.

Questioned as to whether a Cornish Flag could be flown without planning permission, Government Minister Keith Hill referred to 'legislation' which states that the flying of 'national' flags was exempt from planning controls. This legislation covered the flags of foreign countries - from Albania and Afghanistan to Zambia and Zimbabwe - and not just those within the British state.

Like most Labour Ministers, he dodged the enquiry about the Cornish Flag. For some strange reason he stated that the Cross of St George was a 'national' flag and therefore exempt from planning rules. He added "individual saint's flags, which are not also national flags, require prior consent from the local planning authority before they can be shown."

Hill's monumental misjudgement led to uproar in Cornwall, while the sale of Cornish flags increased greatly.

During Christmas week, the Minister, obviously stunned by the backlash in Cornwall, partially backed down which was greeted as a 'victory' by local newspapers. 'Victory in flag battle' declared the Western Morning News.

In fact Mr Hill has stated that district councils should 'turn a blind eye' to the regulations, adding: "Local planning authorities have day-to-day responsibility for the operation of the advertisement control system. It is therefore entirely a matter for the relevant local planning authority to determine whether St Piran's Flag should be permitted or whether they consider it is necessary to take enforcement action."

### MK commented:

*'It is unacceptable that local councils should be advised by central government to turn 'a blind eye' in the case of these planning regulations.*

*Planning law is clear: 'National' flags may be flown without planning permission and St Piran's Flag is our national banner. And just as there are no restrictions on the flying of the Welsh Dragon or the Scottish Saltire, we should be free to fly the Cornish Flag. Our challenge to Mr Hill is clear: He must confirm unambiguously that his government considers our flag is a national flag and thereby fully covered by the regulations. (Editor, MK)*

## John Bolitho (Jowan an Cleth) R.I.P.



### John Bolitho (Jowan an Cleth) R.I.P

Well-known Cornishman, John Bolitho, past Grand Bard, died on Monday 5th December 2005.

As Grand Bard he visited Cornish bards in Australia and was made patron of the Cornish Association of Victoria.

It is due to his enthusiasm and support that a website was created for Gorseth Kernow.

Estimates of the number of mourners vary from 600 to 1,000. The service at the Methodist Chapel included a personal tribute from Grand Bard Rod Lyon/Tewennow in Cornish and English. A

procession, led by the Gorseth Piper, of several hundred people, representing the many organizations John supported, followed the coffin. The reception in a Hotel included the Cornish music of which John was so much a part.



# Cornwall 2020 – Regenerated or Ruined?

I expect you remember the publicity given to the news that Cornwall had been awarded Objective One status back in 1999. The pictures of happy, smiling faces celebrating with bottles of champagne outside County Hall? It seemed as if Cornwall's future was secure, that a golden future for all of us lay just over the horizon, that Cornwall would no longer be the poor relation of the UK.

Yet only last month the Western Morning News published a gloomy front-page article entitled "Cornwall Falls Further Behind". The chairman of the Devon and Cornwall Business Council was quoted as saying "There is a danger of kidding ourselves about how successful we are, with great headlines about the Eden project, Rick Stein and the tourist boom". The paper pointed out that progress made in upgrading tourist facilities and attracting more visitors has hardly dented the deep-rooted poverty caused by the loss of real wealth creating activity (mining being given as the principle example) and the persistent problems experienced by the farming and fishing industries. Sobering thoughts indeed.

However, I don't wish to dwell on the success or otherwise of the Objective One Programme, nor, indeed, of any other specific regeneration programme. Instead, I want to look at the broader picture of what is happening to Cornwall and what sort of future is evolving for Cornwall. Because the sad truth is that, at the moment, Cornwall is being devoured before our very eyes and at an ever-increasing rate.

In 2003 the Countryside Agency published something they called "The State of the Countryside 2020" which suggested that a more long-term view of the future of the English countryside might be necessary if a deteriorating social, economic and, particularly, environmental scenarios were to be avoided. It argued for a variety of more sustainable policies and solutions to the problems of the 21st Century. How much influence it had I don't know - in some ways it was a rather bland document, focussing on generalisations and theoretical models, while highlighting a few examples of current practice which were suggested as ideas which could be replicated elsewhere. But it lacked any real sense of urgency.

I think it is time we took a long, hard look at Cornwall's future. What will Cornwall look like in 2020 if current trends and policies continue? What have we seen happening over the last 20 years or so and where is this taking us?

Rapid in-migration led population growth has beset us hand-in-hand with more traffic, more roads, escalating house prices, shoddy developments tacked onto the edge of old villages without any regard for the local

vernacular whatsoever, executive housing that no local people can afford, the second homes scandal - and tourism promoted like some kind of religion where merely questioning its benefits is viewed as blasphemy. And amongst all this we see the increasing marginalisation of the people of Cornwall from the decision making processes, which are, inevitably, located outside of Cornwall hand-in-hand with all the better paid jobs. Much is made of "Cornish distinctiveness" in all the glossy structure plans, development plans and regeneration strategies, but precious little seems to reflect this.

All these changes are happening at an ever-increasing rate and one gets the impression that we are running to stand still. To accommodate it all means a Cornwall that is not really Cornwall - or, at least, is devoid of most of the characteristics that people associate with and value as being Cornish.

There unfolds a dilemma - how can Cornish distinctiveness and the Cornish environment not be lost to the excesses of population growth and "development"?

Amidst all this road building, urbanisation, sub-urbanisation, land-take and perpetual inequality, sometimes linked to it and sometimes independent of it, is Cornwall's "regeneration". What regeneration actually means is a somewhat puzzling question. Bodies such as the Regional Development Agency and the Objective One delivery machine seem to view it as purely economic and tend to focus mainly on large-scale initiatives using criteria and application processes that exclude or deter so many small-scale businesses and projects. Then we have talk of "capacity building" and training and skills development. But when are we going to co-ordinate training and the development of new industries so that the one leads naturally into the other? Occasionally, the odd village hall project might get a look in, but by and large, the social and recreational side of community life is ignored.

Be that as it may - the fact is that new regeneration initiatives seem to be parachuted into Cornwall almost on a daily basis, often with scant regard for each other and what may already be happening. Not surprisingly, amongst such a variety of programmes there are some that are more beneficial than others - and some have made measurable differences that are positive. Yet too many suffer from inflexible or inappropriate criteria and excessive bureaucracy. Driven by prescriptive output targets, they often operate outside a Cornish context, despite all the fuss about Cornish "distinctiveness".

A further complication is that the initiatives are of limited duration, a consequence of which is the tendency for staff to flit about from one job to another, creating a lack of continuity and projects that suffer from erratic and inconsistent support. And what happens when these initiatives finish?

There's something else that puzzles me as well - the tendency for posts to be filled by non-residents and the use of outside consultants. This seems to conflict with the idea of helping Cornwall regain confidence and self-determination. I would argue that it is time to use more home-grown talent. What happened to the idea of Cornwall being a "can-do" region?

While I'm on the subject of positive discrimination - for that is something I am advocating - what about the housing market? Everybody agrees that the current housing situation in relation to local people and local wages is a crisis. I would go further and say it's a scandal - and while the growth of holiday homes and executive housing developments proliferate it will remain so.

You might think that schemes that use the criteria of "local connection" as a means of prioritising affordable housing applicants are a good idea, but when you hear that to qualify as having a "local connection" in Penzance or Hayle, one has merely to have been resident in the district for a minimum of only six months, then one's sense of reality starts to slip.

Elsewhere at this conference the argument for a Cornish Assembly has been put forward persuasively and, while it is an argument that I support, it is not something I wish to discuss here today other than "Cornish solutions for Cornish problems" will not be achieved by bodies operating on a huge South-West regional basis.

Cornwall and tourism seem to have gone hand-in-hand for a long time now but I challenge the idea that tourism is - and can only be - the cornerstone of the Cornish economy; an idea that still dominates the economic agenda. The idea of "quality tourism" with a stable and sustainable high-spending visitor level, the proceeds of which remain in and benefit Cornwall, seem just that - an idea.

Much of this sort of thing is often called progress by those that preside over it. But it is not. It is simply change - and frequently not for the better. I happily concede that success stories are taking place in Cornwall but they are not enough to hide the fact that some things have gone horribly wrong and are continuing to do so.

I don't have solutions to all these problems although you will have heard some suggestions at the various sessions that have



taken place at this conference. What I have come here today with is a warning that will encourage people to seriously consider what kind of a future is being created for us, to actually be able to visualise what Cornwall may look like in 2020 and, as a result, to question what is being shoved down our throats and press for change. One of the great dishonesties of our time is the misuse of the phrase "sustainable development", often worked in to the same old weary strategies and policies in an attempt to give them some sort of legitimacy. I believe that we are still in a position to create a 21st Century Cornwall that is a model of sustainable practice, that is a blueprint of a green economy for other undeveloped areas to aspire to, but that opportunity will soon be lost to us if we go on as we are.

Sustainability needs to be addressed seriously and, in order to do so, some hard and potentially unpopular decisions need to be made. We need to move away from this obsession with tourism and the low-paid, seasonal jobs that go with it. We need to think less in terms of economic growth and more in terms of real sustainability and look to quality jobs. We need to look at the long-term impact of development and where precedents are being set that encourage the undesirable. We need to devise a set of priorities and be honest about where these conflict with each other - and we need the courage to challenge humbug, to challenge things that are not in Cornwall's interests, even when this is difficult to do. Why, for example, is Cornwall considered a region when it comes to accessing Objective One funding but lumped in with a wider South-West region for other purposes? How many public enquiries and consultations are, frankly, stitch-ups with no real democratic legitimacy?

It is certainly true that more people are beginning to question the wisdom of current policies and the powers that be as shown in the increasing number of critical letters in the Cornish newspapers. These are, however, still minority groups and are often no more than a thorn in the side of those bulldozing their own self-interested or ill-thought-out agendas through the Cornish Countryside.

As I said earlier, it is not my purpose to provide answers to all the ills that I have highlighted today - that is something for all of us to do. But I do hope that this may be viewed as a wake-up call so that a genuinely better future for Cornwall can be delivered - and before we all feel like the author of a recent letter in the "Cornishman", complaining that the dreary and unimaginative developments proposed for Penzance were "enough to make you want to move to England".

**Peter Burton**

## NUCLEAR THREAT?

Why is the Westminster Government making a U-turn over its nuclear power policy? Okay, such U-turns are not unknown and could even be said to be quite a common occurrence among Government and its Ministers, but why now and in such a short space of time?

For those of you who are not aware of the situation, the Government reported in its White Paper on energy in 2003 that nuclear power was 'an unattractive option'. Then again in 2004, Tony Blair himself stated to a committee of Westminster MP's that 'Unless you deal with the costs and concerns that the public have, I think it is difficult to see the future for [nuclear power]'. However, at this year's Labour Party conference at the end of September, the same Tony Blair made the comment in his conference speech that 'an assessment of all options' was needed when it came to deciding on Britain's future energy needs and this 'include[d] civil nuclear power'.

What does this mean for the Celtic nations? The answer to this question lies in the fact that there are 12 power stations still operating on these islands out of 19. Nuclear accidents are not a common occurrence, but there has been a steady stream of accidents and blunders over the past few decades. In 1957 the world's first civilian nuclear accident took place in what is today Sellafield, when a reactor caught fire. Then in 1979 a partial 'meltdown' took place in Three Mile Island nuclear power station in Pennsylvania and who can forget the catastrophe of the 1986 Chernobyl disaster. Three big civilian nuclear accidents in almost 50 years may not sound such a big deal, but as all of us know nuclear power has the potential for much greater destructive consequences, as the atom bombs that killed 100,000 people in Japan in 1945 make us only too aware. When nuclear power reactors go wrong, they can have potentially devastating consequences and this will include the Celtic countries.

As Keith Parker, chief executive of the Nuclear Industry Association says 'Past performance of the nuclear industry shouldn't be seen as necessarily an indication of future performance'. It shouldn't perhaps, but for most people it is. Nuclear waste is a fact of life. The nuclear waste products of Hinkley A power station in Somerset, which generated electricity for only about a third



*Mr Burns, the mean and ruthless nuclear power station owner, from The Simpsons*

of its existence, will take a million years to be regarded as safe. But where will this nuclear waste be deposited and how will it arrive at its final destination. It will no doubt be buried deep underground at some secret site, but where: the tin mines of Kernow or the Highlands of Alba? Will we ever know? I doubt it.

But now apparently nuclear power is once again on Westminster's agenda, as one of the options for energy production that has not been ruled out. This is made even more incredulous by Westminster's massive financial bailout of British Energy in 2003, in addition to the £50 billion that had been set aside for radioactive waste clean up. Even up until a few months ago, it would have seemed unlikely that any more nuclear power stations would be built. There have been no electricity shortages, there has been no obvious public change of heart over the use of nuclear power and the cost of wind power is decreasing while steadily producing more megawatts.

The answers to my initial questions are not clear and for the time being only amount to speculation. The sceptics say that nothing has changed, but Westminster's spiel certainly has. Others from the nuclear lobby comment that nuclear power is the only means by which Westminster can mean its global targets on climate change, while still producing enough electricity to avoid power shortages. It is possible though that now that the British Energy financial screw-up is fading from public memory, the powerful support that nuclear power is reputed to receive at Westminster is making its voice heard once more.

Added to this are the real associations between Westminster's military and its civilian nuclear programme. Plans need to be made fairly soon about whether some of the Royal Navy fleet of nuclear submarines should be decommissioned or not over the coming years. But again in the words of those Westminster Minister's, this is unlikely to happen, because in his opinion Britain is still under some nuclear threat. This maybe the case (after all we are not living under an 'open democracy'), but it's more likely that those powerful pro-nuclear lobbyists in Westminster are hedging their bets that now the time is right to launch their attack.

**Rhisiart Tal-e-bot**





# Mannin



## Aghtyn noa ry hoi gynsaghey chengaghyn

Feiy ny cruinney, by vie lesh sleih feddyn aghtyn aashagh ry hoi gynsaghey chengaghyn as stoo elley. Son y chooid smoo, cha nel y lheid ayn as shegin dhyt gobbraghey creoi dy liooar. Agh my t'ou laccal loayrt chengey elley, cha nel eh feeu dy ve boirit ec grammeydys trome car y traa, grammeydys nagh vel goll er livrey hood sy chengey t'ou laccal loayrt. My t'ou shenn dy liooar, foddee dy vel cooinaghtyn ayd er gynsaghey Frangish sy scoill rish bleeantyn. Lurg shen, cha dod oo gra agh fockle ny jees ayns Frangish, agh foddee dy row grammeydys dy liooar ayd. As ta'n lheid foast taghyrt. As er agh ennagh, sy choarys-ynsee Sostnagh, foddee dy vel reddyn ny smessey. Ta trimmid currit da'n chengey loayrit kiart dy liooar as s'mie shen, agh dy mennick cha nel studeyrn geddyn greim er grammeydys ny strughtoor erbee jeh'n chengey t'ad prowal d'ynsaghey. Ayns ny cheeraghyn Celtiagh, ta'n chooish shoh feer scanshoil. Ta shin gearree cummal seose as aavioghey ny chengaghyn ain, agh t'eh doillee dy ghreinnaghey sleih ny chengaghyn shen y loayrt. Surrys enn ny brastyllyn shen (erskyn ooilley lesh sleih shinney) raad ta sleih ro faitagh dy ghra monney ayns y chengey t'ad gynsaghey, ga dy vel fys dy liooar oc er y chengey shen. Myr ta ny Yernee gra, Ebea chengey y loayrt, beaynid ee y screeu. Share lhiam bea, er lhiam. Yn agh share d'ynsaghey chengey (dy loayrt, screeu as lhaih), shen gynsaghey trooid y chengey hene, as ta reddyn mie goll er jannoo nish bentyn rish shen ayns ny cheeraghyn Celtiagh.. Agh ta ram paitchyn ayn nagh vod goll gys scoillyn raad t'ad gynsaghey trooid chengey Celtiagh. As cre mysh ny paarantyn jeh ny paitchyn ta goll gys scoillyn raad t'ad gynsagahey trooid chengey Cheltiagh? Dy mennick, cha nel y chengey shen ec ny paarantyn. Cre mysh y sleih aasit ta gearree geddyn greim er chengey Cheltiagh? Mennick dy liooar, cha nod ad goll gys brastyllyn-oie, er nonney bare lhieu gynsaghey er agh elley. Cha nodmayd gra dy chelleeragh dy by vie lesh gagh peiagh goll gys brastyl-oie. As, atreih, nagh mennick ta lheid ny brastyllyn shen goll er stiurey ec ynseyderyn ta currit da'n chengey, agh cha nel ad ro vie myr ynseyderyn. Red elley, bee fys dy liooar ec sleih er brastyllyn-oie ta gobbraghey myr clubbyn-sheshoil. Cha nel shen ny red olk, agh dy firrinagh cha nel eh croo loayrtee flaaol feer vennick, as she loayrtee flaaol ta

shin laccal erskyn ooilley. C'ed oddys mayd jannoo, myr shen? Ta reddyn dy liooar jeant hannah, agh cha nel monney geill currit da. Bare lesh y chooid smoo dy leih goll er, jannoo reddyn myr v'ad ayns ny shenn laghyn. As ta mish hene myr shen neesht. Cha nel mee gra dy lhisagh shin ceau shenn aghtyn ersooyl ny keayrtyn, t'ad ny share na aghtyn noa. T'eh scanshoil dy hoiggal dy by vie lesh gagh peiagh gynsaghey chengey elley er yn agh share leshyn ny lheeish. Foddee sleih ennagh troggal seose loar-grammeydys as gynsaghey chengey elley dy tappee. Paart dy leih, foddee ad gynsaghey loayrt dy mie er yn agh shoh. Agh er lhiam nagh vel monney sleih ayn ta goll rish shen. T'eh jeeaghyn dy vel y chooid smoo dy leih shirrey raaghyn ymmydoil sy chengey noa, as t'eh mie dy liooar daesyn y grammeydys ynsaghey liorish ny raaghyn shen. T'eh grait dy vel saase-ynsee enmyssit Eynsagh siyrit' speeideilagh lesh ynseydee dy liooar. Hoshiaght, ta ynseydee goaill fea ayns caairyn souyr ayns boayl taitnyssagh lesh blaaghyn as jallooyn aalin. Ta ny h-ynseydee cheet dy ve lhaggit liorish tayrn ennal dy down. Eisht, t'ad geaishtagh rish meer jeh skeal ta goll er lhaih magh sy chengey noa as kiaull classicagh meein goll er cloie Echeu-heear' jeh'n lhaihys. T'ad geaishtagh rish y veer jeh'n skeal kuse dy cheayrtyn marish kiaull meein, ny keayrtyn marish y chield chengey oc. Shegin da ny studeyrn ve ayns stayd lhaggit dy gheddyn foays ass shoh. T'eh grait dy vel studeyrn gynsaghey dy tappee er yn agh shoh. T'eh credjit dy vel y kiaull feer foaysagh ry hoi gynsaghey.

Ec yn un cheayrt, ta ram reddyn bentyn rish ny saaseyn-ynsee Enoa' veagh peiagh erbee jannoo as keeall ennagh echey ny eck. Myr sampleyr, ny bee kinjagh kiartaghey studeyrn ta jannoo marranyn. Shegin kiartaghey marranyn er aghtyn feer veein er aggle dy jean studeyrn coayl cree. Jean giense taitnyssagh ass y vrastyl my ta taitnys ayn, nee sleih gynsaghey. My ta baggyrt ayn, cha jean ad gynsaghey. As gow ymmyd jeh'n chengey ta goll er ynsaghey. Agh cha nel shoh cooney lhieusyn nagh vod goll gys brastyllyn. T'eh jeeaghyn dy vel ad goaill ymmyd jeh saaseyn noa ayns Nalbin cour gynsaghey Gaelg Albinagh, saaseyn vees cooie daesyn ta gynsaghey ec y thie. Myr sampleyr, ynseyder gynsaghey yn chengey da tree studeyrn as ta'n kiare jeu ooilley ayns ny thieyn oc hene. T'ad jannoo shoh

lesh y chellvane, goaill ymmyd jeh coorse er lheid va jeant son y chellvane. Saase elley, shen d'ymmydey co-earrooderyn lesh cullee ta cur yn ablid dhyt d'akin as d'eaishtagh rish yn ynseyder. Blein ny ghaa er dy henney, va'n chullee costyllagh dy liooar, agh nish t'ee costal foddee ny sloo. Ta'n chullee shoh ry gheddyn myr red ta bunnys cadjin ayns co-earrooderyn ta goll er creck ish da'n theay. Er lhimmey jeh'n Ghaelg Albinagh, ta ny hAlbinee gymmydey lheid y chullee shoh d'ynsaghey cooishyn dy liooar da ynseydee ta cummal ayns ny h-ellanyn as buill elley raad nagh vel ynseyderyn cooie ry gheddyn. Shegin da Celtiee elley goaill yn obbyr shoh ayns laue.

### Summary

*There's a pressing need for Celts to take advantage of new developments in language teaching and overcome the natural tendency to stick entirely too old methods, good though some of these are. The greatest need is felt by those, young and old, who cannot (or don't want to) attend conventional classes, or where no such classes exist. Good examples are being set in Scotland with the use of telephone classes and video-conferencing.*

Brian Stowell

## ANTHONY LEWIS

15th April 1937 - 8th November 2005



This is not a political story, but it is the story of a political man. Politics is, in essence, an interest in human affairs; an active participation in society, a belief that action will make the world, or at least part of it, a better place. To be political means courting controversy. Idealism always brings



opposition, and so it was with Tony. But this is about the private person - a man who was charismatic, intelligent, witty and charming.

Brought up in a working class family in Usk, he suffered sporadic ill health even in his early years and attended school irregularly. Sport was not his forte; he was a musical and artistic child, who enjoyed playing his violin in competitions in Eistedfodau. He had a deep and abiding passion for, and knowledge of, Welsh history, identifying with past heroes who fought for Welsh independence from England. Owain Glyndwr became his alter ego, in a world based on the stuff of legend.

While he never spoke Welsh fluently, as Usk is an English dominated area of the country, in an era before Welsh became an option in schools, he learned the language as an adult, acquiring a wide vocabulary, and could read and write it.

When he first started work it was in a nursery, where he began to learn his vast array of plant lore. Gardens remained an abiding interest, and he could transform the most dismal weed-choked patch of ground into a colourful, fragrant, flower filled water garden, a pleasure to the senses.

His National Service in the RAF took him to Germany, near the border with Holland. He learned German and Dutch and spoke both well, still reading his German books most nights right up to his death. His reading matter was not always politically correct by today's mores, but conformity was not one of Tony's characteristics. He may well have stayed in Germany, but instead came back to Wales, now fully realising his Welsh identity, having been the target of 'Taffy' jokes in the air force.

From his early employment as a bus driver, he turned to more creative pursuits, becoming a self-taught silver and gold smith and setting up a jewellery business, a profession he developed from a love of early Celtic art, with its swirling and flowing interlace, to the later Celtic influence of Archibald Knox, the Manx Art Nouveau designer for Liberty's, whose work he saw and admired when he came to live in the Isle of Man.

His political activism with the Free Wales Army and its offshoots in the 60s and 70s led to his arrest and imprisonment, along with his co-fighters for the cause of an independent Wales. His experiences of solitary confinement in 1969 reinforced his desire for freedom in the political, physical and emotional senses, and the friendships formed during these years remained with him for the rest of his life.

Tony first came to the Isle of Man to sell his jewellery, as he had heard of Yn Chruinnaght Inter-Celtic Festival, where he set out his stall and then decided to stay on. Naturally gregarious, he talked with and made friendships with many Manx people, both native and 'comeovers', and opened his shop 'Celtic Gold' in Peel. Such an

interesting newcomer, with a history of nationalist activity, recounted in his inimitable style, was bound to make an immediate impact in a small Island community, whose Manx identity was also under threat at the time.

He indulged in his many interests - on his catamaran 'Ashlish Cheltiagh', which he kept in Peel harbour, he went on frequent sallies round the Island or to Ireland. Music remained a source of great joy, whether classical or Celtic - he enjoyed combining the two, often playing at breakneck speed, much to the exasperation of his fellow musicians in a pub session. He became quite frustrated when playing his guitar - he always had to read the music, in contrast to the ease of learning new tunes by ear on his fiddle, but he never stopped playing - clarinet, harp, guitar, and any other interesting instrument which came to hand.

Holidays, mainly to Europe, provided him with chances to visit historic places which he had read about or seen on TV, which he then recorded on his video camera. Photographic recording was always important to him and was an example of where he loved technology for what he could achieve with it. He loaded his hand - built model gliders with tiny cameras and took aerial shots of the Isle of Man from his favourite locations. Flying a glider gave him the freedom to soar through the skies as did the eagles of his imagination.

Ill-health led to his decision to return to the land of his birth, but he always regretted leaving his adopted home and returned to the Isle of Man for frequent visits. His vision of a Celtic future was partly achieved with the advent of devolution for Wales and Scotland, but he was never a figure of compromise in nationalist politics, and remained convinced that full independence was the only true destiny of Wales.

He was a caring and thoughtful man, in spite of his reputation for militancy. The Free Wales Army used propaganda to brilliant effect, but Tony despised gratuitous violence. He had a natural inclination to showmanship, with a passion for pageantry, fine materials and design in all he did. His Eistedfodd crowns are all individual works of art; his stitched and hand painted banners are testimonials to his knowledge of the symbolism of heraldry and to his quest for perfection in his crafts, as are all his uniforms and medals. Beauty and order attracted him, while he was repelled by the ugly facets of society. He disliked the mundane, and every day found something new, amusing and interesting, living life to the full.

The word unique is heavily overused, but it is the only word for him. 'When will we see you like again?'

*Oie vie, charrey ennoil my chree. Nos da.*

Fiona Ben Vic Ardle

## Illiam Dhone Remembered



**This new sculpture of Iliam Dhone also known as William Christian is displayed in Malew Church. The sculpture was designed by local artist Byron Kneale - the plaque underneath the sculpture states; here lies Iliam Dhone - William Christian of Ronaldsway shot to death at Hango Hill, 2nd January 1663.**

The annual ceremony to remember the execution of Manx martyr, Illiam Dhone, in 1663, took place at Hango Hill the site of his execution on 2nd January. Before the ceremony a commemorative plaque will be unveiled at Malew Church where a service is held each year following the ceremony. But why the Church? Undoubtedly it is the place at which Dhone's remains were laid to rest. However, many years ago the call was made for a more significant commemorative monument to be placed at the hill (the site currently has a simple concrete stone with an information plaque). The decision to unveil this monument on the day of his execution begs the question why not a monument at the site where the evil of his execution was carried out?

The event is co-organised by Mec Vannin and the Manx branch of the Celtic League. Phillip Gawne MHK, current minister for agriculture in the Island, gave the Manx oration and former agriculture minister Bill Henderson MHK gave the English oration. The speeches are available in the Mec Vannin newssheet "Yn Pabyr Seyr" available on-line at: <http://www.manxman.co.im/mecvan/pabyr/yps36.pdf>



# Celtica

## The Celtic League for the Environment Campaign

Stocks of north Atlantic deepwater sharks have fallen to around 20% of original level, says a report by a group of Irish, Norwegian and British scientists, published last September.

The deepwater shark recognised to be among the most vulnerable fish species known in the north Atlantic is being fished by the gill net fishery for deep water shark, to the point where it represents a serious threat to future stocks.

The report states that the 'current level of effort seems far in excess of what could be considered sustainable.' Dominic Rihan of the Irish Fisheries Board said that 'It is quite frightening what they are doing. Each boat is probably landing about 100 tonnes of shark a trip. They are also discarding vast amounts. This is big business. Something needs to be done urgently.'

According to the Irish Fisheries Board, the gill nets are dropped overboard for between 3 and 10 days at a time and then retrieved weeks or even months later. Up to 18 miles of net is thought to be discarded during each trip. In one recent survey an Irish Fisheries Board vessel hauled up 24 miles of abandoned net and claimed that a further 180 miles of abandoned net had been found. Consequently a death trap is created by these

discarded nets on the sea bed, which continue to kill fish and sharks.

Leafscale gulper shark and Portuguese dogfish have also been seriously affected, numbers of which have fallen by 80% in 10 years. The world conservation union have classified these animals on the Red List as endangered.

The fishing boats, registered in the UK, are owned by mainly Spanish companies who fish the waters near St. Kilda, the islet of Rockall and the area west of the Hebrides in Scotland.

Mr Rihan points out that 'the only regulations that apply are on mesh size and quotas. There is no regulation on the amount of fishing gear they can use. There is serious un-reporting of catches. It is madness.'

The authors of the report state that 'There seems to be deep reluctance to talk about this fishery, in fact almost an unwritten law of silence seems to exist.'

The Celtic League for the Environment (CLE) urges all Celtic League branches to write to their respective fisheries ministers and MP's demanding that an effective way of tackling these issues is found immediately.

**Rhisiart Tal-e-bot**

## Pioneering Scots find way of slowing global warming

A team of Scottish scientists in Aberdeen have developed a way of substantially reducing the methane gas emissions produced by cattle, a major contributor to global warming.

The scientists at the Rowett Research Institute claim that by changing the diet of cows they are able to cut emissions by up to 70%.

Although carbon dioxide gas is no doubt the biggest contributor to climate change, researchers claim that cattle worldwide produce up to 14% of all global methane gas emissions, which has 23 times the global warming potential of Carbon Dioxide. With over 1.4 billion cows in the world and each cow producing up to 500 litres of methane every day, that's a lot of gas!

The researchers have developed a bacterium at the Institute that is based on fumaric acid, a naturally occurring chemical essential to respiration of animal and vegetable tissues. By introducing this into the cow's diet, along with a food additive and a mixture of organic sugars the treatment would have a significant impact on cutting green house gas emissions.

Scotland has a greater concentration of agriculture than in other counties and cows are responsible for producing 46% of all methane emissions. In addition, the problem of flatulence from cows is an expensive one for farmers as between 9% and 12% of the energy that a cow consumes is converted into methane depending on certain conditions. This means that traditionally 10% of cattle feed is wasted in producing methane, instead of milk or beef.

**Rhisiart tal-e-bot**

## INJUNCTION! A NEW BOOK

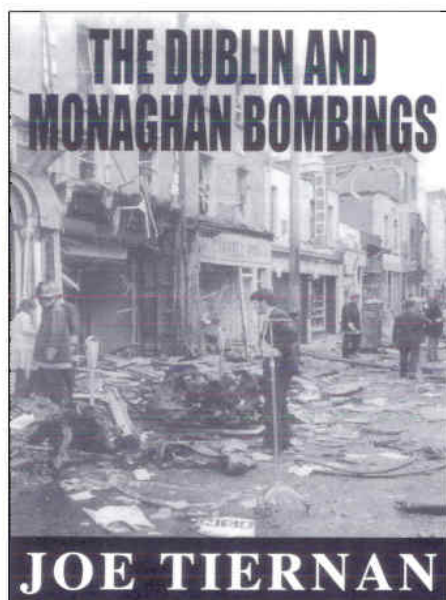
### THE DUBLIN AND MONAGHAN BOMBINGS

*By journalist Joe Tiernan*

In 1993 former RTE journalist, Joe Tiernan researched a documentary for Yorkshire Television on the Dublin and Monaghan bombings. Granada TV (who own Yorkshire) attempted to prevent the publication of this startling new book and publishers Mercier Press have pulled out of publication.

*Includes full details of the Dundalk bombing of 1975 and Castleblayney bombing of 1976.*

The book is now published by the author:  
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# Conference of Stateless Nations of Europe 2005

*Mark Kermode, Celtic League Assistant General Secretary, attended the VI Assembly of the Conference of Stateless Nations of Europe (CONSEU), held in Barcelona, 3rd of October 2005. After examining and discussing the topic "New immigration and stateless nations in Europe: challenges and solutions" the following considerations were drawn up:*

a) Even though migration flows constitute a traditional phenomenon in the European continent, the causes that provoke them are new. Nowadays, the number of immigrants arriving to Europe is increasing considerably due to three major reasons. Firstly because the differences between the North and the South have never been so deep. Secondly, because of the frantic exploitation of the resources carried out by the Northern countries in the areas where immigrants come from. And in the third place due to the globalisation of communications and information.

b) This situation is not being counterbalanced by effective European cooperation policies with appropriate means and resources and able to foster a sustainable economical and social development in the immigrant's countries of origin. Moreover, when arriving to Europe, the immigrants' conditions worsen because they face accommodation difficulties and need to regularize their working status – even though the working market is actually demanding more labour hand.

3) In this context, those who ultimately suffer the causes and consequences of emigration are members of excluded and persecuted peoples in their native territories for their belonging to linguistic and cultural minoritised communities. In general terms, these people are not received in the new countries as members of downtrodden peoples deserving special attention but as merely citizens of the states that keep them oppressed and, in the best of cases, as victims of restrictive immigration laws instead of full citizens with full rights.

*Consequently, the participants of the VI Assembly of the CONSEU:*

a) Demand, in accordance with articles 15-18 of the Universal Declaration of the Collective Rights of Peoples (which constitutes the basic doctrine of the CONSEU), respect for the rights of peoples and individuals, specially those excluded both for their poverty and for the lack of recognition of their rights as a distinctive people.

b) Commit ourselves to collaborate in projects aiming at improving the socio-economic conditions of the migrant's countries.

c) Denounce the stateless nations' lack of political power to implement policies regarding the migration phenomenon or to manage immigration itself, given the fact that the States keep for themselves full power to legislate, regardless of the guidelines drawn by the European institutions.



*In order to face the challenges of migration, which are also affecting us, the participants of the CONSEU, being as we are citizens of stateless nations, have concluded that:*

a) If, in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, everyone has the right to a nationality and no one can be denied the right to change it, this principle should also be applied to immigrants. Their individual rights must be combined with their right and duty to become members of the new community. It is not about imposing integration or assimilation upon immigrants; it is about inviting them to participate in a project of collective life. It must be reminded, though, that this participation will be a fact if the receiving members of the society and the newcomers respect each other for what they are, regardless of whether they are recognised at a state level or not. The recognition of the immigrant for what he/she is constitutes the fundamental basis for the newcomer to acknowledge the receiving society for what it is.

b) The immigrant must have the right to contribute to the enrichment and configuration of the collective life through their countries' cultural knowledge. They must also have the right to vote in the elections that might affect him directly, a previous step to fully participate in the new society's political life.

c) The reciprocal respect between newcomers and receivers must be favoured by the civil society, which should provide itself with appropriate organisations to approach the immigrants and help them to get documents of residence and work papers, healthcare, accommodation, etc. Good living-standards would make their adaptation

faster and easier and would open the door to a real cultural exchange, and at the same time would prevent the formation of ghettos.

d) Stateless nations, being as they are receivers of new immigration, should have the political power to implement policies through their public institutions. Immigrants, then, could be received as members of distinctive peoples rather than simply members of a determinate state.

e) Language plays a very important role in the life of the community and is one of the key elements to foster the relationship between receivers and newcomers. In the context of the stateless nations:

f) The language of the nation must be a socialisation tool, a link amongst speakers of different languages and the common language of those who share a territory and want to build a community based on respect. Therefore, it must also be the language of education, institutional communications and new technologies.

g) Immigrants should be informed about the "real" country they have migrated to, what is the language and the culture of the territory. This is particularly important in stateless nations with languages minoritised by state policies. They should also be informed about the real causes of language fragmentation, impoverishment and minorisation.

h) Information programmes should be launched in order to make the newcomers see the need to contribute to the nation-building process through language. To do so, the members of the stateless nation must set a good example using the common language everywhere and without shifting to the most powerful.

i) Promoting the teaching and usage of the language is crucial. In this process, national institutions – if they exist –, social movements and civil society must play a very important role in making the endangered language more prestigious and counterbalance the power of the state language –which could be official or co-official in the national territory.

j) European institutions should distinguish between language policies to be implemented in minoritised communities and those addressed to groups of immigrants with different languages. This should be so because the indigenous languages are the result of individual and collective rights of people living in a territorial community, whereas the languages of the immigrants must be placed in the field of individual rights since the speakers are not living in the territory where the collective rights should be applied.

Finally, the participants of the VI Assembly agreed that the theme for the VII Assembly in 2006 would be *"Proposals by stateless nations on the reform of the international organisations (UN and others)"*.

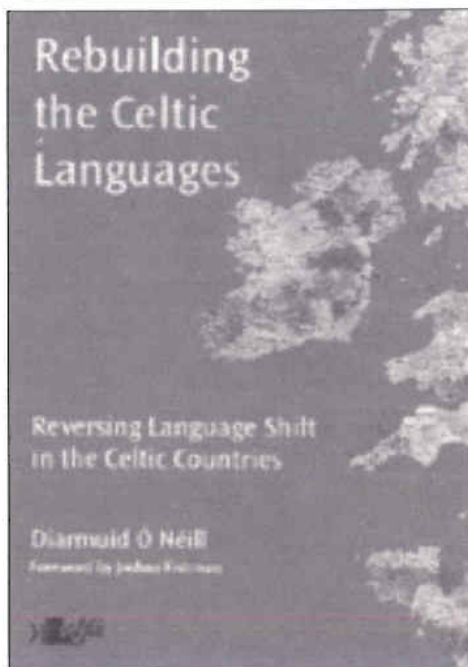


## Rebuilding the Celtic Languages / Diarmuid Ó Neill

First comprehensive attempt to apply the Fishman GIDS scale to the Celtic languages. The aim is not only to explore the strengthening of existing Celtic language communities and Celtic-speaking networks in the six Celtic countries but also to explore how the Celtic languages can be re-established on a much wider scale than is presently the case.

Edited by Canadian Diarmuid Ó Neill and includes contributions by prominent Celtic sociolinguists including Colin Williams, Marcel Texier, Pawl Birt, Kenneth MacKinnon and Brian Stowell. Foreword by Joshua Fishman.

This book will be available for sale in the Celtic countries in new year, in the meantime it can be purchased from Y Lolfa's Online Shop for £19.95 at <http://www.ylolfa.com>



## Membership and Subscriptions

All those who agree with the constitution and aims of the Celtic League are eligible for membership. The membership/subscription rates (including *Carn*) are:  
23.00, Sterling £13.50,  
Europe (airmail) £17.00,  
Outside Europe £20.00. US\$30.00  
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