

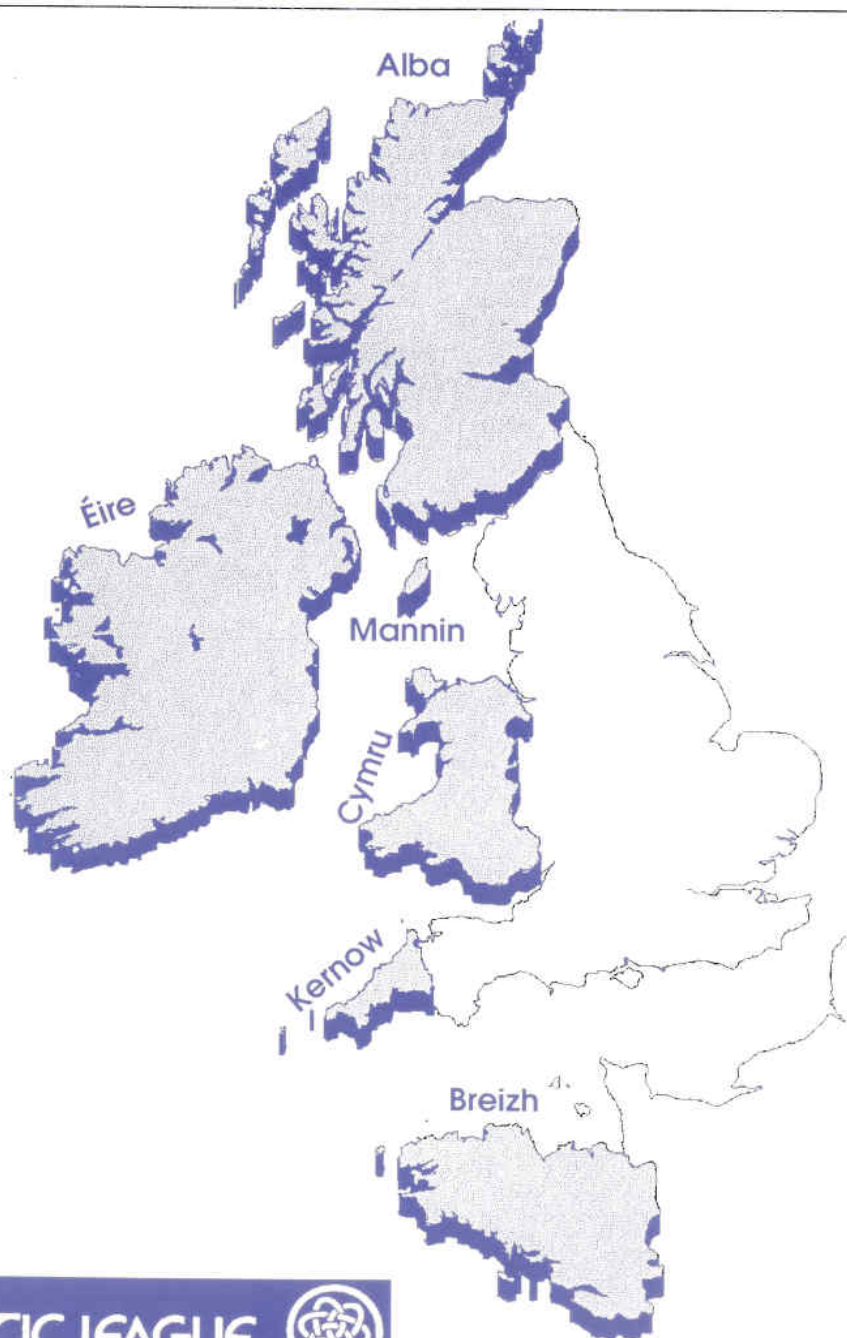
# comann

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No. 112

Winter 2000-2001

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CELTIC LEAGUE







# Gàidhlig anns na Pàircean Nàiseanta

Ann an 1999 dh'aontaich an Riaghaltas ri pàircean nàiseanta Albannach a stéidheachadh mu dheireadh thall as déidh iomairt a bha air maireachdainn còrr is lethcheud bliadhna. Bidh pàircean nàiseanta gan stéidheachadh an dà chuid anns a' Mhonadh Ruadh agus ann an Loch Laomainn agus na Tròiseachain ann an ùine nach bi ro fhada.

Nochd pàipear-conaltraidh air a' bhile a bhiodh a' stéidheachadh nam pàircean (Bile nam Pàircean Nàiseanta) san Fhaoilleach 2000 gus beachdan an t-sluaigh a shireadh. A chionn 's gu robh an Riaghaltas air a ràdh uair is uair gu robh an taic ri Inbhe Thèarainte agus a chionn 's gur e fear de na h-amasan oifigeil aig na pàircean nàiseanta a th' ann a' bhith a' brosnachadh dualchas cultarach a bharrachd air dualchas nàdarra, bha luchd iomairt na Gàidhlig car dòchasach aig an àm. Bha iad an dùil gum faigheadh a' chànan àite iomchaidh anns na pàircean ùra agus gun rachadh poileasaidh reachdail airson na Gàidhlig anns na pàircean nàiseanta a stéidheachadh tron bhile. Gu mì-fhortanach, chan ann mar sin a bha am pàipear-conaltraidh air a' bhile idir. Cha robh fiù 's facal ann mu dheidhinn na Gàidhlig.

Cha deach eagraan Gàidhlig den phàipear fhoillseachadh nas motha agus nuair a sgrìobh neach iomairt Gàidhlig san Eilean Sgitheanach gu Riaghaltas na h-Alba mu dheidhinn, chaidh innse dha san fhreagairt a fhuair e nach deach tionndadh Gàidhlig a dhèanamh den phàipear oir, a réir lain Fairweather aig Riaghaltas na h-Alba, 's ann airson na h-Alba air fad a tha a' bhile agus "Gaelic issues are important in particular areas only." A dh'aindeoin iomadh litir bho Ghaidheil air feadh na h-Alba a' cur an aghaidh a' bheachd aineolaich seo gu làidir, cha robh an Riaghaltas idir deònach lethbhreac Gàidhlig fhoillseachadh.

Fhuair an Riaghaltas iomadh litir bho luchd labhairt is luchd taic na Gàidhlig mu dheidhinn nam pàircean nàiseanta mar phàirt den chonaltradh. Mhol na litrichean seo poileasaidh nàiseanta airson na Gàidhlig anns na pàircean – soidhnichean dà-chànanach, bileagan fiosrachaidh dà-chànanach, seirbheis ranger-pàirce sa Ghàidhlig agus mar sin air adhart. Cha do dh'èisd an Riaghaltas ri seo idir. San aithisg *Reporting*

*Status: Summary of Responses to Consultation on the National Parks (Scotland) Bill*, cho-dhùin an Riaghaltas nach bu chòir poileasaidh nàiseanta a bhith ann airson na Gàidhlig.

Mhol Riaghaltas na h-Alba gum bu chòir do gach pàirce nàiseanta co-dhùnaidhean a dhèanamh a bheil iad ag iarraidh poileasaidh Gàidhlig "to cater for Gaelic communities within their areas". Tha seo a' ciallachadh nach eil ùidh sam bith aig Riaghaltas na h-Alba anns na Gàidheil a tha a' fuireach taobh a-muigh nam pàircean nàiseanta (cha mhór a h-uile Gàidheil!), ged a bhios na mìltean dhiubh a' tadhal air na pàircean gach bliadhna. Tha e a' ciallachadh cuideachd gu bheil an Riaghaltas den bheachd nach bu chòir poileasaidhean Gàidhlig a bhith aig pàircean far nach eil coimhearsnachdan Gàidhlig air am fàgail. Tha seo a' ciallachadh nach bi poileasaidhean Gàidhlig anns na pàircean idir oir chan eil a' Ghàidhlig na cànan coimhearsnachd tuilleadh ann an taobh Loch Laomainn agus na Tròiseachain no anns a' Mhonadh Ruadh far am bi na pàircean nàiseanta. Chan eil e gu diofar dhan Riaghaltas, a réir coltais, gu robh Gàidhlig beò sna h-àiteachan seo o chionn beagan bhliadhnaichean.

Gu fortanach, tha cothrom eile aig luchd iomairt na Gàidhlig srì a dhèanamh airson poileasaidhean Gàidhlig anns na pàircean nàiseanta. Tha an Riaghaltas a-nis air dà chonaltradh phoballach eile a chur air dòigh: conaltradh air gach pàirce nàiseanta a tha gu bhith ann: pàirce Loch Laomainn is nan Tròiseachain agus pàirce nàiseanta a' Mhonadh Ruaidh.

Tha luchd iomairt na Gàidhlig air a' bhith a' gabhail pàirt san chonaltradh agus iad a' moladh poileasaidh Gàidhlig airson na dà phàirce nàiseanta. Tha iad a' moladh (1) soidhnichean dà-chànanach, (2) stuthan fiosrachaidh sa Ghàidhlig (bileagan, cuairt-litrichean 7c) (3) seirbheis ranger-pàirce Gàidhlig (4) iomhaigh chorparras airson nam pàircean nàiseanta le pàipearachd agus làraich-lìn sa dà-chànan agus (5) riochdachadh airson Comunn na Gàidhlig, buidheann nàiseanta leasachaidh na Gàidhlig air buidheann riaghlaidh nam pàircean nàiseanta as leth na coimhearsnachd Gàidhlig nàiseanta.

Gheibhear fiosrachadh mun dà chonaltradh aig làrach-lìn Dualchas Nàdair na h-Alba (SNH) aig <http://www.snh.org.uk>. Gheibhear lethbhreac den phàipear mu phàirce Loch Laomainn bho: Lomond & the Trossachs Reporting Team, Scottish Natural Heritage, The Beta Centre, Innovation Park, Oilthigh Shruighlea, Shruighlea, FK9 4NF; fòn: 01786 450362; Post-D: [ll@t.reporter@snh.gov.uk](mailto:ll@t.reporter@snh.gov.uk). Gheibhear lethbhreac de phàipear conaltraidh a' Mhonadh Ruaidh bho: Murray Ferguson no Eleanor MacGregor aig SNH, 17 Rubislaw Terrace, Obar Dheadhain, AB10 1XE; fòn: 01224 642 863, post-D: [cairnngorms.reporter@snh.gov.uk](mailto:cairnngorms.reporter@snh.gov.uk).

Tha nàiseantaich na Cùirne air iomairt ùr airson Còmhhdail Chòrnach a chur air dòigh. Tha am pàrtaidh nàiseantach Mebyon Kernow (Mic na Cùirne) air athchuinge gu Tonaidh Blair a chur ri chèile. 'S ann ann an cruth litreach a tha e agus chan eil rud sam bith agaibh ri dhèanamh ach ur n-ainm a chur rithe agus an litir a phostadh. Airson lethbhreac den tagradh, sgrìobhaibh gu: Iomairt airson Còmhhdail Chòrnach, c/o Dartington, Chyvelah Road, Threemilestone, Truro, A' Chòrn. Tha e ri fhaighinn air loidhne cuideachd:

<http://www.cornwall.eu.org/assembly/>

**Brude mac Maelcon**

## Summary

*The Scottish Executive are showing a great deal of resistance to giving any place at all to Gaelic in the proposed National Parks which are to be established in Loch Lomond & the Trossachs and in the Cairngorms. Help bring about a Gaelic policy for the National Parks by taking part in the current consultation on the parks. The Loch Lomond & Trossachs consultation paper is available from: [ll@t.reporter@snh.gov.uk](mailto:ll@t.reporter@snh.gov.uk) and the Cairngorms paper from:*

*[cairnngorms.reporter@snh.gov.uk](mailto:cairnngorms.reporter@snh.gov.uk)*

**gàidhlig**  
cànan nàiseanta - a national tongue

### Clì gus:

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



### Clì to:

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

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# Gàidhlig Taskforce Reports

In September the Taskforce on Public Funding for Gàidhlig released its final report "Revitalising Gaelic: A National Asset". As reported in Carn 109, the Minister for Gàidhlig, Alasdair Morrison, established the taskforce in December 1999 to "examine the arrangements and structures for the public support of the Gaelic organisations in Scotland, to advise Scottish Ministers on future arrangements."

The taskforce has recommended that:

- there should be a "small Gaelic speaking Department of the Gaidhealtachd" within the Scottish Executive to advise Ministers on policy.
- a Gaelic Development Agency should be established to produce an overall strategy for Gàidhlig and to formulate and implement plans for the language.
- the agency should receive £10M annually for Gàidhlig development and be the sole channel of Government funding for Gàidhlig.
- the agency should "subsume the strategic direction and activities and activities of the currently public-funded organisations. The number of existing organisations would be reduced and some or all of the remaining ones would become wholly owned subsidiaries of the Agency".
- the management of Gàidhlig activities should be concentrated in the "Gaelic heartland, with appropriate distribution to accommodate the "energy centres" and the language's national disposition".

The taskforce findings have met with a mixed response. The proposal to more than double Gàidhlig development funding has been universally welcomed and the proposal to establish a national Gaelic Development Agency with a language planning remit has also met with widespread support. Such a language planning and strategy remit would represent a major step forward from the currently largely piecemeal and uncoordinated situation.

Despite this significant step forward, however, much of the content of the report has met with criticism. Much of the wording of the report is very vague. It is unclear, for example, exactly what will happen to existing Gàidhlig organisations. There are also often wide variations between the meanings of the Gàidhlig and the English versions of the text. In the English version of the text, for example, a Scottish Executive "Department of the Gaidhealtachd" is recommended, whereas a "Gaelic Department" is recommended in the Gàidhlig version. Many Gaelic activists are concerned with the prospect of a "Department of the Gaidhealtachd" as most learners and almost half of Gàidhlig speakers live outside the Gaidhealtachd (Highlands). If this department were to deal with other Gaidhealtachd related matters in addition to Gàidhlig, it is also likely that language issues would fall to

the bottom of the department's agenda. Gàidhlig activists are, therefore, calling for a *Gaelic* department as recommended in the Gàidhlig text of the document.

Concern has also been expressed that the report does not treat Gàidhlig as a national language. The report recommends that separate policies should be drawn up for "the Gaelic Heartland", "Rest of Gaidhealtachd" and "Rest of Scotland and Diaspora". This division of the country has been criticised as being arbitrary, unnecessary, old-fashioned and divisive. Particular scorn has been poured upon the idea that Lowland Scotland and the cities should be categorised along with Gàidhlig speakers/learners abroad as a "Rest of Scotland and Diaspora" unit for the purposes of drawing up policy. This is seen as undervaluing the importance of the Lowlands and the cities to the future of Gàidhlig and as belittling the potential of Gàidhlig learners. Around the same number of Gaelic speakers live in the central belt as live in the Western Isles. Over 10,000 Gàidhlig speakers live in Greater Glasgow and a further 5,000 in and around Edinburgh. Most Gàidhlig learners also live in the Lowlands.

The presumption that Gàidhlig development activities should be centralised in the Western Isles has also been a cause of criticism. Concern has been expressed that a group based mainly in the Western Isles would not be able to properly understand or represent the Gàidhlig community in the Lowlands or Gàidhlig learners nationally. There is also a concern that the situation might continue where no national Gàidhlig agency has any office or representation in Edinburgh and where Gàidhlig groups have only minimal representation in Glasgow. Many are worried that Gàidhlig development work in Inverness might also be cut back. There have, therefore, been calls for a more decentralised structure with real power over Gàidhlig development being devolved throughout Scotland to ensure that Gàidhlig gains enhanced representation not only in Island Gàidhlig communities (where more Gàidhlig development work and employment is sorely needed), but also in Scotland's main seats of power and population.

Uilleam MacCaluim

## Secure Status Dead?

The "Secure Status" campaign for a Gàidhlig language act was recently dealt a severe blow when the Minister for Gàidhlig and the First Minister publicly backed away

from legal protection for the language. Only one month before his untimely death, First Minister Donald Dewar stated in an interview with the Scotsman newspaper that the Scottish Executive did not support a Gàidhlig language act.

Alasdair Morrison, Minister for Gàidhlig has also increasingly been stressing that he believes that the best way forward for Gàidhlig is in a step by step approach rather than through the "big bang" approach of a Gàidhlig language act. In a recent letter to a Gàidhlig activist he said that: "Our view is that securing the future of the language depends much more on positive action through education, cultural activities and the support of broadcasting than imposing statutory duties". Unfortunately, the Scottish Executive has also signally failed to take any significant "positive action" for the language in these areas.

Following widespread outrage amongst Gàidhlig activists at Donald Dewar's retreat from the Scottish Executive's commitment to Secure Status, the Minister for Gàidhlig has seemingly backed down a little. When asked by the Herald newspaper whether 'working towards secure status' meant a Gàidhlig Language Bill, and subsequently an Act, Morrison said 'Absolutely . . . If you are going to get secure status, you need to have a bill'. He added, however, that such an act should not be similar to the Welsh Language Act, the implication of this being that any Gàidhlig Act should be weaker than the Welsh Language Act (the act on which the proposals for Secure Status are based). It is also clear that the Executive does not see a Gàidhlig Act as being a priority. There seems little hope of a Gàidhlig Act as long as the Scottish Lib-Lab coalition government is in power.

Uilleam MacCaluim

## Gaelic

When referring to Scottish Gaelic, the word "Gaelic" should be pronounced as "Ga-lick" and never as "Gaylick". Few things cause as much irritation to Gaelic activists as hearing the language referred to as "Gaylick", or worse, as "the Gaylick".



# New Leaders for SNP and New Labour

The autumn of 2000 brought the first reshuffle of Scottish Executive and principal opposition in the year old Scottish Parliament. As announced in July the SNP leader of ten years, Alex Salmond MSP MP stood down and in the leadership election which was held at the SNP's Annual Conference in Inverness on September 23rd John Swinney MSP MP beat Alex Neil MSP by around 2 to 1. Roseanna Cunningham MSP MP was elected his deputy and a cabinet reshuffle found posts for a team that is confident it outguns its Labour opponents and who are planning for a win in the 2003 election.

In his acceptance speech at Inverness, John Swinney said, 'When I joined this Party in the debris of the 1979 General Election, I could scarcely have believed that 21 years later I would be elected to lead our Party and to be the Leader of Scotland's Opposition in Scotland's Parliament. You have given me a precious opportunity and privilege for which I warmly thank you. Throughout this campaign I have said that I will deliver inclusive leadership. And I will. And with it I will foster and encourage democratic debate in our Party about policy, tactics and strategy. But



John Swinney, MSP, MP.

let us all be clear. Once the democratic voice of this Party has spoken I expect this Party to speak with one voice.

'In the SNP, Convenor and fellow nationalists, we have a vision. It is a vision that inspired me when I joined this party 21 years ago. It is a vision of a just, caring and enterprising Scotland where everyone has chance to get on in the world regardless of where they have come from. It is a vision that has driven me forward in election after election, in good times and in bad. It is a vision that unites each and every one of us. It is a vision that terrifies those who care nothing for Scotland, but a vision that inspires those who love this country and know what we are capable of achieving.

'Now is the time to make that vision a reality. This is the hour for a nation to be reborn. This is the hour when Scotland at last and forever can change for good. Let us make our vision real. Let us bring Independence

alive for the people of Scotland. Let us persuade and persuade and persuade about the case for Independence. Let us make our parliament complete. Come with me and let us win our nation's freedom.'

The following month Donald Dewar MSP MP the First Minister of Scotland died suddenly. He had major heart surgery earlier in the year and he had refused to demit the pressures of office. He was the architect of the Scotland Act and the Holyrood Parliament. He was mourned across the nation. His funeral in Glasgow Cathedral was a Scottish national event, a state funeral, to which dignitaries such as Charles, Duke of Rothesay and PM Tony Blair were invited. With the streets of his constituency lined by mourners it drove home via the sheaves of obituaries and tributes that a generation who had maintained its Scottish pride was paying tribute to its standard bearer.

A short cut route according to New Labour rules hastily chose his successor, Henry McLeish. He beat Jack McConnell only by six votes in around 90. McLeish's cabinet reshuffle has taken some early initiatives to freshen up the jaded Labour appeal. They bought off independent Dennis Canavan MSP from resigning his Westminster seat to avoid a possible SNP gain at a by-election. And then proceeded to the Holyrood and Westminster by-elections in Donald Dewar's Glasgow seat of Anniesland on the back of fuel concessions and pension increases signalled by Gordon Brown's November budget statement. Such is the stuff of maturing democratic development in Scotland in its second year of rebirth.

Rob Gibson

## "The Highlands and Islands"

Although very commonly used, the expression "The Highlands and Islands" should be avoided wherever possible. "The Highlands and Islands" both creates an artificial division between the mainland and islands of the Highlands and further suggests that the Northern Isles are parts of the Highlands. Orkney and Shetland are not and never have been part of the Highlands and their inhabitants are strongly opposed to any attempt to portray them as being Highland.

While Gaelic activists are keen to demolish the fake Highland/Lowland division and to argue that Gaelic is a national language, nobody has ever questioned the importance of Gaelic to the Highlands. The use of the expression "Highlands and Islands", however, has meant that activists are now increasingly having to argue against a worrying new argument that Gaelic is not even the language of the Highlands. Many people

equate the traditional Highlands, the Gaidhealtachd, with the artificial "Highlands and Islands" region, which includes Orkney and Shetland. Even more worryingly, this trend is occasionally seen in Gaelic too with the term "Gaidhealtachd" being used to include the Northern Isles. This is both an unhistorical and incorrect usage of the term Gaidhealtachd.

The damaging effects of the expression "Highlands and Islands" have been seen most clearly through the acts of the University of the Highlands and Islands and of the political party *Càirdeas* – the *Highlands and Islands Alliance*. On writing in Gaelic to ask *Càirdeas* why there was no Gaelic on their website, the present author was told by Art Cormack of the party: "'S e pàrtaidh airson na Gaidhealtachd a th' annainn, agus tha sin a' ciallachadh gun fheumadh dhuinn a bhith mothachail air a h-uile cànan agus cultur air a' Ghaidhealtachd, chan ann dìreach air a' Ghàidhlig" ("we are a party for the Gaidhealtachd, and that means that we have to cater for every language and culture in the Gaidhealtachd and not just for Gaelic"). The University of the Highlands and Islands also recently drew

up a linguistic policy paper which gave equal weight to Gaelic, Scots, the Orcadian dialect and the Shetlandic dialect. This is not only unacceptable to Gaelic activists, but also to Scots language activists who strongly object to the treatment of the Orcadian and Shetlandic dialects as languages in their own right, rather than as dialects of Scots. While Scots has been spoken in parts of the Gaidhealtachd for centuries, there can be no excuse for using the language as a mere excuse to do nothing about Gaelic, as is the case with the above examples.

"The Highlands and Islands" phenomenon is the Scottish equivalent of "Devonwall" and all efforts must be made to challenge the creation of any more "Highlands and Islands" institutions which bring together the Highlands and the Northern Isles. The artificial H&I region not only causes great damage to Gaelic by making people think that Orkney and Shetland, which have never been Gaelic speaking, are part of the Highlands, but also goes against strong local demands for greater autonomy in these islands.

Alasdair MacCaluim





# Breizh



## BROIOÙ ITALIA

E Bro-Italia a-vremañ e kemm buan an traoù gant oberiadenn *Mani pulite* (Daouarn naet) ha gant dilez Andreotti e 1992, gant trec'h kengevredad an *Olivezzenn* e 1996 ha gant gouarnamant an tu kleiz-kreiz bodet gant Romano Prodi, en deus lakaet termen da bennvestroniezh an Demokrated-kristen ha lakaet Bro-Italia da vont e-barzh an UEM. E penn kentañ ar bloavezhioù 90 eo bet kadenet ur c'hemm bras a-fed demografiezh. Gant muioc'h a dud o vervel eget babigoù o c'henel, gant ur frouezusted etre ar re vihanañ en Europa eo deet Bro-Italia da vezañ ur vro-envroañ.

E-keñver an Norz e chom warlerc'hiet ar C'hreisteiz. Abeg divroadegoù eus ar C'hreisteiz war-du an Norz eo an diforc'h-mañ a ziorren. Da izellaat an disheñvel-ded-mañ eo bet krouet e 1950 ar *C/Gassa per il Mezzogiorno* (Kef ar C'hreisteiz) he deus e-korf muioc'h eget daou-ugent vloaz postet war-dro 800 miliard a lurioù. N'eo ket deut da vat ganti. Stag ouzh an Norzh e chom diorren ar C'hreisteiz. Arabat eo koulskoude gwelout an traoù e mod ur gwasour. Gant ar staloù liesvroadel eo bet savet industriezhioù bras. Bremañ e kresk industriezhioù bihan startijenn ganto. Daou du-kreñv en deus ar C'hreisteiz: ur yaouankiz desket hag essoù a zo diouer anezho en Norzh. Fellout a ra da annezidi ha dilennidi ar C'hreisteiz ober o-unan war-dro diorren ar vro emaint o vevañ enni. E-giz-se en deus c'hoant maer Naplez "ne vefe ket mui eus skeudenn ar re skoazellet met e vefe kontet warnomp hon-uan evit ur C'hreisteiz eus an amzer a-vremañ, troet war an tu mat ha war-du Europa".

N'eo ket rannet Bro-Italia avat etre ur C'hreisteiz paour hag un Norz pinvidik. Bez eus ivez ur Vro-Italia ar C'hreiz, a ya war-raok hec'h ekonomiezh en un doare espar, diazezet war al labour-douar, war an touristañ ha war industriezhioù bihan tro-dro Florañsa, Bologn, Parm ha Moden.

Diwar an troc'h etre an Norz hag ar C'hreisteiz eo bet savet Kevre an Norz e 1984, a zo ur strollad o lorbñ an dud, gant kasoni ouzh an envroidi deut kement eus diabarzh ar vro hag eus an estrenvro, a-eneb ar galloud-kreiz ha Kreisteiz Bro-Italia. 10% eus ar mouezhioù en deus bet e 1996 hag en

deus diskleriet "Bro-Badania" dizalc'h. Abaoe eo aet ar C'hevre wargil ha distroet eo da venozioù a emrenerezh. Hiziv an deiz eo kevredet gant dreist-frankizourien Forza Italia, gant re bet faskourien ar C'hevre Broadel ha zoken gant faskourien nevez an Emsav Sokial Italian.

Diskleriet e vez ar c'hoant da gaout rannvroioù emrenet en Norz kement hag er C'hreisteiz, met gant un diforc'h etre an emrenerezh goulennet gant peder rannvro



Courtesy Gouel ar Filmoù, Douarnenez

pinvidik an Norz hag ar skrid-embann kiniget gant an tu kleiz e Eboli e miz Meurzh evit ur C'hreisteiz emren a-benn da "lakaat da vezañ kreñvoc'h Bro-Italia ar rannvroioù hag ar c'hêrioù, hag a vo kreñvoc'h a se ma vo muioc'h a zoujañs d'ar C'hreisteiz".

Gant ar paourentezh eo bet skoazellet kresk ar Mafia, a zo he fouezh o vont war gil dre oberioù kalonek maered, kargidi, harpet gant ar geodedourien. E 1991 eo bet krouet ur strollad a-eneb ar Mafia, ar "Rete" (ar Roued). Diaes e chom avat evezhiañ oberiantizoù etrevroadel ar Mafia.

Dalc'het he deus Bro-Italia, unvanet da vat e 1870, ul liested vras a rannyezhoù hag a yezhoù, e-kichen an italianeg "ofikiel", deut eus rannyezh Toscana. Gant ar gouarnamant-

kreiz eo bet kaset da benn an unvanidigezh yezhel, en un doare garv-tre dindan ren ar faskouien o doa berzet ar yezhoù estreget an italianeg. E-touez yezhoù Bro-Italia emañ re an Alpoù ha Sardinia, re an Tziganed ha re ennezennigoù yezhel an inizi hag al ledenez. Abaoe miz Genver e vez anavezet daouzek yezh gant ul lezenn nevez, hag a vo sevenet war goulenn an annezidi hag an dilennidi. Drezi e vez roet gwirioù en deskadurezh, er vuhez foran hag er mediaoù a selvij foran, gant yalc'hadoù digant ar Stad hag ar rannvroioù. Met "rannyezhoù" zo ne vezont ket anavezet ganti.

Rannet eo ar Stad Italian e 94 proviñs rennet gant prefeded. Rannet eo ivez e 20 rannvro, pemp outo o kaout, abaoe ar mare goude ar brezel, ur statud ispisial gant un emrenerezh ledan. D'ar rannvroioù eo bet treuskaset dija galloudoù stank. Abaoe 1999 e vez paet un tailh-rannvro savet en ur gevredañ taosoù all. Evit ma ne vefe ket un digempouezh etre ar rannvroioù eo bet krouet ur c'hef-keitañ. Ur galloud war al lezen-

noù hag ar reolennoù o deus kuzulioù ar rannvroioù. E miz Ebrel o oa bet dilennet prezidantoù ar rannvroioù dre ur vouezhiadeg holleg. Gant un danvez-lezenn eo bet lakaet a-wel ur reizhad kevredadel: ne vefe dalc'het gant ar Stad nemet ar galloudoù a denn d'ar veli-dreist; gwarezet e vefe eus 60 da 70% eus dispignoù ar rannvroioù gant o zailhoù-dezho. Dal'chet e vefe o gwirioù dezho o-unan gant ar rannvroioù ispisial o statud. E-giz se e vefe krouet un Eil Republik war-lerc'h un emdroad c'hoantaet gant ar gouarnamant met ivez "emsav ar c'hant kêr" a-eneb ar c'hreizennañ, an drest-frankizouriezh hag al lorberezh diazezet war ar personelezh.

**Yves Jardin**  
*Prézident Daoulagad Breizh*

### Summary:

Since the Christian-Democrat Party left power to the left wing, the **clean hands** process has pushed Italy forward. Born in 1984, the **Northern League** developed an aggressive policy against foreigners from outside and inside the state. The mayor of Napoli did not want the city to appear assisted. So he decided to take on the economic development of the lander (Region).

At the 1996 elections the Northern League gained 10 % of the vote and declared "Badania" Devolved. Now it is aligned with **Forza Italia** (Berlusconi) and continues to demand further devolution for the northern landers. In January 2000, the government took into account twelve lesser-spoken languages in a new law. Moreover, since 1999 further powers have been devolved. Specific taxes help landers manage their own decisions. Obviously Italy is on the way to an interesting **Devolution...**



# POLITICAL SYSTEM

## ... on the Latin Continent

After a year of assisting the Breizh-Branch secretary with Carn magazine I felt it was very important for me to explain to readers, the political consequences for Brittany situated as it is, in a Latin State. It may be difficult to understand our situation on the Continent. The French State has a Latin language and a Latin background coming from the Mediterranean sea.

As Montesquieu remarked in "The spirit of the laws" that the sun plays a role in the way people behave. Napoleon from Korsica, wrote the "code Napoleon" which has not been changed since the 19th century. This emperor knew that the Latin people were in trouble if they had to cope with everything "they said"... So he had the good idea of writing down every agreement between the people. This idea to write down laws or regulations about every thing developed a very strong administration and a very strong dependence on the central power in Paris.

Back to Brittany, after WWII, we had a poor lander (=Region) with mainly poor farmers and sailors. During the war, De Gaulle met a lot of courageous Breton soldiers in London. "One third of France" he said. Anyway, as a political leader De Gaulle knew that a few catholic leaders, organised under a para-military group known as the **Bezenn Perrot** had tried to make a deal with the Nazis to get rid of the French State. Hitler made an agreement with Pétain and De Gaulle used the **Bezenn Perrot** to work against the Breton people as a whole. He asked the Catholic Right Wing ministers in Brittany to join him, Presidents Bourges, Guichard, Bonnet and so on... These leaders were in the French government and developed a Republican and Jacobin way of life. During the famous "30 glorious years", Paris was the **TOP** of a pyramidal shape model in the political, and economic and social fields. At this period, the catholic mothers did their very best to teach their children the language of the social success: French...

Presidents Pompidou and Chirac kept on this conservative line; VGE (Val. Giscard d'Estaing) too. Of course, he was more liberal. Maybe too much, for the ENA lobby (=Ecole Nationale d'Administration). That is to say the lobby of the "top" civil servants who went through the famous E.N.A. School. These people did a lot after WWII to

develop a Jacobin way of life. That is to say: Paris is the boss for every single subject.

On the Left Wing, the French Communist Party (PCF) was strong because of its involvement in the Resistance. You must know that at the very beginning, during the German-Soviet Pact they worked along side the Nazis. Afterwards they became very opposed to them.

After WWII they were afraid of another war breaking out, so they decided to control as much as possible all the different means of communication (press, education, telephone, transport etc.) through trade unions CGT, SNI (= Instituteurs), SNES-SUP (= enseignants).

As well as the Gaullists lobbies, the Communists were even more republican and Jacobin. They were followed in the media by clubs like (club Voltaire or la Libre Pensée, du cercle Deguignet) and in the administration by the ENArchists (cf.: E.N.A.). They developed the cult of the Greatest (= Chef), in Paris as well as in the USSR

A French joke says: "Do you know the profit we have from a semi-public state? The inconvenience of the communism and the inconvenience of the capitalism" The Left Wing parties have the religion of the **"REPUBLIQUE"**. President Mitterand used this republican dynamic; he initiated a **Programme Commun** with the PCF party and gained the leadership on the Left Wing. As a president he used the Republican State system as well as personal lobbies. He was the first president to accept a step towards Devolution. At least 2 steps away from reaching the Scottish Devolution. Defferre's law was the start of the landers (=Regions) in the French State. Now, with European help, the landers are stronger than the napoleonian "Prefets" in the "departements"; that is to say counties. Anyway, Mitterand was not fond of Decentralisation. He gave some powers but he kept the money for "himself", at the State level. At the end of the day, time plays for the 'REPUBLICANS' lobbies. The Jacobin political system which sends every decision to Paris, has begun to be inefficient and oppressive for more and more people..."jakobined dumañ, jakobined duze"

(= Jack...here and jack...there...) sing a group of young ladies from Morbihan-BZH.

In Brittany, on the Left Wing you will find UDB, a pacifist movement ready for Devolution. It is close to the socialist party. The UDB nearly reached 5% vote in last local election. Frankiz Breizh, another party, is in some way a branch of the UDB. Moreover Emgann (=Fight) have about 1% of the vote. They are pro independence and so opposed to any link with French political parties or organisations. Right now they are under strong pressure after the Mc Donald bombing (April) in Kever where a waitress was killed. In November 10 Emgann main members were still in jail, waiting for the first step to court. They are accused of having connections with ARB and ETA. Moreover, last May a huge demonstration organised by the cultural lobby from the left wing (mainly), condemned violence under the title "La Bretagne c'est la Vie" (= "BZH is life").

On the Right Wing we have the POBL which has existed for a long time. Like Emgann, they are for independence and gain 1% of the vote.

After, the aggression of an UDB's stall, in Lorient's Interceltic Festival, during the summer 1999, POBL split into two tiny parties. If POBL is supposed to be in the "centre right", it's offspring is next to the National Front. It is called ADSAV (=Standup). Wait for 2003 to understand who is on the right side. In March 2001, Forum Breizh, is supposed to take part in the city hall elections. The Forum BREIZH of Jean-Yves Cozan known as "the deputy-Diwan" is the only one to reach the 5% vote. We know for sure, they belong to the Centre-Right.

Diwan's schools, the most important cultural lobby in Brittany, started with activists from the Left Wing and 20 years after they still have huge problems with the Jacobin State lobbies. As they involved the Catholic schools and State schools in a bilingual movement, a lot of people and organisations are concerned. So they stressed the educational and political systems at different levels. Due to the religion of the **"REPUBLIQUE"**, more and more left-wingers fight against the Jacobin republican states lobbies (SNI+SNES+club Voltaire+).

Today things are changing because the mothers and fathers of children who attend both Catholic and States schools are upset by the strong opposition of the French Jacobin administration to their own rights and hopes for their children. In political terms more and more people in Brittany are against the conservative Republican parties like the Gaullists parties (RPR+RPF+) and the Communists parties (PCF+MDC+). The future belongs to the parties able to put (UN) Human Rights and open-minded people in a Democratic movement.

KELTIK Gi.



# Where have all the loudmouths gone?

Last Monday morning it was Gilbert Cabon and Pascal Scattolin's turn. For one year, known or unknown militants/ sympathisers of the Breton cause, friends or vague acquaintances have become victims of the French 'antiterrorist' big showpiece: early morning arrests, house searches, two three or four-day detentions... only to return home without any further follow-up. They were clearly told at the outset, that "they would only be questioned as witnesses and that they have nothing to feel guilty about..."

Nothing to feel guilty about, yet their homes were ransacked, their privacy violated. Their private letters were read, their wardrobes and bins were searched and their bank accounts were scrutinised. They were not allowed to contact their relatives and employers. Several days of their life were taken away from them without any concern for the consequences - upon their work, their children were traumatised, their relatives worried, their neighbours and acquaintances can now gossip (as everyone knows: "there's no smoke without fire"). They are locked up in sordid cells, they have to sleep on a wooden board with full light on, they are subjected to thousands of stupid questions repeated over and over again, they are threatened, their computers and equipment are confiscated even when used for work. **All this for what reason? For no reason, absolutely no reason.**

Under Louis the 14th, this used to be called a "sealed letter", under the 5th Republic, it is called "letters rogatory" and the decision no longer belongs to a divine king but to magistrate of justice.

Certain naive minds may very well think that although such practices are tough for the victims involved, if they can contribute to discovering the truth about the Plevin and Kever enquiries, the game is worth it - vaut la chandelle. What they do not know is that the interrogations - I can personally testify (cf. jailed for relations with Basque separatists) - touch on many other topics except Plevin and Kever, and they seem to forget that in a civilised country there are ways to "bear witness" other than from a prison cell.

And to those who may think that such drifts are the mere expression of some magistrates' over-zealousness. I would argue that said excesses do not necessarily apply in a uniform manner to all the people or groups they happen to meet in the course of their enquiries. Indeed, the judicial authorities are independent, but their independence stops where the "reasons of state" start. The Public Prosecutor, Mrs

Stroller, proved it once again over the last couple of weeks (cf.: Oct.2000). With astounding indulgence, she gave suspended prison sentences to people who were caught holding arms and by calling others "criminals" and sending them to jail even though they had not committed any crime on French territory. Of course, the Matignon negotiations only apply to the Korsicans and not to the Basques and Bretons.

This situation is scandalous in itself. But what is even more scandalous is the deafening silence of the loudmouths who usually never miss an opportunity to express their viewpoint on everything, even when not consulted. The same applies to our elected representatives. Who has rebelled against such unjustified and unjustifiable custodies? Has Kristian Guyonvac'h (UDB) published any press release? Has Jossic (Naoned-city-hall+singer) said anything, have singers and musicians raised their voices?

Where have all the Le Penec (PS), Le Driant (PS), Cozan (FB), Maille (PS), Hillon, Méhaignerie and others gone?

Innocent people are being held in custody, their jobs are put in jeopardy (some have lost their job over it), they are traumatised to the extent that they have to stop work and take sick leave. Families are shattered, is all that not serious enough to deserve the concern of people who are usually supposedly sensitive to all the pains in the world, and in Brittany in particular? Would they by any chance be afraid of being considered as ARB sympathisers if they denounced such excesses by the police and judicial authorities? Do the rights of man, they constantly refer to so much, not apply to the victims of such excesses? Is the role of an elected representative not supposed to be - among other things - to make sure that the law is applied not only in its form but also in its spirit and to denounce any slipping?

It is quite easy to howl with the wolves, but it is not as easy to take a stand in favour of a fair cause when outnumbered by a crowd of hypocrites. Why should cops and judges stop their unfair raids and detention when no one raises any objection? If our own elected representatives and our fellow countrymen and women do not cry out against such injustice, why should others? And if they do not cry out against such scandalous procedures, one could be entitled to wonder about the purpose of having such representatives at all...

Annaik Lagadec



## Breton Prisoners have to Return Home

*Skoazell Vreizh / Secours Breton ( Breton Prisoners Family Help Association*

Ten Breton prisoners are currently held in prisons in the Paris region, in Paris Santé, Fresne, Fleury-Mérogis, Villepinte and Bois D'arcy, charged with 'criminal conspiracy in connection with terrorist company' in this particular case the Breton Revolutionary Army (ARB).

French law stipulates that any offence must be judged in the administrative sector where it was committed, except in the case of 'antiterrorism', which is confined to specialized committing magistrates sitting in Paris. (1986 General Law / Pasqua's Laws).

Political prisoners are systematically imprisoned in Paris in different prisons thus preventing any communication between the prisoners. (This also applies to Corsican and Basque prisoners) A means the French justice system uses to break the prisoners morale and their will to defend themselves.

All the Breton prisoners have families: partners, children and relatives living in Brittany. For a 30 or 45 minute visit friends and relatives have to travel some hundred kilometers by train or car, not counting the additional mileage within the Paris region. Not only is the travelling tiring, but also very expensive. Prison visits are in themselves a stressful ordeal and the long travelling time only serves to punish the close relatives even more.

We demand that these prisoners held on 'temporary detention' (soon it will be a year for the first imprisoned) be transferred to one of the five departments in Brittany where they can be together to await the end of their detention. We call on all Bretons and all those who recognize this as an infringement of human rights to write to the French authorities to bring about the above demands.

*We ask all Celtic league members to please support this appeal by writing to the French authorities. Petitions supplied by Skoazell Vreizh are available from the Irish Branch (add. Pg. 24)*

Letters should be sent to: Mrs. Marylise Lebranchu, Minister of Justice, Mr. Jacques Chirac, President of the Republic, Mr. Lionel Jospin, Prime Minister, Mr. Daniel Vaillant, Home Secretary.



## O'r ffonau symudol i'r banciau

Mae blwyddyn gyntaf ymgyrch Cymdeithas yr Iaith am Ddeddf Iaith Newydd wedi dod i ben. Yn ystod y flwyddyn bu'r Gymdeithas yn targedu'r cwmnïau ffôn symudol gan fod y rhain yn esiampl dda o sut mae Deddf Iaith 1993 yn ddiffygiol. Polisi uniaith Saesneg a orfodir ar bawb sydd yn defnyddio ffôn symudol. Os ydych yn cadw ffôn traddodiadol daearol â llinell BT, 'rydych yn cael rhyw fath o wasanaeth Gymraeg. Nid yw'r gwasanaeth ymholiadau Gymraeg (0800 800288) ar gael 24 awr y diwrnod fel mae'r un Saesneg, ond o leiaf mae gwasanaeth Gymraeg i gael. Yr un fath ag ymholiadau llyfr ffôn BT - rhaid gofyn am wasanaeth Gymraeg, ond os gofynnwch, fe'i cewch. Os byddwch yn gofyn am wasanaeth Gymraeg gan un o'r cwmnïau ffôn symudol newydd, byddwch yn fwy tebyg o gael sarhad Saesneg nag ateb Gymraeg. Nid ydyw cwmnïau preifat yn dod o dan Ddeddf Iaith 1993 ac felly nid oes unrhyw orfodaeth iddynt ddarparu ar gyfer y Cymry. (Wrth gwrs mae BT yn gwmni preifat erbyn hyn, ond dechreuodd fabwysiadu polisi pan oedd yn gwmni gwladol, ac mae pwysau gan y Cymry fel y gwrthdystiad yn Nottingham ddechrau'r '90'au wedi eu cadw rhag cefnu arnom yn llwyr.) Mae'n werth nodi hefyd nad ydyw cwmni ffôn symudol BT, Cellnet, yn darparu dim byd yn Gymraeg chwaith.

Ym mis Hydref cyfarfu dirprwyath o Gymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg - oedd ar daith gerdded o Gaerdydd i Lundain dros Ddeddf Iaith - â chwmni ffôn symudol Vodafone. Cynigiwyd bywd a diod i'r cerddwyr gan uchel swyddogion Vodafone yn Newbury. Dywedwyd wrth y cerddwyr gan Ian Gray (Cyfarwyddwr Rheoli Cwsmeriaid) ac Mike Caldwell (Cyfarwyddwr Cyfathrebu Corfforaethol) nad oeddent yn gweld angen i newid eu polisi at yr iaith Gymraeg hyd nes y byddai'r sefyllfa ddeddfwriaethol yn newid ("the legislative environment changes") - hynny yw, cael Deddf Iaith. Edrychent ar y Deyrnas Gyfunol fel uned gyda'r Saesneg yn iaith yr uned honno. Er hynny, yn dilyn eu cyfarfod gyda'r ddirprwyath yng Nghymru fe fyddent yn ystyried cyflwyno polisi dwyieithog yn eu siopau yng Nghymru yn enwedig gan eu bod ar fin agor nifer yn rhagor ohonynt.

Nododd swyddogion y cwmni mai hwn oedd y tro cyntaf i neb drafod yr iaith Gymraeg gyda hwy ac nad oeddynt wedi clywed gan quango'r llywodraeth - Bwrdd yr Iaith Gymraeg - erioed.

Yn 2001 bydd pwyslais yr ymgyrch am Ddeddf Iaith Newydd yn symud i'r banciau. Mae'r pedwar banc mawr â rhyw fath o bolisi Gymraeg yn eu canghennau ers blyneddau ond mae llawer o'r cymdeithasau adeiladu wedi troi'n fanciau erbyn hyn, ac nid ydynt mor barod i ddarparu ar gyfer y Cymry. Ac yn fwy arwyddocaol, a dyma debygrwydd i'r ffonau symudol, nid ydyw datblygiadau technoleg newydd y banciau yn ystyried y Gymraeg. Mae'r banciau yn annog pobl i fancio ar y Rhyngwrdd, ac yn cau canghennau lleol a fyddai'n aml yn ddigon Cymreigaidd yn yr ardaloedd Gymraeg, ond mae Gwefannau pob un o'r banciau hyd yma yn hollol uniaith Saesneg. Mae nifer o fanciau yn cynnig gwasanaethau "direct" dros y ffôn hefyd lle cewch siarad â rhyw ganolfan yn Lloegr heb ddim sôn am hawl i ddefnyddio Gymraeg. Heb ddeddf iaith, mi fydd brwydr i ennill lle i'r Gymraeg ym mhob datblygiad newydd ym myd bancio, gan nad ydyw'r banciau yn dod o dan y ddeddf iaith bresennol.

Mae'n werth nodi bod y gweinidog yn y Cynulliad sydd â chyfrifoldeb am y Gymraeg, Jenny Randerson, wedi dweud nad ydyw hi o blaid Deddf Iaith Newydd er bod ei phlaid, y Democratiaid Rhyddfrydol, yn ffafriol. Nid oedd smic i'w glywed am hyn yn ystod y ddadl yn y Cynulliad am yr iaith, cyn ffurfio'r glymblaid â Llafur, pan oedd y Democratiaid Rhyddfrydol yn cael clod am eu cefnogaeth i'r galwad am ddeddf iaith.

Mae Cymdeithas yr Iaith yn dweud:

"Mae Deddf yr Iaith Gymraeg 1993 yn perthyn i oes a fu - i'r ganrif ddiwethaf - ac mae bellach wedi colli ei phlwc a'i pherthnasedd i fywyd pobl Cymru heddiw.

Nid oes seiliau i adeiladu amynt yn y Ddeddf. Rhai o'i gwendidau sylfaenol yw nad yw'n cynnwys y sector preifat sydd heddiw mor ddylanwadol ym mywydau pobl Cymru ac nad yw chwaith yn ystyried y chwyldro technolegol sydd wrthi yn trawsnewid holl ffurfiau cyfathrebu ac yn awtomeiddio gwasanaethau. Mae pre-

senoldeb bywiog a chryf yn y meysydd hyn yn allweddol i ddyfodol y Gymraeg, ac mae Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg yn ymrwymo i'r ymgyrch hon, gan adeiladu ar yr ymgyrch i Gymreigio ffonau symudol, cwmni Microsoft a chanolfannau galw.

Rydym yn galw, felly, ar y Cynulliad Cenedlaethol i ffurfio Deddf Iaith Gynhwysfawr a fydd yn gosod seiliau cadarn i drawsnewid sefyllfa'r Gymraeg yng Nghymru fel ei bod yn bresennol ac yn hyfwrdd ym mhob maes fel y gall holl bobl Cymru gael mynediad iddi. Galwn hefyd ar i'r Cynulliad ddatgan ei hawl foisol fel corff llywodraethol democrataidd ein gwlad i ddeddfu ar yr iaith Gymraeg, a mynnu gweithredu arni yn hytrach na'i gadael yn San Steffan.

*Rydym fel Cymdeithas am ganolbwyntio ein hymdrechion ar ymgyrchu dros Ddeddf Iaith berthnasol i'r ganrif newydd - ac i'r Gymru ifanc ddemocrataidd newydd - a dyma fydd ein prif ymgyrch eleni."*

**Robat ap Tomos**

(gyda deunydd o wefan Cymdeithas yr Iaith)

### Summary

*Cymdeithas yr Iaith will be continuing their campaign for a new language act in the new year/century despite the National Assembly (Labour supported by the Tories) defeating a motion to support the demand. The emphasis of the campaign in the New Year will move from the mobile phone companies to the banks. Despite, over the years, having responded to campaigns for paper material and signs in branches in Welsh, the banks are ignoring the language in the new technology. No bank is yet offering Welsh on its website, yet the banks are closing local branches, where in the Welsh-speaking areas at least there was a degree of Welsh service available, and urging customers to bank on the Internet or by telephone where only English can be used. Without legislation there is no obligation on them to do otherwise.*

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# National Assembly changes – Wales now to face Labour/Lib. Dem. Coalition

After many months of staggering along with neither an overall majority in the National Assembly nor the ability to recognize this, Labour have finally formed a coalition government with the six-strong Liberal Democrat group, who, added to Labour's 28 members, make a majority government with 34 out of 60 seats. Plaid Cymru now become the clear opposition. Wales will now experience the type of government Scotland has had since the 1999 elections. Up to now the new junior government party, the Lib. Dems, have supported the principle of the Assembly having more powers and have supported the call for a new Welsh language act. We will watch and see whether they will retain these standpoints now in government or whether, like the Labour Party, they will drop the pro-Wales policies they had when in opposition and become yet more upholders of the unionist status quo.

With the change in government a new system of naming the members of government has been adopted. Instead of

being known as ysgrifenyddion/secretaries, the members of the cabinet are to be called gweinidogion/ministers as they are in Scotland and England. The title of Prif Ysgrifennydd/First Secretary becomes the Prif Weinidog or First Minister. The Welsh term, Prif Weinidog, is that also used for the Prime Minister of England.

A number of changes in the distribution of jobs among cabinet posts were introduced, and the re-assignment of responsibility for the Welsh Language, passed to the Liberal Democrat AC for Cardiff Central, Jenny Randerson, has caused some concern to Cymdeithas yr Iaith who have stated:

While congratulating Jenny Randerson on her appointment as Minister for Culture and Sport, Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg are worried that there is no specific reference to the Welsh language in her job description. There is only a reference to the languages of Wales. We fully accept that Wales is a multi-lingual country but we also believe that the Welsh language as the historical lan-

guage of Wales enjoys a special position that makes it unique and this fact should be acknowledged in Ms Randerson's job description.

Dafydd Morgan Lewis, speaking on behalf of Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg said,

"The lack of a specific reference to the Welsh language in her job description is not the only thing that worries us. We are also worried that a Minister who has a particular responsibility for the Welsh language does not speak Welsh. We should also wish to hear Ms Randerson confirm that the review of the Welsh language, which the Post 16 Education Committee agreed to a few weeks ago will go ahead next April.

"Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg is heartened that the Liberal Democrats in the debate on the Welsh language which took place in the National Assembly a few weeks ago supported a call for a New Welsh Language Act. Now one of their AM's is in a very powerful position to further the campaign for a New Welsh Language Act."

Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg has already written to Jenny Randerson asking for an urgent meeting to discuss the Welsh language.

**Robat ap Tomos**

## CENSUS CAMPAIGN GATHERS MOMENTUM

The campaign for a 'Welsh tick box' on the 2001 state census, led by the Cymru Annibynnol / Independent Wales party and the Western Mail newspaper, and subsequently coordinated by the ad hoc Grŵp Diwygio'r Cyfrifiad / Census Reform Group, has continued to gather momentum despite the excuses being put by the Labour Party in Cardiff and London. (The ethnicity question in the proposed census for 2001 does not include 'Welsh' among the list of ethnic groups listed – as it stands someone wanting to describe themselves as Welsh will have to tick 'Other'). Thousands have signed numerous petitions.

Plaid Cymru prospective parliamentary candidate for Rhondda, Leanne Wood, travelled to London to present a petition signed by Rhondda residents asking for a Welsh tick box on the 2001 census forms.

Handing over the petition to Plaid Cymru MP, Simon Thomas who has led a campaign to get the forms changed, Ms Wood said:

"This is a disgraceful situation. As things stand, we cannot state on the forms that we are Welsh. The government says we can put Welsh in the 'other' box. This is simply not good enough. 2,500 Rhondda people have signed the petition and we want the government to listen.

"They have to wake up to the fact that Rhondda people and the people of Wales will

not allow their wishes to be ignored like this.

"The Office for National Statistics have claimed that when the census forms were piloted in Wales in 1999 nobody mentioned the need to include a 'Welsh' tick box. That is simply not true. We did. And they took absolutely no notice. They government now refuse to reprint the forms on grounds of cost. If they had listened to us in the first place, there would have been no need to spend an extra penny.

"I would also like to know how much the pilot scheme cost. If they had no intention of taking the views of the people of Wales seriously, the money spent on the pilot was an absolute waste."

The Census Reform Group is urging people not to fill the official census forms, if the campaign is not won by the time the Census is carried out, but instead to fill in one of the forms being produced by the Group which are identical to the official forms except for the addition of the demanded 'Welsh' tick box. The forms can be obtained free of charge by sending a stamped addressed envelope to Grŵp Diwygio'r Cyfrifiad, 172 Heol y Pandy, Bedwas, Casnewydd, NP1 8EL.

The campaign's web site may be viewed on: [www.censusreformgroup.btinternet.co.uk](http://www.censusreformgroup.btinternet.co.uk)

## Peace March Commemorative Sculpture Welcomed

Plaid Cymru have welcomed the exhibiting of a sculpture commemorating the Greenham Common Peace March by women from Wales in 1981 in the public area at the National Assembly for Wales building in Cardiff.

The work has been created in bronze by Maltese artist Anton Agius and depicts a female figure carrying a child holding the dove of peace. It was presented to Dr Dai Lloyd, AM for South Wales West by Welsh members of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom during their visit to the National Assembly for Wales.

Dr Dai Lloyd AC said:

"Displaying this model will raise awareness of the campaign to erect a permanent commemoration of a significant event. The sculpture commemorates the courage and conviction of a group from Cardiff that marched to Greenham Common to protest about the American cruise nuclear missiles to be deployed there and their quest for international peace. They remained there living outdoors in all weathers until the protest ended with the removal of the weapons from the UK..."



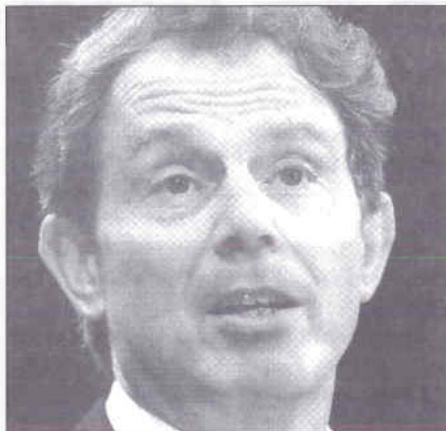
# Plaid Attack Blair's Vision Of Europe

English Prime Minister Tony Blair's speech on the future of the European Union made at the beginning of November was attacked immediately by Plaid Cymru who stated that small nations such as Wales should be able to play a fuller part in the European Union whether they are states or not.

In a keynote speech at Brussels on 9 November Party President Ieuan Wyn Jones AC MP attacked Tony Blair's proposals for a second chamber of the European Parliament consisting of members of 'national' parliaments of member states only. Plaid say that such a chamber should consist of members of the Welsh National Assembly, the Scottish Parliament and other regional parliaments in Europe.

Mr Jones's speech continued "Tony Blair's plan would not make Europe any more democratic - it is merely an attempt to retain as much power as possible in the hands of the larger nation states."

"We must bring Europe closer to the people. Much of the scepticism and disillusionment with the European Union can be attributed to a democratic deficit at the heart of its institutions.



Tony Blair

"Clearly there must be fundamental changes in the way the EU is run; this becomes even more urgent as we face the prospect of expansion."

He was speaking at the first summit of the European Free Alliance / Democratic Party of the Peoples of Europe - the group in the European Parliament to which Plaid's two MEPs belong.

Mr Jones expressed his full support to their declaration on a 'Europe of the Region-states', which was fully in line

with Plaid Cymru's vision of Wales in Europe. He said: "We fully agree that stateless nations should play a part in the European Union on equal terms with other nationalities, including those who are complete states.

"The case we make on behalf of stateless nations is entirely in tune with the principle of subsidiarity, and is key to bringing decisions closer to the level of the citizens.

"Far too often, the present idea of subsidiarity is interpreted only in terms of relations between the EU and the member states.

"The Inter-Governmental Conference in Nice must look at the allocation of responsibilities between all levels of government.

The smaller nations and regions of Europe such as Scotland or Wales have an important contribution to make in shaping the future of our continent. Let us work together to ensure that our voices are heard."

(Based on information from Plaid web site)

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## Troubled Nuclear Plant Fined

The accident-prone nuclear plant at Wylfa on Môn/Anglesey was in the news again in November when its operators were fined £15,000 (+£1,638 costs) following a pollution incident some months ago.

Caergybi/Holyhead magistrates found there was an "acute lack of training and responsibility" on the part of relevant staff, which resulted in 5000 gallons of bleach (20,000 times the permitted level) being discharged into the sea. The damage to the marine environment of such a spill is appalling.

Meanwhile, the management of the plant still hope to get clearance to restart the station's reactors, which have been shut down since April.

The Celtic League has long maintained that this contentious nuclear station, which threatens Irish Sea communities, should be decommissioned. Last month leading nuclear engineer and safety specialist, John Large, of Large and Associates, echoed our concerns. Mr. Large told a meeting in N. Wales that the continued operation of the plant could have "unpredictable results".

Wylfa station has suffered unplanned shutdowns on 30 occasions in the past ten years. Reactor one has been closed down on 13 occasions and Reactor two on 17 occasions. The station was the site of one of the worst nuclear emergencies since the Sellafield fire and in 1995 the operators were fined £250,000 for breaches of safety regulations.

The Celtic League believes that any decision by the British Nuclear Installations Inspectorate to allow this plant to restart poses an unacceptable risk.

Bernard Moffatt

## BNFL 2? THE NIGHTMARE CONTINUES

Given the amount of opposition that has built up in communities around the Irish Sea to the dangers posed by the nuclear industry it is incredible that the British government and BNFL could be contemplating a new generation of nuclear plants. It is a wake-up call to those in the environmental lobby and also to the governments of Europe that such an economic *doomsday plan* is being hatched.

A report to be issued in the near future will speculate that: 'If new nuclear building were brought forward, reactors could be designed specifically with enhanced plutonium-burning capabilities'. BNFL believes it has the technology to rejuvenate its several Magnox sites around the Irish sea and the Sellafield Plant if it can persuade the UK government to give the green light.

Accidents and mishaps and a consistent failure on the part of the industry to meet economic and safety standards have marred forty years of nuclear development. That the United Kingdom may even contemplate this scenario shows just how desperate the nuclear industry is to salvage something from the mess it has made. The Celtic League will be lobbying all sympathetic European governments, who have already expressed concern at the pollution of the British nuclear industry, to try to head off this plan.

Bernard Moffatt





# Éire



## An Mhanannais ar uair na cinniúna

Tugtar léargas géarchúiseach ar staid na Manannaise agus ar riachtanais na teanga i bplépháipéar a d'ullmhaigh Phil Gawne roinnt mí ó shin. Chuir sé an páipéar le chéile mar ábhar réamhphlé le haghaidh clár comhtháite forbartha a bhí á cheapadh aige don MNH (Manx National Heritage) agus don MHF (Manx Heritage Foundation). Deir Gawne go bhfuil dhá bhunriachtanas ann, áiseanna múinte na teanga a fheabhsú agus tacaíocht a bhaint amach ó thromlach mhuintir Mhanann.

Molann an t-údar go gcuirfear freagracht ar leith maidir le polasáí rialtais i leith na teanga, idir fhorbairt, chomhordú agus fheidhmiú, ar áisíneacht nó roinn rialtais amháin, é sin nó comhlacht úrnua a bhunú — 'Bord na Manannaise', b'fhéidir. Braithim ón bplépháipéar gurb é sin an rogha ab fhearr le Gawne. Samhlaíonn sé comhlacht a mbeadh air ionadaithe ó chomhaltaí Tynwald (parlaimint Mhanann) chomh maith leis an Roinn Comhshaoil, an MNH, an Chomhairle Ealaíon agus comhlachtaí stáit eile. Bheadh ionadaíocht ag an earnáil dheonach trí Yn Chesaght Ghailkagh, Mooinjer Veggey agus Caarjyn na Gaelgey. Is é an bord nua seo a bheadh i mbun dáileadh deontas ar thionscnaimh Mhanannaise. Ní na táinte gan áireamh atá in intinn ansin: tuarann Phil Gawne buiséad bliantúil deontas de £40,000-60,000 (Stg). Tá sé le tuiscint gur ar thionscnaimh a mbronnfaí deontais seachas cnapshuimeanna a thabhairt d'eagraíochtaí. Moltar go bhfanfadh feidhmeannaigh an bhoird i ndianteamháil leanúnach leis na deontaithe lena chinntiú go gcaithfí an t-airgead go héifeachtach agus nach mbeadh dúbláil oibre ag eagraíochtaí éagsúla.

Dar le Gawne theastódh beirt oifigeach forbartha ón mbord nua, duine a bheadh ag plé le cúrsaí riaracháin chomh maith le forbairt agus comhordú polasáí teanga ar fud an státchórais. Bheadh an dara duine ag plé le cúrsaí oideachais agus na healaíona.

Cheana féin bíonn ceachtanna Manannaise ag cuid mhór de dhaltai

scoile an oileáin. Cuireadh go mór le stádas acadúil na teanga nuair a tugadh isteach an teastas TCG (Teisht Chadjin Ghaelgagh). Tugann tuismitheoirí i gcoitinne tacaíocht do mhúineadh na teanga agus tá líon na ndaltaí a bhfuil ceachtanna Manannaise uathu ag dul i méid. Cuireann sé sin brú mór ar an ndornán múinteoirí atá ann agus tá géarghá le tuilleadh múinteoirí. Chomh maith leis sin tá breis agus 20 páiste ann a bhfuil a dtuismitheoirí sásta iad a chur ar aonad gaelscolaíochta. Measann Gawne go bhféadfadh slua maith de Mhanannaiseoirí líofa a bheith mar thoradh ar a leithéid d'aonad taobh istigh de dhornán blianta. Dar leis d'fhéadfadh 80 cainteoirí dá leithéid todhchaí fhadéar-mach na teanga a chinntiú.

Tá tuairim is 60 páistí ag freastal ar cheithre naíonra ach tá an córas ag brath ar obair dheonach agus is beag de mhaoiniú stáit atá ann le hais a bhfuil ag fiontair dá leithéid i dtíortha eile. Tá foireann lánaimseartha riaracháin agus forbartha de dhíth go géar.

Cuireann Phil Gawne sraith moltaí ar aghaidh mar ábhar plé. Orthu sin tá bunú ionad acmhainní, dianchúrsaí fadtéarmaícha do dhaoine fásta, maoiniú réadúil ar phost Yn Greinneyder (an timire Manannaise) (nó é a cheangal le post leanaimseartha sa bhord nua, má bhuinaítear a leithéid) agus céapadh cúrsa trú leibhéal sa teanga i gcomhar le coláistí in Éirinn agus in Albain.

Is geall le cliche é 'uair na cinniúna' ach oireann an nath don tréimhse ina bhfuilimid i gcás na Manannaise. Fáidh stuama é Phil Gawne. Go n-éistear leis!

Colm de Faoite

### Summary

*This article summarises proposals from the Manx Language Officer, Phil Gawne, to further secure the future status of Manx. Amongst these is a centralised board for Manx with at least two development officers, one concentrating on administration and co ordination of policy in government departments and the other dealing in education and the arts.*

## Deireadh Seachtaine Gaeilge in Iarthar Shasana

Tá sé beartaithe ag lucht na Gaeilge i Sasana deireadh seachtaine do Ghaeilgeoirí agus foghlaimoirí a bheith ann ag **deireadh seachtaine deireanach mhí Feabhra, 2001**. Beidh sé eagraithe ag Fran O'Boyle i sraidbhaile beag Stiperstones i n-aice le Pontesbury i gcontae Shropshire, i n-aice le teorainn na Breataine Bige. Beidh seans ann spóirt a fháil agus Gaeilge a chleachtadh ag ócáid neamh-fhoirmealta i gceantar álainn. I measc na nimeachtaí beidh siúlóid sna cnoic, *quiz* as Gaeilge i dteach tabhairne, agus beidh ceol traidisiúnta ann. Le sonraí a fháil cuir glaoch ar Fran ar (01743) 792993.

### Summary.

*An informal Irish language week—end will be held for Irish-speakers and learners of all levels in the last week—end in February, 2001. It is being held in Stiperstones, in the hills on the Welsh border. The Clár Imeachtaí will include a quiz as Gaeilge in a bar, a walk in the hills, and there will be traditional music by local Comhaltas musicians. For further details call Fran O'Boyle on (01743) 792993.*

## Irish Language Paper Grants

The submission to continue with the publication of the weekly Irish Language FOINSE by its publishers was successful and a grant of £234,000 was forthcoming from Foras na Gaeilge. This Belfast based Irish language weekly LÁ was given a grant of £115,000. While welcoming a reasonable grant some northern language activists called for the same level for both papers.

## Gradam an Oireachtais

The Award from the Irish Language Festival, An tOireachtas was made this year to Tomás Mac Eoin, Sean-Nós singer from An Cheathrú Rua, Conamara. A songwriter also, who broke new ground and recorded with the Waterboys. Tomás was a great favourite with the Oireachtas attendance. The bronze award was designed by sculptress, Clíodhna Cussien. The festival held in Castlebar this year was very successful in that venue



# Idolatry, Republicanism and Police Reform

Monarchism is idolatry and is so far from a republican mindset as to be almost incomprehensible but comprehend it we must if we want to have the impasse in Ireland resolved.

The adoration afforded the monarch; the sacramentals of royalty; the assumption that, because it is or was, it is not only right but will always be all contribute ultimately to a depersonalisation of politics (so much of it becoming ritual) and are antipathetic to democratic participation in the affairs of state, in government.

There is a fundamental difference between the idea of being a subject and the more natural aim of citizenship. The English pretend to have *compromised* (one of their more seductive, plausible and dangerous principles) between both, to have reached a median way which they affect to be astonished about when the rest of us cannot accept that *compromise* as an ideal of life and living. And many of them, and not only the braying class, really cannot appreciate how so many others cannot see the sublime rightness of their *order* - even still as the Empire on which this *order* of theirs was imposed has shrunk by and large to their first conquests.

The English poet, Patricia Beer (fine lady she was too!) was born into the Plymouth Brethren and one would have expected from its members that being without structures or hierarchical organisation they would tend to be levellers and democrats.

In their beliefs and practice hostility to Rome went so far as to eschew Christmas and Easter as popery and use as a verb *to pope* as a euphemism for farting. Their slogan has the Paisley like heavy *humour* and *half-puns*: *Disappointments are his appointments*.

But then Paisley is no democrat; the very roads are *the Queen's highway* for that ilk, and the idolatry he evinces can be heard as an echo of theirs; as exemplified in Patricia's story about her father's strikebreaking (unions were wicked) and later.

Reaction of the Brethren and Sisters... to the flight into exile of King Alfonso of Spain; they wept, and prayed for the dethroned, victimised king, who, though he was a Roman Catholic represented the aristocratic authority they loved in secular rulers (Mrs Beers's House, Macmillan 1968).

Hence to some extent the clinging on to the *Royal* in the designation of the police in the Six Counties.

Alongside *idolatry* there is another factor to be taken into account in assessing English reactions to any change in the police *service* in the six counties. It was always the aim of the English as imperialists to induce and recruit the conquered to supply their own

garrison: it was so ingrained a practise that years after they abolished the slave trade in 1807 they bought African slaves themselves as the nucleus of a police force in parts of west Africa. The imperial ploy is from their point of view a wise one: governing and ruling with a minimum of English lives at risk in the armies and police; and more importantly perhaps binding into the Imperial system and more and more of the monarch's subjects through their participation in the day to day administration of themselves as part of Empire. Hence the significance of the baubles, the medals and ribbons, the curtsies and letters patent

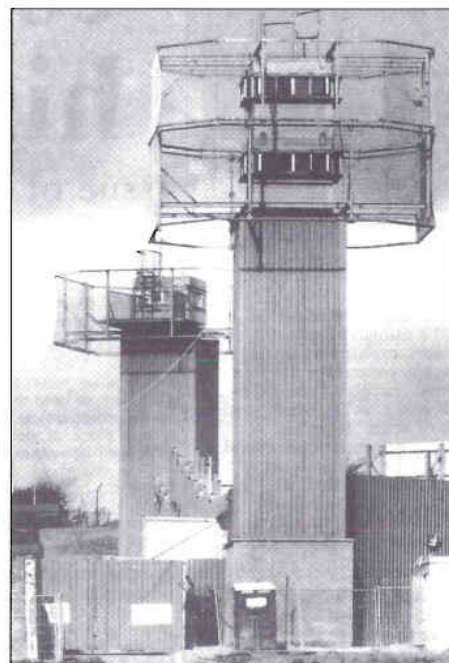
Not enough perhaps realise that that structure of society is, in itself, evil - being idolatry and a denial of human dignity. To accept English values on this (as so many have been seduced into doing, aspired to, delighted in and looked on as normal) is to be drawn into a world of political thought and behaviour we can never finally come to terms with, let alone overcome.

A third factor is to be looked at in the present context (this is being written in ignorance of the details of the Blair/Mendleson/Flanagan implementation proposals) is the English use of *compromise* as an ideal.

Others compromise; others accede to this force of circumstance after a reading of trends towards future developments. And so the Irish leaders took a major risk in accepting as a probable working brief the recommendations and outlines of the Patten proposals for police reform. It was accepted by all that a police were necessary; it was accepted by most that the RUC had to be radically reformed; it was felt by most republicans and many nationalist of the SDLP line that the RUC could not be reformed, and would have to be replaced.

Patten's report and its acceptance by nationalism, by the Republican leadership, by the government of the Republic, and apparently, by Blair augured a new beginning.

But when Mandelson unilaterally procured the Belfast Assembly (an international treaty the Government of Ireland thought) and allowed Trimble to undermine the good Friday Agreement as regards cross-border co-operation by denying intergovernment status to meetings of Sinn Féin ministers with their Dublin counterparts; it became clear yet again that the English *compromise* merely to draw breath, regroup, and go on towards their original objective: there is a very major difference between the dialectics of thesis/antithesis/synthesis and the English sense of *compromise*.



*Demilitarisation by the British in South Armagh, involving removal of fortifications similar to the one above, is now seen as the first necessary step in a sequence of events which could get the Peace Process in the North back on track.*

For Irish nationalists the Patten agreement was a terminus - not necessarily the destination (obviously not so) - an oasis in the evolution of things where a suggestion of normality might obtain, where the norms of civilized society in the 21st century might be taken as dated. For English imperialists that agreement on Patten was an oasis of temporary rest; a place to recharge and reassess and whence to return to the status they themselves had envisaged as an appropriate settlement for the time being - a status which of course was not adverted to during the protracted negotiations which led to Patten Mark I (Mark II was the re-recruitment of Patten as hectoring master in the drive away from Mark I).

A little history may help. *The Lane Pictures* were willed to Dublin by an unwitting codicil to his last will. The will had specified the Tate, The English offered a *compromise* in 1916: that the pictures would rotate between Dublin and London. The Irish MPs (Carson being particularly eloquent on this) laughed the suggestion out of parliament. Sporadic agitation over decades ensued Irish no *give* on the part of the English until more than a half-a-century later they offered as *compromise* their first thoughts - a rotation partition of the collection. The Irish authorities unaware apparently that the English were merely offering what they had offered in 1916 proclaimed a victory for good sense and accepted the *compromise*.

On this and all the motto must be *Times Anglos et dona compromise*.

P. Ó Snodaigh



## Planning Appeals Board Insists on Compulsory English in Gaeltacht

In November in an appeals case against a planning permission for an ESB proposed overhead transmission line and substation in West Donegal An Bord Pleanála (The Planning Appeals Board) make a ruling that the oral hearing (to be held in the, albeit English speaking town Dungloe, in the official Gaeltacht area), would be held only in English. Furthermore they insisted that submissions made in Irish would have to be delivered two weeks in advance of the hearing. The decision has condemned by Junior Minister, Éamon Ó Cuív and Foras na Gaeilge though it appears neither took the matter further. The overhead line route passes through a large part of the Donegal Gaeltacht and the substation location is in the heart of it. Amongst the objectors (on various grounds) were the local Environmental Committee in Gaoth Dobhair who complained that the behaviour discriminated against them, a view shared by Ó Cuív who said the hearing should have been conducted in Irish with provision for taking

evidence in English. He further stated this indicated the need for the Language Bill and a language commissioner. Of course, it does but why is the bringing forward of this legislation so delayed? And when it does arrive will it be a comprehensive bill, which will tackle also the burgeoning private sector providing all sorts of services?

At the hearing the Bord Pleanála inspector initially stated he could translate submissions made in Irish. However, he was challenged on the accuracy of one such by the solicitor for Coiste Tímeallachta Gaoth Dobhair and having had the hearing disrupted by a lone protester reading the Constitution in Irish he apparently relented, agreeing to provide a translator (after about 40% of the allocated time for that hearing had been used.) Whatever decision is arrived at it seems An Bord Pleanála may well have laid themselves open, due to their curious behaviour with regard to the use of Irish, to a judicial appeal on that decision.

## RUC - INSTITUTIONALISED ANTAGONISM TOWARDS NATIONALISTS

The Celtic League wholeheartedly endorse the comments and complaint by the Committee on the Administration of Justice (CAJ) about RUC handling of death threats against murdered lawyer Rosemary Nelson. It remains to be seen if their decision to lodge a formal complaint against the RUC Chief Constable, Sir Ronnie Flannigan, will get anywhere, but it is likely to be a potent test of the effectiveness of the new Northern Ireland Police Ombudsman.

Rosemary Nelson gave public testimony just prior to her death about the threats and intimidation levelled at her by, amongst others, serving police officers. The investigation of her murder has been attended by the same inertia as that which surrounded an earlier killing of Belfast Solicitor Pat Finucane.

Police reform in N. Ireland means more than tinkering with names, badges and recruitment demography. It means getting to grips with the institutionalised antagonism within the RUC towards the nationalist community. The threats towards Rosemary Nelson and the indifference towards her murder are symptomatic of the cancer at the heart of the RUC which make it unfit to police.

## McBride Killers - Rallying Point for Malignancy and Indiscipline

The Ministry of Defence has again defended its decision to allow two convicted murderers, James Fisher and Mark Wright, to remain in the British Army. The Celtic League Manx branch has written to the MOD as part of a series of protests called to highlight the callousness and insensitivity caused by the decision to the family of

Belfast man Peter McBride who was murdered by the pair in 1992. The two men were subsequently jailed but released early by the British government. The McBride family has tirelessly campaigned against the decision to allow the two men to return to duty.

Their campaign received a new impetus when the Irish parliament (Dail) debated the issue and condemned the British government's decision. In correspondence to Celtic League Manx branch Secretary, Cristl Jerry, the MOD said, "there were exceptional reasons to allow for their retention". The Celtic League Manx branch is appalled by the decision and believes that the "exceptional reasons" argument is fatuous. The Judge that

## IT DIDN'T CRASH IT FELL!

In an incredible example of double-speak, even by MoD standards, the Defence Ministry has denied that a crash involving a Wessex helicopter occurred in S. Armagh recently. Despite witness evidence, backed by photographs, the MoD say the chopper did not crash when one of its engines failed (due to ingestion of a "foreign object"). It simply made an emergency landing on reduced power. The elderly chopper was subsequently removed slung beneath the belly of a heavy lift Chinook.

The MoD have also rejected claims from the Celtic League that operations by the Wessex are patently unsafe, due to the age of the machine, and its service record which includes a controversial crash in Wales seven years ago in which a number of air cadets were killed.

The helicopter is now almost forty years old having entered service with the RAF in 1961. In that time the type has not been subject to the 'Service Life Extension Programme'. The MoD concede that the Wessex is an "ageing helicopter", which will "retire from service within the next few years". They go on to say that they take their "responsibilities for safety very seriously and all aspects of safety are kept under continuous review".

However, this reassurance has a hollow ring. Early in 2000 the Celtic League proved that the MoD were operating helicopters in Ulster with a known defect (the Lynx machines were subsequently grounded). There is little doubt that the MoD is being disingenuous about this latest incident and it seems that only a catastrophic crash involving substantial deaths of aircrew and civilians will prompt a rethink.

**Bernard Moffatt**

heard their case branded both Fisher and Wright as liars. It is clear therefore that immediately after the incident there was no remorse or regret, but simply an attempt to lie to evade retribution. It is clear also that some in the Scots Guards (the men's regiment) still seek to justify the murder. Only recently soldiers from the regiment sent a tasteless Xmas card to the Civil liberties group in Ireland (the Pat Finucane Centre) which has been assisting the McBride family. It is clear that the MOD decision to reinstate the two has made them a rallying point for malignancy and indiscipline.

**J B Moffatt**



# THE SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT

## – a stepping stone to Independence?

The following is an edited version of the address given by Irene McGugan, MSP (SNP) at Trinity College, Dublin on the 26th. Nov. at a meeting organised by An Comhaontas Ceilteach (Celtic Alliance, TCD) and the Irish branch of the Celtic League (with early assistance from our Scottish branch).

At the beginning of her speech Irene referred to the historical connections between Ireland and Scotland and recent initiatives and continued:

"I also want to mention briefly another linking of our communities.

Buite (Bwee-ha) (Booechie) or Boice in English, the founder of Monasterboice died on the same day that St Columba was born. Monasterboice is a small community in south county Louth and has just twinned with my own village of Letham, Angus in the east of Scotland.

Astonishingly this is alleged to be the first official twinning between Scotland and Ireland. Even more astonishingly this restores a 1,500-year-old link between our parishes.

The aims of this twinning are to further investigate the historical connections between the two communities and to foster an understanding of our different cultures, particularly religious differences, since we are a Protestant community and Monasterboice is of course a Catholic one. Educational, exchange visits are already well established and have included young people particularly, and I think this is a really good example of a millennium project.

And finally on this point, I want to remind you, or tell you if you didn't already know it, that Irish President Mary McAleese inaugurated Aberdeen's Research Institute of Irish and Scottish Studies exactly a year ago tomorrow on St Andrew's Day. As an MSP for the North East of Scotland, which includes Aberdeen, I am very pleased that this connection has been established, with Tom Devine, the eminent historian as the current Chair of the faculty. I would venture to suggest however that this is a very tardy development, and that such links should have been established decades ago. If we had not been so busy learning our about our imperial past, we might have given more thought to our nearest neighbours, and our common endeavours, parallel aims and mutually fortifying achievements. In any

case, the Institute of Irish and Scottish Studies will now allow us to explore across this narrow strip of water, how Scotland and Ireland can liaise in matters of trade, fishing, tourism, transport links, education, culture, the Gaelic language and indeed politics.

So moving on, I intend to give a brief synopsis of some recent events in the history of the SNP, then tell you a bit about the establishment and workings of the new Scottish Parliament, before outlining our party's view of the way forward from here.

The Scottish National Party has been at the forefront of the campaign for Scottish self-determination for almost 70 years. The evolution of the SNP has been paralleled by the political evolution of Scotland herself - from an almost totally unionist country to a nation on the brink of independence.

In 1945 the party scored its first electoral victory when Dr Robert McIntyre was elected with 51.4% of the vote in a straight fight against the Labour Party at a by-election. Labour regained the seat shortly afterwards, at the General Election, and it was to be 21 years before the next SNP MP was elected. Nobody said it would be easy!

Nevertheless, nationalist sentiment throughout Scotland was growing. On Christmas Day in 1950 the Stone of Destiny on which the Kings of Scotland were crowned, was taken from Westminster Abbey and returned to Scotland by 4 Glasgow University students. They were led by Ian Hamilton, who stood as an SNP candidate in the Scottish Parliament elections in 1999 - some 49 years later.

Throughout the 1960s membership rose and the party extended its base of support. The importance of this cannot be underestimated, because the SNP then as now received no money from big business or trade unions but relied totally on its membership for funds.

In 1966 the SNP fought its largest ever number of seats at a General Election and won 14.3% of the vote.

However the first real electoral breakthrough came in November 1967 when Winnie Ewing won a famous victory at the Hamilton by-election.

During her 3 years at Westminster, Winnie had an electrifying effect on Scottish politics. She subsequently represented Highlands and Islands in the

European Parliament where she became known as Madame Ecosse. She now sits in the Scottish Parliament, and is a great source of support and encouragement to political newcomers, like myself.

During the 1970s the SNP launched one of its most influential campaigns - Its Scotland's Oil. The perception that the Scottish people were being excluded from the economic benefits generated by the discovery of oil and gas in the North Sea transformed Scottish politics and gave the SNP a major boost in both membership and votes. The campaign strengthened the economic arguments in favour of independence and underscored the need for Scotland to control her own resources. This has been an important theme running through Scottish politics every since.

The General Elections in 1974 were a breakthrough for the SNP - with 7 MPs elected in February and 11 MPs elected in October. This massive leap forward forced the pace of the political debate and the Labour Government was compelled by public opinion to legislate for Scottish devolution.

In March 1979 a referendum on the Scotland Act took place, under the burden of the notorious 40% rule. It meant that devolution could not be passed by a simple majority but required the support of 40% of the electorate. This resulted in a situation where people who wouldn't or couldn't vote (including the dead) were effectively counted as No voters. The Yes campaign won a majority but only 32.9% of the electorate voted. When the Conservatives won the ensuing General Election, most commentators believed that the issue of Home Rule for Scotland was dead.

Indeed after the crushing disappointment and disillusionment of the referendum result, the SNP retained only 2 MPs, and the 1980s were a difficult time for the Party.

But it was not only the SNP who found this time difficult. The imposition of Tory policies by a government who had not been elected by the Scottish people (Scotland always returns a majority of Labour members), was widely seen as constituting a democratic deficit, which had to be addressed.

A revival followed, and the fortunes of the Party were once again on the up. Towards the end of the decade, the Party Conference passed a number of important policy decisions, committing themselves for example, to the use of civil disobedience to defy the Poll Tax and endorsing the policy of Independence in Europe. And in 1990 Alex Salmond became the new leader.

In the 1992 General Election the SNP gave its best performance since 1974. But this increased share of the national vote did not translate into increased seats because of the first past the post system used at Westminster elections.





*Éadaoin Ní Mhuireachtaigh (Chair, An Comhaontas Ceilteach, TCD) presenting a book on Ireland to Irene McGugan, MSP (on left) in appreciation of her lecture on Nov. 26th. which was organised in conjunction with the Irish Branch of the Celtic League.*

On average in 1992, it took 23,324 votes to elect a Labour MP; 42,651 votes to elect a Liberal Democrat; 68,359 to elect a Conservative – and 209,851 votes to elect an SNP MP!!!!!! I'm sure from that you can guess our policy position on PR.

At the end of 1992 a European Summit was held in Edinburgh to mark Britain's Presidency of the EU. Nothing could have so clearly demonstrated Scotland's status as a nation without a voice and a remarkable 25,000 people demonstrated, demanding that the Scottish Parliament be recalled. The "Scottish Question" was far from settled.

The 1997 General Election saw the end of Tory dominance at Westminster and the first Labour government since the 1970s. In Scotland the Tories were quite simply wiped out – not a one left – and the strength of the SNP vote (22.1%) forced Labour to deliver on their promise to legislate for devolution early in the new Parliament. A referendum on the proposals for a Scottish Parliament, and whether it should have tax-varying powers, was held in September 1997.

The Referendum Campaign saw an unprecedented level of co-operation between the 3 main parties campaigning for a Yes/Yes vote, which many hailed as evidence that the new Scottish politics could, and should, break the adversarial Westminster mould.

On a turnout of over 60%, 74.3% of Scots voted Yes to a Scottish Parliament and 63.4% voted Yes to tax varying powers.

The first elections to a Scottish Parliament were set for May 1999. Some senior Labour politicians predicted that devolution would "kill off" the SNP – however their confidence was greatly misplaced.

Fought under different rules, which introduced an element of proportionality into the electoral system, the SNP could expect that

their share of the vote would be translated into actual seats.

Any hopes people may have nurtured that the new Scottish politics would be more consensual and less confrontational than the Westminster model were shattered by that campaign. The SNP faced an unprecedented onslaught, not only from their unionist opponents, but also from the unionist owned Scottish media.

Under funded, under-staffed and under-resourced, the SNP fought a hard campaign without the aid of focus groups or influential journalists. As always the party depended on its own members to drive the SNP campaign forward.

The result was 35 SNP members of the Scottish Parliament, 7 elected on the first part the post constituency vote and the remainder elected as additional members – enough to become the official opposition.

When the Scottish Parliament met for the first time on the 12th May 1999, it was given to Winnie Ewing, as the oldest member present, to open the proceedings. She did so with the words:

"The Scottish Parliament, adjourned on the 25th March 1707, is hereby re-convened."

The opening of our Parliament was a very different occasion from state openings of parliament at Westminster; no imperial pomp and circumstance; the Scottish crown not on the Queen's head but set in the centre of the chamber as a symbol of the entire community; and the whole assembly singing Robert Burns' song of egalitarian internationalism, inspired by the French revolution, "A Man's a Man". It was, said one commentator, "a Scandinavian rather than a British day."

The Parliament itself looks as much a child of Europe as an institution sired by Westminster. It is elected proportionally,

using the same constituency-list system as Germany. Unlike the House of Commons, its business is determined collectively – like most of Europe – by a Bureau. For internal appointments, it uses the d'Hondt system, invented by a Belgian. It has electronic voting. And it sits, not two sword lengths apart like the Commons, but in a classic European hemicycle. We speak, by the way, for 4 minutes which makes this speech approximately 10 times longer than my usual contributions.

Another principal is equal opportunity. I am proud to belong to a legislature where almost 40% of the Members are women. I would not be alone in saying that the culture of a legislature where there is near parity between the sexes is significantly less aggressive and more concerned with the practicalities of the issues.

And there is a determination across the parties that what we are building is an inclusive society to which all who live in Scotland can belong, regardless of their race, religion or colour.

I also mentioned accessibility. The very fact that we are back among our own people ensures that there is often a lively, and public debate, not least in the Scottish media, about issues before the Parliament. But all the business of the Parliament is available on our website which is updated overnight. So for the academics and students among you who have requested research papers, the Official Reports of proceedings, discussion documents on the new Parliament which we are building at Holyrood, I can reasonably say "Go to [www.scottish.parliament.uk](http://www.scottish.parliament.uk) on the Internet." You will everything in total transparency there.

So far, so good. However, let me be clear what devolution is. While we have virtually complete authority over our domestic business, foreign affairs, defence, social security, macro-economic policy and the constitution remain vested in Westminster.

The position of the SNP – the second largest party and the official opposition in Edinburgh – is that devolution is a stepping stone to Independence. Only independence and the real powers of a normal country will unlock Scottish resources and potential and make a difference to the quality of life for the people of Scotland. That is the message we will continue to preach, but we are not averse to getting there bit by bit. And it is becoming increasingly accepted that devolution is a process, not an event.

As Alex Salmond said at the opening ceremony of the Scottish Parliament on July 1st last year, "This is not the end of Scotland's journey". We are moving all the time from dependence to independence – and there will be a restoration of Scottish democracy.

*(Continued on page 16)*



## **The Scottish Parliament**

Scotland has not yet reached the end of the constitutional road – and neither in consequence has the rest of the UK.

And though not major determinants of Scottish identity, we have 3 languages: English, Gaelic and the Scots Leid, which have also contributed to determining who we are. I am currently the President of the Scots Language Society.

Surveys as recently as earlier this year, confirm that Scots do not have the same difficulty with nationality as the English – only 9% of Scots residents describe themselves exclusively as British; 3% as more British than Scottish; 27% as equally British and Scottish; but 28% as more Scottish than British; and 32% as Scottish not British.

It was the Irish poet Yeats who said, “nationality is the velvet glove through which one reaches out to touch a wider world.”

We are a party with a positive outlook on European and international co-operation. The Scots are back in Europe as a distinct entity.

We argue that Scotland – with roughly the same population and gross domestic product as Denmark – will be best served as an independent state within the European Union.

But how would we manage, you might ask? There are still probably 40 – 45 years of oil production in the North Sea. Since the 1970s thousands of millions **more** pounds of taxation went out of Scottish waters into the UK economy than we got back.

If you take OECD statistics quoted in the House of Commons, Scotland is number 7 in the league table of richest countries and Britain is number 18. The point is that Scotland is a rich country but not yet a rich society.

There is substantial poverty in my country and I want to see some of these resources used in the way they have been used in Norway, to guarantee a communitarian, caring, compassionate, socially just Scotland.

The crucial factor is to ensure that the economy of Scotland works to the lasting benefit of our people. That means power over fiscal policy. To illustrate that point, we have suffered recently from an extraordinarily strong pound. This is killing Scottish exports, in a country that lives by experts. If we don't sell what we produce, the future is bleak. But British macro-economic policy, damping down our economy because the city of London is overheating, is having an extremely adverse effect in Scotland. It is treating us for an illness we don't have.

The SNP is a moderate-left-of-centre party with its message in tune with the mainstream of Scottish tradition. So what then is involved in the process of transition

to become a party of government in an independent Scotland? I think we need to have clearly understood policies that address the key concerns of the public. We also need to have a passionate and boundless ambition to raise the sights and the expectations of our people and to make our independent country a nation renowned for its fairness, its justice and its prosperity.

We want to encourage and promote an ambitious Scotland. We know that the people who live there have high hopes and high expectations – for themselves, their families and for their nation. But we need only look around Scotland to see that things must get better.

A nation where 350,000 children live in poverty is not a nation fulfilling its ambitions.

A nation where our old folk are forced to sell their homes to pay for their care is not a nation living up to its ambitions.

A nation where jobs are lost, hospital beds are closed and schools are crumbling – that is not an ambitious nation fulfilling its potential.

But the ambitions of our nation are constrained at the moment. Our nation can only deliver on its ambitions when the powers of our parliament are completed with independence, and when improving health, eradicating poverty, creating jobs and educating our children, become more than targets, when they become reality.

The Scottish people have invested a lot in their Parliament, but already there is a growing realisation that it has limited powers and in key areas, is totally subservient to Westminster. It is the job of the SNP to argue the case for an independent Parliament and to demand greater power for the parliament we have – power over key policy areas such as employment, welfare and broadcasting. The SNP believe that Scotland is in the process of moving towards Independence. It is our role to complete the transition from Scotland's second party of government and in doing so to provide the Scottish people with a direct route to independence”.

**Irene McGugan MSP  
2000-11-26**

**Irene McGugan, MSP was elected to the Scottish Parliament (NorthEast Scotland) in May 1999. She has been an SNP member for 20 years and led the campaign against the toll on Skye Bridge. She is Shadow Deputy Minister for Children and Education (which includes a remit for Sport, Broadcasting and Gaelic). She is a member of Rural Affairs and Equal Opportunities Committees.**

## **Health Minister Rejects Language Recognition in Mental Health Bill**

Health Minister, Micheál Martin rejected amendments, which would have ensured mention of Irish in the Mental Health Bill. He was not willing to allow reference to the “the language of communication of the person” which would have guaranteed that a mental health patient would have to be communicated with in their native language. A Comhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge (Coordinating Body for Irish Language Organisations) spokesperson said they had proposed eleven amendments and were disappointed at this but had some hopes still that the Minister might accept a reference to language rights at the report stage. Surely this was an opportunity for the Government, in the absence of any progress on the Language Bill, to ensure rights of Irish speakers were protected?

## **Celtic Muse**

My name is Marc Gunn. I perform in Austin's Original Celtic Renaissance, the Brobdingnagian Bards. I am starting publication of a new electronic newsletter of free Celtic music downloads, called the Celtic Muse.

Celtic music is growing daily. New bands are popping up everywhere, complimenting and paying tribute to the traditional bands. Many are now even online. My goal with the Celtic Muse is to bring together Celtic musicians and music-lovers by sharing the music that we all know and love, and to help my subscribers get to know the growing number of Celtic artists.

Once a week, I will send out an ezine featuring a great Celtic musician online. Subscribers can read a brief bio, and a little about a song before downloading a free MP3. In addition to receiving free Celtic downloads every week, a subscription to the Celtic Muse enters you into The Great Celtic CD Give-away where subscribers can win free CDs every month.

The technology is new, as is the idea. I hope that by bringing Celtic music-lovers and readers together, the Celtic community might get to know one another better than ever. To subscribe, <mailto:joinmuse@thebards.net> I haven't had time to put up a website, yet. So in the meantime, could you please share this information with your community.

**Marc Gunn**





# Kernow



## Niver tevesigyon ow tyski Bretonek owth ynkressia

Dres teyr blydhen, Ofis ar Brezhoneg (Soedhva an Taves Bretonek) a orden kaskyrgh avonsyans rag korsow Bretonek rag tevesigyon. Hevlyna y hwelir kaskyrgh rag korsow rag an devesigyon mis Gwynngala ha mis Hedra war 700 argem-myn yn trydhek trev y'n Breten Vyghan istorek, 3,000 liwyans ha 35,000 lyvrik rag ynnia war an dus dyski Bretonek.

Warlyna moy es 9,000 den re omrolyas gans korsow gorthugher Bretonek. Yma 177 kowethas ow kynnik korsow dhe devesigyon yn Breten Vyghan hevlyna, dewdhek moy ages warlena ha 27 kowethas mes a Breten Vyghan y'ga mysk 15 y'n ranndir a-dro dhe Paris.

Pur dhe les yw gweles bos an niver a devesigyon ow tyski Bretonek owth ynkressia yn kettermyn hag yma owth ynkressia ynwedh an niver a flegthes ow tyski Bretonek y'n skolyow Diwan, y'n skolyow Katholik hag y'n skolyow poblek. Y kevir 5,936 den omrolys gans korsow gorthugher, 2,390 y'n seythunyow Bretonek (omguntellyans avel "Yeth an Werin" po "Pennseythun Kernewek" yn Kernow) ha 800 den a dhysk Bretonek dre lyther, y'ga

mysk 60 % gans Skol Ober. A-dhia 1932, y tysk Skol Ober Bretonek dhe'n dus dre lyther mes y kevir ynwedh korsow Kembrek dre Vretonek hag a-dhia mis Gwynngala korsow Kernewek dre Vretonek ynwedh. 70 dyskador a-vodh a ewn korsow Skol Ober.

José CALVETE.

### Summary:

*For 3 years "Ofis ar Brezhoneg" has been promoting Breton courses for adults. This year during September and October we could see this campaign on 700 hoardings in 13 towns of historical Brittany, on 3,000 pictures as well as 35,000 booklets in order to encourage adults to learn Breton.*

*This increase in the number of adult learners is interesting to observe since it follows the increase of Breton learners in schools.*

*Among the 9,000 adults learning Breton, 5,936 attend evening classes, 2,390 attend "Breton weeks" and 800 learn Breton by correspondence, 60 % of them through Skol Ober which has 70 voluntary teachers correcting the lessons and which also offers Breton courses, Welsh and from this year Cornish courses through Breton.*

## KESTEVEDHYANS KORVLAGEHEL KERNEWEK

Mars yw hemma tamm 'ganowas' dhyn ni kernewegoryon, y teu ha bos kalessa hwath rag an Governans dh'y gollenki! Ow sywya an digresennheans a veu grontys wostiwedh dhe Alban ha Kembra, yth hevelis da dhe Loundres divynya an wlas oll yn kettella. Kernow a veu niverys yn mysk rann veur a Bow Sows, heb preder vyth a'n edhommow ha hwansow a ve dhe'n drigoryon. Ny vynnir lemen kuntel yn unn le an soedhogyon ha galloesow pynag a ve Adro dhe gans den ha benyn a veu kuntellys dhe Vosvenegh dhe'n l Ives a Vis Du. Yth esa omglywes a waytyans ha govenek a'n eghenn yw tanow yn Kernow, soweth. Yn mysk neb kans a dus, yth esa an re aswonys dhe vos gonisyji len a barth Kernow; ornys veu an kuntel, sur lowr, gans Dick Cole, Kaderyor Mebyon Kernow; dhe weles yth

esa an Bardh Meur, Jowan Bolitho, kefrys hag eseli Senedh an Stenoryon.

Hogen, y'gan mysk yth esa tus vyghan ha bras a'n bys politek a-les: unn Esel Senedh, Andrew George, hag unn kyns Esel Senedh Europek, Robin Teveson, aga dew y'n Bagas Lyberal mes ryptha, Nick Serpell, a sev a barth an Bagas Tori. (Saw unnsel kannas Lafur a fyllis dhyn!).

Yma an kessedhek owth hembraon kaskyrgh an bobel rag gul DH'agan mestrysi keworra tu dhe lelow an gemmynyon a berwedh yn konsel gelwys 'randiryel.' Yma kuntellys seualabrys neb pymthek mil a henwyn skoedhoryon. (Dasskrivow an govynek a gevir dhi-worth

'Dartington', Threemilestone, Truro, Kernow/ Cornwall).

J.H.

## O Why Kelt, Thanna?

Ema genam et a doola daralia comeres meas an Nawothow Cambrean, Mees Gwedngala, 21 a deeth, 2000: Ma assayans DNA a tescotha keveran gens an Oose a Vean.

Thort medra an DNA abarh mabm mesk scolurrian an wheffas forme en Scoll Crownick Lampeter, an A'hro Bryan Sykes a thesmiggias drigge 34 an cans nothans a longia tha lydniath es a moas warthelhar 20,000 a vlethidniow, hagensol eth ell suya avage 25 an cans nongy bis en Oose a Vean, henew an termen o dereves an dawngiow mine ha'n crumblehow ny. Bus moye ages hedna, nag era tabm veeth havalder treeth DNA an junkars a Lampeter ha Keltian an Creas a Europe!

An Gernowean ew per havall than Gembrean; en gweer eta thone edn bobell, was an leas Sausen es devethes tha dreegas barha ny, ha deveas alena, gon goose meskes. Andelha, ny ell suppoga pecare dewa rag DNA an dees younk en Kernow dres deskyvres en Kimbra.

Edn dra ew spladn luck thort an assay'ma: an peath ew meneges gen moye es edn a'hro ew gweer, den nagew cumpas referria tha gon hunnen hethow vel Keltian. En journa'ma an Kelt nag ew. Than gear Kelt nag es bus keveran heanegack. Et an Oose a Hoarn na re tees Breten referria tha go hunnen vel Keltian, lebn vel Brittes, ha'n Reyeinwer a gon cryas Britanni, en usia an gear Celtae en ednack rag compla trigorian a'n Creas a Gaul.

Soo, lavaro them, o why Kelt? Nanty! Nagew possibil. Thera why clappia tavas Keltack metessen, ma tha why somples a art Keltack et agos glase, ma tha why musick ew enwegack tha gos pow alga boas cries 'Keltack', ha why ell disquethas drera kens lahes Keltack tha why, vel en Worthen, ha vor bewa ew gwelles gena ny hethow tha voas devethes athor an tradicion Keltack. Na whathe, na wrew bus pedyry: en Aphrica ha Eynda, ha pelha, ma leas es a clappia Sowsnack, ha bis en suya lahes ha heanes Sowsnack, heb boas Sowsnack o hunnen. An lydniath why nagew gos heanes heb kene.

John Davies reeg laull drew hedna Kelt es a clappia tavas Keltack pokene a vengas desky onen an tавosow'ma. Na ellama agreea gen hedna. An gwreanath ew nag es Keltian namoye lebn en cotheneb; tho ny an peath o ny en kensa dallath: Brittes! Seweth! an gear'ma a ve ledres eker gens an Sausen, rag mowns cows dro tha Breten Vear, dro than Empire Brethonack, an army Brethonack, an bowen Brethonack, ampassy; ha ma tha ny passporth Brethonack, anan? Soo, tho ny helles abera tha gon cornettow one Kembrean, Kernowean, Skottes, Gothily,

(Continued on page 18)



## O Why Kelt, Thanna?

Tees Mann ... bus nag es bith moye Keltian veeth.

En dewa, fatel ellen ny crya gon hunnen vel edn dees? Es gear a turn vetholl? En gweer, an Skottes ha Tees Mann thens Gothily, keth o Alban teer Brethonack en kensa; soo, nage-wa bus part an Gembrean ha'n Gernowean tha worriby than hanow Brittes, Mar medn ny gawas gear leas rag oll tha ny, heneu an Gothily, an Skottes, Tees Mann, an Gembrean, an Gernowean ha'n Vretten, en gweer eta nages gear malbew dabm, na bith moye na ve beska gear veeth. A cotheneb na re tees an tirriow'ma regardia o hunnen vel edn bobell, kethew guthvetes gena ny het-how dro ny oll devethes, en radn tha an liha, thort avage per goath es a moas warthelhar r-nilllow a viethendiow, tha termen kens mencion vetholl an Geltian.

Thera ve screffa vel Kernow, en eger mat-ter a ve dereves man gen Kernbro, ha an kethe matter'ma ew tha thorn mava a tuchia en ednack an Gembrean ha'n Gernowean rag an termen'ma. Soo ethew ny en enwedgack leb a dale gorriby: Pew o ny, pe nag o ny Keltian? Dar! Brittes, per efan! Ha po uses gon hanow gen rerol, pana matter broas ew hedna rag ny? Thone peath one, ha reis ew purreis thene degy aworra en provt an hanow'ma, ha desky tha rerol tha e barthy.

Po ledres an marh why, a veath hedna peath an lader uggeva? Nanty! E veath nevra peath why! En kethe delma, an Sausen ell usia en cabm an hanow Brittes, bus ny ell ha ny a dale e usia en cumpas, rag ethewa an heanes ny. Gero than Sausen cawas kene hanow atter Brittes rag hanwall o hunnen, ha mendia o vurrow.

En mean termen, confort broas ew them meeras an mine coath war an hallow ny ha guthvas dro any dereves aman gen henda-sow ve!

### Précis:

*Are You A Celt? The Cambrian News of 21st September reviews a survey carried out on Welsh pupils at Lampeter Comprehensive School. The results show that the DNA of some corresponds to that of the country's inhabitants of some 30,000 years ago, while a smaller percentage relates to the people of the Late Stone and Bronze Ages; and furthermore, that there appears to be no connection with the DNA of the historical Celts of Central Europe. So, we speak Celtic, we have Celtic art and perhaps culture, but we are not Celts! Culture does not mean race. The inhabitants of Britain never called themselves Celts, but Britons, and that is what we are; in Wales and Cornwall at least. The English have stolen our name and used it for their convenience in epithets such as 'the British Empire', 'British Beef', and 'British Nationality'. This does not mean that the Cornish and Welsh should not use it, proudly and correctly, to denote ourselves as true British, and Britons, for that is what we are.*

**Richard Gendall**

## 'Breaking the Chains'

A recently published book was greeted with total silence. A pity really, because for many who bother to read John Angarrack's (An garrek) rather heavy paperback, it must come as a revelation. The 'Colonel Blimps' of this world (and we, as a quiet retirement area, have more than our fair share in Cornwall) will go apoplectic.

Not only does it explore the untouchable subjects of the Anglo Empire's foul deeds in Africa and the East, but it also firmly and undeniably places Cornwall in the same picture. It is only lately that anyone has publicly referred to the prisoners massacred by Tudor monarchs or the centuries of ruthless exploitation by our own 'Dukes of Cornwall'. Our press, owned largely by the Daily Mail Group, never ceases to praise and idolatrise the English royalty and establishment. Angarrack has done his research and marshalled his evidence of Colonial atrocity in these islands as well as across the oceans.

If there is a flaw in this study, a collection of essays really, it is that a sympathetic editor could have made it more approachable. All the same, I recommend it to everyone, Cornish or not, who'd like a glimpse behind the glossy stage decor of official history.

Breaking the Chains, Stannary Publications, 'phone: 01209 710938

**Julyan Holmes**

## The Cornish Constitutional Committee

About a hundred organisers and supporters of this campaign met in Truro on 11 November.

This body (yes, yet another one!) is hoping to ride a current of frustration at the way Cornwall's particular case has been ignored in the Labour Government's hurried fudge of devolution for 'England'.

For us, of course, no change! Power of decision-making and control of finances is actually shifted yet further east and away from us, in this mockery of devolution.

Wisely, a number of people, both from within and from outside the existing political structure, have gone straight for the weakest link of the package, which was obviously thrown together in great haste. Even then it was only as a sop to Middle England. That precious constituency was mortified when its grip on Wales and Scotland was slightly loosened.

The huge and fictional 'region' called 'South West' will not be adjusted quickly by a Government with no genuine interest in the whole fandango.

What these enlightened Cornishmen have seen is that there is no direct democratic input into the present arrangement. A petition demanding an assembly for Cornwall (not the whole 'region') will, it is hoped, wrong-foot John Prescott (the unfortunate Minister in charge of this and a lot of other problem-areas, such as transport!).

The petition has gathered somewhere around twenty thousand signatures and the campaign itself has prominent supporters from almost every political party (not Labour).

If the momentum is maintained, and party infighting kept under control, there is a chance that this gesture will at least draw a little attention to the case for Kernow.

**Julyan Holmes**

## Mebyon Kernow Visit Plaid Conference

It was pleasing to note the presence of a Mebyon Kernow stall at this year's Plaid Cymru annual conference at Llandudno. The stall was visited by many of the delegates at the conference, who signed the Mebyon Kernow petition calling for the Government to grant Kernow an Assembly such as that granted to Wales. The presence of the Mebyon Kernow stall at the Conference, is one of a number of instances of a growing relationship between the main Nationalist Parties in Cymru and Kernow. This has included the twinning of several Plaid Cymru and Mebyon Kernow branches, the most recent being Blaenau Gwent with Camborne and Falmouth. It has also led to help on a more practical level with several Plaid members from the South East travelling to Kernow to help with leaflet dropping in a recent Council by-election there.

These relationships seem bound to strengthen, as further ties between branches continue and because many of the issues in both nations, whether it is the language, loss of traditional industries, unemployment, rural issues and problems with incomers will need similar answers.

**John Morgan**





# Mannin



## CHENGGEY ELLEY

S'cosoylagh nagh vel monney sleih er chlashtyn dy vel chengey elley er jeet rish ayns Nerin twoaie. Oddagh shin gra 'Ulleeish' ny 'Albinish Ullee' (Ulster Scots) rish yn chengey shoh ayns Gaelg. Ta Gaelgeyrn ennagh ayns Mannin gra 'Albinish' rish Gaelg Albinagh, as er e hon shen bare dooin gra 'Ulleeish'. Shoh yn chengey ren Albinish cur lesh veih Nalbin tra v'ad currit dys Nerin ec crooin Hostyn dy 'reayll ny Yernee fo chosh.

Ayns y toshiaght, cha row sleih ayns Oik Oarpagh ny Myn-Chengaghyn ro arryltagh dy ghra dy nee chengey chiart Ulleeish. Foastagh, t'eh jeeaghyn dy vel leighaltee jeean ennagh ayns Nerin twoaie smooineaghtyn dy vel Yernish ny chengey foalsey crooit ec yn IRA dy chraidey mysh ny leighaltee. Myr shen, va'n drogh ourys ayn dy row leighaltee jeean ennagh croo chengey foalsey daue hene as v'ad gra Ulleeish rish. As va skeealyn goll mygeayrt dy ren yn Oik Oarpagh cur chaghteryn dys Nerin twoaie d'eddyn loayrtee jeh'n chengey shoh as nagh dod ad feddyn loayrtee erbee!

Lurg tammylt, v'eh jeeaghyn dy row yn Oik Oarpagh credjal dy row Ulleeish ayn (er nonney v'ad lhiggey er dy row eh ayn kyndagh rish cooishyn politickagh). Va cooishyn bentyn rish Ulleeish goll er resooney liorish Bing y Reeriaght Unnaneyssit yn Oik Oarpagh, agh va'n ving shen er ngeddyn coyrle veih nyn mainshtyryn dyn cooney lesh y lught-Ulleeish mannagh beagh ad co-obbraghey lesh yn lught-Albinish (Scots) ayns Nalbin. Ghow ymmodee persoanyn ard yindys tra dooyrt y lught-Ulleeish nagh jinnagh ad co-obbraghey lesh ny hAlbinish! Dy cliaghtagh, ta leighaltee dy liooar ayns Nerin twoaie bunnys cur ooashley da reddyn t'ad coontey dy ve 'Albinagh', as nish va leighaltee ayns Ullee gobbal co-obbraghey lesh ny braaraghyn as shuyraghyn oc hoal ayns Nalbin.

T'eh jeeaghyn dy row red ennagh reaghil lurg shen. Son shickyrys, ta ynnyd ec Ulleeish ayns Coardail Jeheiney Caisht eddyr Divlyn as Lunnin. Reddyn erbee ta Yernish geddyn ass y choardail shen, ta leighaltee shirrey ny reddyn cheddin son Ulleeish. Bentyn rish Yernish, ta red mooar er ny yannoo hannah. Ta un chommyrn,

Foras na Gaeilge, dellal rish cooishyn Yernish ayns y twoaie as ayns y Phobblaght. Ta commyn tessyn-yoarey myr shoh foast ayns stayd ta neuhickyr dy liooar ec y tra t'ayn, er y fa dy vel leighaltee ennagh dy bollagh noi co-obbyr erbee eddyr y twoaie as y Phobblaght. Agh, hannah, ta leighaltee er doiggal dy noddagh adsyn goaill ymmyd jeh commynyn tessyn-yoarey.

Coardail rish y phabyr-naight Yernish 'Lá', screu caairliagh y Jantys Ulleeish (Ulster Scots Agency), John Laird, gys y Taoiseach Yernagh gy gheddyn freggyrtyr veih er feyshtyn mychione Ulleeish as cultoor Ulleeish ayns y Phobblaght (Doon na Goal son y chooid smoo). As va Mnr Laird shirrey freggyrtyr 'dy chelleeragh' veih'n Taoiseach. Fer jeh ny feyshtyn, va shen ny slattyn-towse t'ad gymmydey sy Phobblaght ry hoi pointeil sleih ayns kiartaghyn theayagh. As va Mnr Laird shirrey feddyn magh yn agh t'ad caghlau yn curriglym-ynsee ayns scoillyn y Phobblaght, cre'n agh t'ad pointeil as traenal meoiryn-shee, cre'n agh ta'n reilys Yernagh coadey cairys sleih, as myr shen foastagh. Surrys enn dy vel yn fer-Ulleeish shoh reuyrey dy dowin as cha nee er yn eaghtyr. Shegin dou gra nagh vel mee toiggal y bun jeh lheid ny feyshtyn shen ro vie. My ta Mnr Laird gearree soilshaghey dy vel y reilys Yernagh soiaghey beg jeh Ulleeish, veagh eh aashagh dy hoilshaghey dy vel y reilys shen soiaghey beg jeh Yernish neesht!

Ansherbee, dooyrt Mnr Laird dy vel eh dellal rish y chooish er agh feer lhein as cha nee cur arrey er Ulleeish ny lomarcen. Coardail rish y dooinny shoh, she yn ghleashaght-Ulleeish yn ghleashaght chultooril ta gaase smoo tappee ayns yn Oarpey hear. Dooyrt Mnr Laird dy row yn lught-Ulleeish gaarlaghey 'plan co-chorpagh' (ta shin ooillee nyn vir-dellal ny laghyn t'ayn jiu) as dy beagh y plan shoh son Ulleeish as cultoor Ulleeish er ny chur magh rish y Nollick 2000. Cha row eh arryltagh dy loayrt mychione stoo veagh ayns y phlan. Ta'n lught-Ulleeish kiarail fosley offish ayns Doon na Goal, dooyrt eh. Cheu-mooie jeh plannyn Vnr Laird as e chaarjyn, ta Colleish Mhig Aoidh (Magee) ayns Doire kiarail ronsaghey cultoor

Ulleeish, agh cha bee sleih yn cholleish shoh gobbraghey er yn chengey hene (sleih creeney, foddee).

T'eh jeeaghyn dy bee reilys y Reeriaght Unnaneyssit cur bree da aynyn jees as tree jeh'n Chonaant Oarpagh ry hoi Myn-chengaghyn son Yernish (ayns Nerin twoaie). Cha bee reilys yn RU agh cur bree da ayn jees son Ulleeish. Ec y tra t'ayn, cha nel mish toiggal ny myn-reddyn ayns y chonaant shoh. Agh t'eh jeeaghyn nagh vel ny Sostnee coontey Ulleeish y ve cho scanshoil as Yernish.

Gyn ourys, bee sleih dy liooar craidey mysh Ulleeish as gra nagh vel y lheid ayn noadyr. Son shickyrys, ta sleih keoi dy liooar mastey leighaltee Nerin twoaie. Jeeagh, myr sampleyr er y woalley yindys-sagh ayns Beal Feirshtey ny leighaltee raad ta jalloo braew jeh feniagh as ny focklyn 'Cuchulainn - fendeil Ullee noi ny Yernee son hoght cheead blein.' As s'cooin lhiam y leighaltagh ayns Mannin paart dy vleeantyn dynsee Gaelg feer vie. Va'n fer cheddin cheet dy ve feer chorree dy beagh oo bolvaneagh dy liooar dy ghra dy daink Gaelg veih shenn Yernish.

Agh ny yei shen as ooillee, cha nel y sleih shoh agh shirrey jarroo-enney (*identity*) daue hene. As my vees ad cosney jarroo-enney er lhimmey jeh jannoo baggyrt er Yernee elley, feer vie. As shynyn, ny Manninee, nagh vel shin slane skee jeh sleih ennagh ta foast gra reddyn ommid-jagh as lunagh mychione Gaelg - 'Cha nee chengey chiart t'ayn.' Faagym ny feyshtyn shen da ny scoillaryn - chengey, fo-ghlare, patois, pidgin? Quoi ec ta fys? S'cosoylagh dy vel leighaltee ennagh goaill ymmyd jeh Ulleeish (nagh vod ad loayrt) myr wappin noi Yernish. Agh share wappin myr shen na gunn.

Brian Stowell

### Summary

*The emergence of Ulster Scots has bemused some and amused others. But it is best for Celtic language activists to have an understanding attitude.*

## Articles in Manx

*Phil Kelly maintains, on his Manx language web site, a reference section with all the Manx articles from CARN. E-mail: [kelly@enterprise.net](mailto:kelly@enterprise.net)*



## League Urges Support for Mooinjer Veggey Initiative

The Celtic League have urged more support for an ambitious programme by Mooinjer Veggey, the Manx pre-school movement, to expand the range and scope of the facilities it provides.

In a letter to Education Minister, Steve Rodan, the League said they are appreciative of efforts being made by a range of agencies, including the Department, to promote the teaching of the language to young people. However, the CL urged the Department to give full support to the Mooinjer Veggey initiative. The League suggested that support for the initiative would bring Manx government assistance more into line with that in other Celtic countries.

The initiative would provide 6 new Mooinjer Veggey groups, more than doubling the number of children attending. The project would also establish staff training courses in pre-school language transmission techniques, open courses for staff and parents to learn Manx and/or improve their current standard in the language and courses on the development and support of bilingual pre-school children. Overall the project would provide support to 220 pre-school children attending Mooinjer Veggey as well as providing Manx pre-school resources which will be made available to all pre-school children on the Isle of Man.

## United Nations' Report Supports Manx Language

In the UN CRC report sections (32-33) dealing with Education, Leisure and Cultural Activities the Committee notes "that the Manx Gaelic language is currently taught as an option in all primary schools for a two year period and that the Department of Education is currently reviewing the possibility of establishing a Gaelic Medium School to commence in September 2002".

In the section (33) on recommendations the Committee "encourages the Isle of Man to continue its efforts in promoting the Gaelic language in schools". The reference to the Manx language in this section provides a useful boost to those promoting the language. It is also an endorsement of the Department of Education's programme for the language. The section on Education generally is positive with only a minor quibble about the absence of a formal complaint's procedure for students.

Surprisingly the COMIN (Council of Ministers of the Manx Government) comments on the section are downbeat and it appears that by this stage of its progress through the UN report, the Council of Ministers are determined to respond to all the recommendation in a negative way.

## Amber Rose - Family's Agony Continues

In November the inquest into the death of Thomas Hughes concluded on the Isle of Man. Mr. Hughes died when his vessel the Amber Rose sank suddenly off the south of the Isle of Man on 15 October 1998. The sinking was immediately surrounded in controversy. Whilst the crew all survived the body of Mr. Hughes was trapped on board. Subsequently, after condemnation of the British government for failing to recover his body for burial, private action initiated by the family ensured he was brought home to the north of Ireland for burial.

The Inquest was further delayed awaiting the MAIB report, which was finally published in July last. The Inquest recorded a verdict of accidental death. The Celtic League was extremely critical of the United Kingdom's handling of the Amber Rose affair at the time. We urged that a fund be established to ensure that henceforth families of seafarers did not have to endure what the Hughes family had suffered. Subsequently the events surrounding the loss of the Solway Harvester gave these calls a new impetus and it seems that something will now be done.

However, the agony of the Hughes family is not over. The Celtic League spoke to representatives of Mrs. Hughes in Portavogie to be told that over two years after the tragedy insurance settlements due to Mrs. Hughes have not been made. The League has now written to N. Ireland constituency MP, John Taylor, urging him to intervene. Failing this we intend to attempt to obtain legal support for the family. Families who endure the trauma of the loss of a loved one at sea have to await the protracted, though necessary, conclusion of enquiries. It is appalling that they then have to overcome additional bureaucratic hurdles.

## DAIL COMMITTEE TO PROBE MANX BANK ACCOUNTS

"If our banks are used as a conduit, however legitimate, to swindle the wealth of another nation then that causes misery and we cannot be part of it". The influential Public Accounts Committee of the Irish Parliament (the Dail) is to probe the "quite amazing amount of money" held by Irish banks and institutions on the Isle of Man. The scale of the amounts, variously reported at between £3 and £4 billion, is likely to open a new chapter on ongoing enquiries into tax evasion in Ireland. In an indication of the strength of public feeling in Ireland about tax evasion the Public Accounts Committee Chairman, Mr. Jim Mitchell, has called for jail sentences for "white collar crime". He told the media; "I'm a little taken aback that despite all that's come out in this inquiry to date, there's still the old culture of non-deterrents, non-prosecution, non-custodial sentence for white-collar crime. This committee will not tolerate a Mickey Mouse response - we want effective deterrents. We don't want people in jail just for the fun of it, we want them in jail to make sure a lesson goes out to other people that tax evasion becomes a highly unfashionable thing in this country." The new revelations come just months after allegations of the laundering of public funds from the Russian federation via the Isle of Man. At that time the Celtic League, in correspondence to Manx Treasury Minister Richard Corkhill, said "If our banks are used as a conduit, however legitimate, to swindle the wealth of another nation then that causes misery and we cannot be part of it". The new allegations also come hard on the heels of assurances by the Manx government about the legitimacy of business transacted here. It follows a number of high profile cases in Ireland involving individuals using accounts in the Isle of Man. Both the Chief Minister and the Finance Minister have gone on record to say that the Island is striving to achieve "greater transparency", yet within days of such statements these new revelations have emerged. The Celtic League has long called for greater openness about transactions between Mann, Ireland and other finance centres. It appears that this latest Irish initiative will peel away some of the veils of secrecy that surround our finance sector.

**Bernard Moffatt**



# Celtica

## The Complete Guide to Celtic Music

— from *Highland Bagpipe and Riverdance* to *U2* and *Enya*

By **June Skinner Sawyers.**

**Published by Aurum Press London, 318 pages, paperback £12.99**

Interest in Celtic music is worldwide so defining its roots and qualities receives a timely analysis by Chicago based June Skinner Sawyers. A map charting the development of Celtic music today has to include North America across the ocean from the Western seaboard Celtic nations of Europe and probably much further. Consequently the perspective brought to the creation of a complete guide is likely to be determined by the point of entry.

This meticulous book values the diverse musical output in Celtic tongues, English and French, on native and modern instruments. It is a refreshing explanation, which avoids the weary cynicism of certain roots music commentators who dismiss the C word as a fashion past its sell-by date. These same trendies embrace a totally indefinable "world music" — no doubt as a fashion statement! All music has real roots and Celtic roots are very popular. Anyone interested in folk or traditional material welcomes the latest recordings but knows that the back catalogues contain gems a plenty. June Sawyers includes strong CD listings to accompany each chapter.

She proceeds from a definition of Celtic music and to assessing the health of its ancient roots. I like the range of sources she uses and the admission that a purist stance is untenable as music changes and evolves imperceptibly with every performance. She reviews song, dance various instrumentation and the sources of the music. She recognises its linguistic roots and the passion transmitted by players, which enthuse so many non-Celts in an age-old celebration of the mysteries, joys and sorrows of life.

The chapter *Country Hearts, Celtic Ways* Ms. Sawyers pinpoints the debt owed by Bluegrass, Cowboy, Country, Hillbilly and American Folk music to the tingling of their Celtic roots with African, Spanish, French and Amerindian influences. She recognises the major part played by modern waves of Irish musicians as you would expect of an American assessment of Celtic music — but as a Scot born in Glasgow June sees



ALAN STIVELL

that the vast influx of Irish immigrants which far outnumbered other Celts is not the whole story. For instance she notes the debt owed to Cape Breton settlers from the highlands of Scotland for preserving and developing Scots step dance, which has recently allowed its revival back in Scotland.

This guide recognises Alan Stivell's pivotal influence on the development of Celtic music and his father's mission to reintroduction of the Celtic harp. More can be made of young Alan's musical career that launched in 1960s when he also studied Scots Bagpipes in the Glasgow Piping College. Perhaps another edition can make this emphasis because it gives a more complete picture and the cultural and political emergence of Breton identity in the 60s attracted considerable Scots, Welsh and Irish interest.

A North American perspective could miss its significance for undoubtedly Stivell's Celtic rock mobilised a generation. Young Scots used to land at Calais in the early 70s and asked directions to the Quimper pub Chez Michu, a mere four hundred miles away in Brittany!

They were part of the first small waves in the Celtic sea, which soon launched the Lorient InterCeltic Festival to the pre-eminence it holds after 30 years.

More can be made of the Breton musicians today who have kept the Celtic flag flying. For example *Dan Ar Braz*, Stivell's first guitarist, who hails from Quimper has achieved gold discs for this *Heritage des Celtes* shows premiered in the festival de Cornouaille in 1993. It packs stadiums today and includes Scots, Karen Matheson and Donald Shaw and Irish players, Donal Lunny and Nollaig Casey who perform alongside Gilles Servat and other modern Breton masters. They are the modern embodiment of Celtic musical collaboration, which this book goes a long way to explain. It's a must for Celtophiles with an ear for music.

**Rob Gibson**

## DEFECTIVE NUCLEAR SUBS RETURNED TO DUTY

The Manx government's Chief Minister is to raise the issue of the recent recall of nuclear submarines with his UK opposite number. The Celtic League had written to the Manx and Irish governments pointing out that British nuclear submarines continued to operate in the Irish Sea despite the identification of a generic fault on a submarine berthed in Gibraltar and deemed to be unsafe to move.

The British nuclear submarine force operates extensively in the waters off the west of the British Isles and also in the comparatively confined areas of the Irish and Celtic sea. In the days prior to the recall, of the entire Swiftsure class, there were reports of operations by the type in the submarine exercise area to the south of the Isle of Man, off the Co. Louth coast. The defect discovered in the submarine tied up in Gibraltar is now admitted to be prevalent throughout the fleet. Once they are docked with reactors shut-down the problem is containable. However, on vessels at sea it could trigger a "catastrophic failure" in the reactor followed by a radioactive leak. Since the recall several of the type have returned to operational duties. There is a suspicion that the UK had to bend safety rules as its entire fleet was decommissioned and embarrassingly in the last week of October the only operational British patrol submarine was a vessel on charter from the German navy! Paradoxically, as the vessels return to operations in the Irish and Celtic sea the EU has raised concerns about the safety implications of the type.

**J B Moffatt**



# FRENCH BREAKING PRISONER RULES

The Celtic League has written to the French authorities and the European Committee for the Prevention of Torture protesting that the treatment of Breton detainees is in breach of their human rights and European (Model) Prison Rules. In a letter to French Justice Minister, Marylise Lebranchu, the Secretary General of the League said: "I feel sure that France is a State which wishes to ensure that, from a human rights point of view, it is seen to treat prisoners fairly and humanely and that it would not wish to exacerbate the distress caused by imprisonment on these men or their families. In this context it seems extraordinary that arrangements cannot be made for these men to be held at prisons in one of the Breton departments. I am sure that I do not have to point out that European (Model) Prison Rules (EPRs) highlight the need for prisoners to be able to communicate easily with their families and also retain links with their local community. In respect of untried prisoners the EPRs also set out that commu-

nication links with family should be facilitated and that, where the prisoner desires it, opportunities to be visited and treated by their own doctor or dentist should be allowed.

Quite clearly the arrangements in respect of the Breton detainees are such that they are not being treated in accordance with European (Model) Prison Rules. We would urge that you review the circumstances of these detentions and transfer all those on the attached list to Prisons in or near to their home area".

The Secretary General went on to outline the four objectives that the prisoners have set which are:

- 1) The right to serve their sentence together as political detainees;
- 2) The right to serve their sentence in their home country, Brittany;
- 3) Compassionate treatment, including early release for sick prisoners;

4) The right to use their own language, Breton, during any legal proceedings.

The League conclude by stressing that none of the objectives were unreasonable and if France is sincere in its respect for human rights law and the right of the individual the points must be conceded.

In a separate letter of protest to the European Committee for the Prevention of Torture (CPT) the League called for action over the Breton detainees saying: "There seems to be a prima facie case that the treatment of such prisoners is guided by political considerations and not humanitarian principles". The League also expressed concern about Corsican and Basque detainees whose treatment mirrors that of the Bretons and requested the CPT to raise the issue with the French authorities.

Copies of the correspondence, together with covering letters have been sent to President Chirac and Prime Minister Jospin. Protests have also been forwarded to the Interior Ministry and the Embassies of France in London and Dublin.

**Bernard Moffatt**

## POLITICAL PRISONERS WEEK

A week of events to highlight the plight of Breton, Basque and Corsican political prisoners took place in Paris from December 9. It was organised by movements and associations who support the prisoners. In November the Celtic League wrote to the French government urging that 10 Breton prisoners be relocated to prisons in Brittany. We also asked for consideration to be given to early release of some of those prisoners who are ill. Three of the prisoners are currently on hunger strike. Gérard BERNARD began his hunger strike on the 1st November. Pascal LAIZE and Arnaud VANNIER started their fast on the 28 November and 1st December respectively. The prisoners are all seeking political status. Gerad BERNARD and Pascal LAIZE are ill, BERNARD has a thyroid problem, and LAIZE was involved in a car crash in which his knees were broken. Another prisoner, Alain SOLE, is ill with diabetes. In an attempt to prompt dialogue and encourage the French Government to end the repression in Brittany the ARB (Revolutionary Army of Brittany) has returned explosives stolen in Plévin last year. It is too early to say if this gesture will elicit a positive response from the authorities in Paris but the Celtic League highlighted the significance of the move in correspondence to EU governments during the solidarity week on December 9. Celtic League National branches will also attempt to seek support from National Parties in the Celtic countries for the prisoners. It is a disgrace to see people incarcerated whose only crime is to wish to see their homelands free to determine their own future. The governments in Paris and Madrid should realise that political dialogue and not repression is the road to conflict resolution.

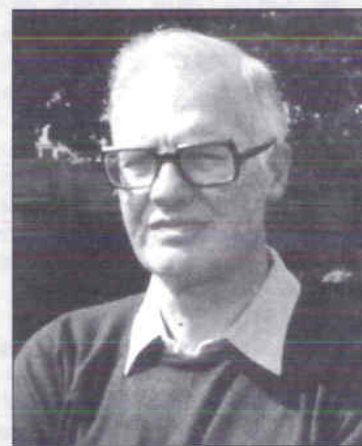
**Bernard Moffatt**

### Messages of Support can be sent to them at the Addresses Below:

- ⇒ Arnaud Vannier 272336 T 2 / 136 42 rue de la Santé 75674 Paris cedex 14
- ⇒ Alain Solé 9045 B2 S 217 M.A. de la Seine St Denis 93422 Villepinte cedex
- ⇒ Christian Georgeault 890 826 3 / 179 MAH 94261 Fresnes cedex
- ⇒ Pascal Laizé 273 195 D 119 42 rue de la Santé 75674 Paris cedex 14
- ⇒ Denis Riou 58979 C211 MA des Yvelines 78390 Bois d'Arcy cedex
- ⇒ Gérard Bernard 289 03V G3-46 D4 MAH 91705 Fleury-Mérogis
- ⇒ Gaël Roblin 273 196 A 215 42 rue de la Santé 75674 Paris cedex 14
- ⇒ Stéphane Philippe 273 209 D 117 42 rue de la Santé 75674 Paris cedex 14
- ⇒ Philippe Jaumouillé 274 101 M C 314 42 rue de la Santé 75674 Paris cedex
- ⇒ 14 Pascal Scatolin 274 123 1/203 42 rue de la Santé 75674 Paris cedex 14

## Scotland not only Free but Gaelic

*A tribute to Seamas Mac a' Ghobhainn*



*By Peter Berresford Ellis, Edited by Risnìdh Mag Aoidh, Celtic Editions 2000, Clydeside Press.*

A collection of articles written by Seumas Mac a' Ghobhainn with an introduction by Professor Kenneth Mackinnon.

Seumas wrote the articles in the late 1960's and early 1970's. They are:

*The Second Highland Land League, The Future of Gàidhlig and Scottish Independence.*

Peter Berresford Ellis contributes the article, *Seumas Mac a' Ghobhainn (1933 - 1987): - Revolutionary fundamentalist.*

To order the Booklet contact the Alba Branch Secretary, address pg. 24



# URBAN HIGHLANDERS

*Highland-Lowland Migration and Urban Gaelic Culture, 1700-1900*

(ISBN 1 86232 040 3),

Tuckwell Press, Phantassie, East Linton, East Lothian, EH40 3DG.

<http://www.tuckwellpress.co.uk>

It would be fair enough to say that this book's main strength is also its main weakness. Urban Highlanders abounds in figures, maps, tables, and references which are very informative, but make for dry reading. Plenty of books have covered Highland emigration overseas, but none within Scotland.

The book contains no pictures (other than the cover), something which would provide an impression not gained by diagrams or words alone. It is perhaps this, along with the scientific analysis of movements of individuals (chapter 5) that robs it of a human aspect. After all we are dealing with the complicated migrations of human beings not sub-atomic particles! This seems a disturbing and common trend in modern history, and one that can be roped in for sinister purposes.

I would also take issue with the design of some of the diagrams. One that appears frequently is a map of Scotland, with a line from each Highland parish to a specific Lowland city, the thickness of the line depending on the number immigrating. Not only does it look cluttered, but it is also misleading since the parishes had very different populations (the proportion is more important). A system of hatching/shading for each area would have been better, or some kind of bar chart.

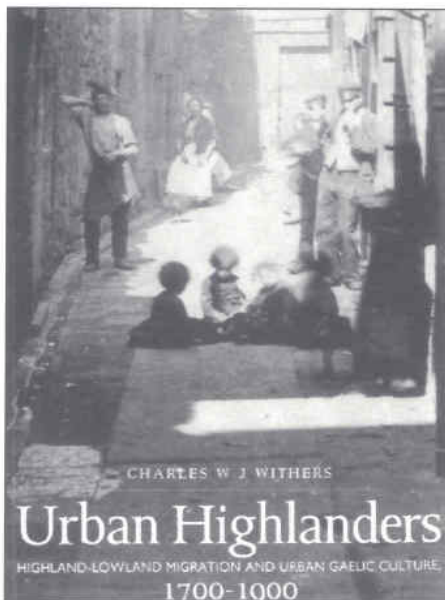
The first part wavers between the informative and mere number crunching. It describes the changes that came over the Highlands just before the industrial revolution. These can be found more fully described in many other books. He also makes some highly debatable points, some about modern history for example that the term

*'White settler' ... is clearly dependent on a self-image (albeit unstated) as 'black native', a colonial positioning that supposes an ethnic purity' (chapter 1)*

While the term is highly controversial, arguably even racist, this farfetched extrapolation

Is putting words into other's mouths. 'White settler' is more about comparing the current situation with an historic one (especially the European - American Indian) rather than any blackness of the user. Indigenous Highlanders just don't consider themselves black! No doubt a closer inspection may reveal that he has jumped one or two other outlandish conclusions.

The second part is the weakest, con-



taining many of the diagrams I criticise above. In the chapter about temporary migration he touches on the rural aspect as well, since Lowland farms would hire large numbers for the harvesting. But of course this book is really about the urban situation. It is hoped however that a separate volume shall deal with this in depth.

The third part deals with Gaelic culture - Gàidhlig, chapels and societies. And it is here, that the book really comes into its own. Withers is sensible enough to distinguish between Highlander and Gàidhlig speaker — the two are by no means synonymous, for already by that time there were Gàidhlig-less Highlanders, and Gàidhlig speakers who were descended from Highlanders but born in the Lowlands. There is a thorough section on Lowland Gàidhlig chapels (Oban being marked as such for some unknown reason), religion often being overlooked in a largely secular age. But one major question remains ... where is the chapter on shinty? You would have thought such a major feature of Highland life could not have gone unnoticed. In the nineteenth century, much of Lowland shinty had been wiped out, and it was the Highlanders (often students and policemen) who formed the clubs. Chapter five has a worry tone, but it is an integral part of the book; one man for example moved five times in six years, others moving about all of Scotland, and even into England and back.

The book also compares Highlanders

with the Irish immigrants in Scotland (in fact it would have been ridiculous *not* to do so), and also with Irish and Welsh workers in England, especially London. The parallels and differences are not always what you would think.

At £20 this is a pricey tome, but a must for the seriously interested. For those who aren't so interested it may be better to wait ... this is the first book to tackle this subject, no doubt there shall be cheaper and/or better books to come. But Prof. Withers has started the process and all credit to him.

Ray Bell

[raybellno1@netscape.net](mailto:raybellno1@netscape.net)

## CUTTING TORCH TO CULTURAL AGGRESSION

The contentious issue of placing signs by English Heritage (EH) around Cornwall has been highlighted following the arrest of three men, linked to the Cornish Stannary Parliament, for removing EH signs.

The three, when apprehended by police at Pendennis Castle, were well equipped - the signs having been removed with oxy-acetylene cutting gear. They also confirmed to police that they had previously **confiscated** 15 English Heritage signs between July and October 2000, in an ongoing operation code-named **Operation Chough**, and that these were being stored at various sites in Cornwall "as evidence of English cultural aggression in Cornwall".

We understand that no formal charges have been laid against the three as yet, but it is to be hoped that English Heritage will recognise that its Signs Policy is provocative to Cornish people.

For information on the Cornish cultural and political scene visit the following sites:

[www.cornish-stannary-parliament.abelgratis.com/](http://www.cornish-stannary-parliament.abelgratis.com/)  
[www.tyr-gwyr-gweryn.kernow.eu.org/](http://www.tyr-gwyr-gweryn.kernow.eu.org/)  
[www.Cornish.Heritage.care4free.net/](http://www.Cornish.Heritage.care4free.net/)



## Ar Bed Keltiek

On line books, records, Celtic art,  
Kemper: 02.98.95.42.82  
Brest: 02.98.44.05.38  
<http://www.arbedkeltiek.com>  
e-bost: arfur@eurobretagne.fr  
bernez.abk@eurobretagne.fr

Note: Ar Bed Keltiek (2 Str. Ar Roue Gralon, 29000 Kemper), uses the term **e-bost** in preference to e-mail, like the Welsh. When phoning from abroad, omit the 0 in the prefix.

## Celtic League Internet Site

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

e-mail General Secretary:  
b.moffatt@advsys.co.im

e-mail Assistant G.S.  
mkermode@mcb.net

### Electronic Mail

*Those who would like Celtic League press releases via electronic mail can subscribe to the mailing list via the CL Internet Site*

## Membership and Subscriptions

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

For information about the Celtic League contact secretaries:

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

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

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

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

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**KERNOW** c/o General Secretary, 11 Hilltop View, Farmhill, Braddan, Mannin.

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

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

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

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

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

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