

comann

A LINK BETWEEN THE CELTIC NATIONS

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CELTIC LEAGUE 



An Aithris is am Pàrtaidh Nàiseanta

O chionn 2007, tha Pàrtaidh Nàiseanta na h-Alba (PNA neo SNP) air a bhith na riaghaltas ann an Alba. Airson a' chiad turas riamh, tha pàrtaidh a tha a' cur taic ri neo-eisimeileachd na h-Alba a' ruith Alba. Chan eil e dìreach cho simplidh ri sin, ged-tà.

Tha an PNA a' riaghladh gun mhòrchuid sam bith anns a' phàrlamaid, agus tha a h-uile pàrtaidh eile gu tur an aghaidh neo-eisimeileachd. (Tha Pàrtaidh Uaine na h-Alba ag ràdh gu bheil e ag iarraidh neo-eisimeileachd airson Alba, ach tha dìthis BPA aca.) Aig an aon àm, tha e inntinneach gu bheil pàrtaidhean an aonaidh a' gluasad gu slaodach (agus an aghaidh an toil) bhon a t-seann phoileasaidh a bh'aca mu chumhachdan na Pàrlamaid.

Suas gu 2007, nuair a bhuannaich an PNA an taghadh, bha na pàrtaidhean Breatannach – Na Làbaraich, na Lib-Deamaich agus na Tòraidhean – gu làidir den bheachd nach robh feum sam bith airson tuilleadh chumhachdan airson Pàrlamaid na h-Alba. Bha iad ag ràdh nach robh argamaid ann airson fèin-riaghladh nas treasa na'n leithid a fhuair Alba ann an 1999, nuair a chaidh a' Phàrlamaid a stèidheachadh a-rithist.

A-nis, tha a h-uile pàrtaidh ag aideachadh gu bheil e deatamach cumhachdan na pàrlamaid a dh' fhàs. Ach tha beàrn mhòr ann eadar na pàrtaidhean Breatannach agus an PNA fhathast air a' cheist seo. Thàinig na pàrtaidhean Breatannach còmhla gus aithris ("Aithris Chalman") fhoillseachadh, a' moladh cumhachdan beaga ùra airson a'

Phàrlamaid. Tha Riaghaltas na Rìoghachd Aonaichte a-nis a' moladh Bile le cumhachdan ùra eadhon nas laige na bh' ann an aithris Calman.

Cho fad 'sa tha am Bile a' dol – agus chan eil e a' dol fada – tha e inntinneach, ach neònach cuideachd. Mar eisimpleir, bidh cumhachd ùr aig a Phàrlamaid laghan a dhèanamh air casgan air astar airson càraichean – ach chan fhaod iad gnothaich a ghabhail ri càraichean a tha a' slaodadh carabhan! Agus tha ùpraid mhòr ann mu na molaidhean airson cumhachdan lag a thaobh cisean.

Bidh Bun-reachd na h-Alba aig cridhe an ath thaghadh airson Pàrlamaid na h-Alba. Tha e nas soilleir a h-uile latha gu bheil fuasgladh do thrioblaidean eacanomaigich a' laighe ann an neo-eisimeileachd.

Summary

Though in minority government since 2007, the SNP has forced the other parties in the Scottish Parliament to shift their stance on the Constitution. Previously, the British parties had said Scotland needed no more autonomy than that achieved in 1999. The SNP will go into the next elections advocating independence as a solution to our economic problems, but after commissioning the Calman Report, the Unionist parties have advocated some minor new transfers of power from London to Edinburgh.

Alasdair MacAilein
(BPA PNA airson nan Eilean Siar/ SNP MSP for the Western Isles)

SEUMAS MACGARAI DH,

The Bracken Ablaze: Mòrag fo Dhaorsa

Thoisich MacGaraidh bàrdachd a dhèanamh na bha e na dhuine òg, agus bha cuid dheth air fhoillseachadh san iris *Celtic Monthly*, a' chiad fhear a nochdadh ann an 1910 fon tìotal 'A Visionary Albainn'. B' e sin toisich sreath de dàin ann an irisean agus pàipearan naidheachd, a bha air an sgrìobhadh ann an Gàidhlig, Beurla Ghallda agus Beurla le cuid faclan Gàidhlig an luib.

Ann an 1941 chaidh cho-chruinneachadh den dàin a chuir ann an clò, 's iad uile a' nochdadh ann an irisean Albannach anns a' chiad dol-a-mach. Chaidh iarraidh air Sir Compton Mackenzie ro-radh a sgrìobhadh airson an cruinneachadh *Bracken Ablaze*,

agus anns na faclan Mhicgaraidh fhìn:

Love of country, love of freedom, and love of the language, which should have been the national language of Scotland will be found in the background of these musings. We need not apologize for love of our native land; freedom is the birthright of all races who have the will to be free, and poor is the soul, degenerate the Gael, who denies or forsakes the tongue of his fathers. (1941,6)

Ann an 'Visionary Albainn', chleachd an t-ùghdar iomhaigh air Alba leis an anam aice air a chumail fo dhaorsa leis a namhaid impireil, an Rìoghachd Aonaichte. Tha an t-ainm 'Mòrag' air a cleachdadh mar

samhladh, agus riochdachadh an t-seann òrdugh, Alba saor agus Gàidhlig. Anns an aisling tha Morag air a chur fo sgaoil leis na Gaidheil dileas, a' brosnachadh moladh an ùghdair:

*O'er the proud 'tir nan gaisgeach' a radiance shone,
Dispelling her dark mantle of injustice and doubt;*

*And Morag - proud, free - once more reigns alone
On the hills that again heard the clans hailing shout. (23)*

Ach an ath mhadainn, tha an aisling air a teiceadh:

Old songs went round, and our cups were to hand,

*Till morn, when my guest, the vision had fled.
(ibid)*

Ann an 'Alba fo Dhaorsa', tha buaireas MhicGaraidh a' tighinn chun a' bhàrr, a' togail a' cheist càite a bheil na 'cridheachan dileas' a-nis?

Am bheil iad a' laighe gu-iosa!

Fo'n fhoid, fo'n fhoid?

C'ait eil na claidheachan mora

Cho cruaidh, cho cruaidh?

An i meirg naireach a tha orra,

'N an truaill, 'n an truaill? (38)

Nuar a rinn MacGaraidh imrich a Chalifornia, 'nochd buaidh am Bàrd Tighearna Cholla', Iain Mac Ghill 'Eathainn air MacGaraidh, agus tha cuspair an dàin 'Ag Ionndrain' agus 'A' Choille Ghruamach' le Mac Ghill 'Eathainn rudeigin coltach ri chèile: Tha an dìthis ùghdaran a' gearrain mu dheidhinn gainnead de Ghàidhlig san t-saoghal ùr agus iad a' cur cianalas an cèill airson ràithean na h-Alba, ged a tha an àileadh gu math eadar-dhealaichte eadar Alba Nuadh 's California:

Nuair a thig an samhradh 's am mìosa

Cèitein Tha an samhradh ann gach uile làtha

Bidh teas na grèine gam fhàgail fann. Bho cheann gu ceann am bliadhna

Gun cuir i spèirid sa h-uile creutar

Cha lèir dhomh ach na speuran àrd a bhios fo èislean air feadh nan toll

'S cha sèideas gaoth, ach oiteag chiùin

(Iain Mac 'Ille Eathainn: a' Choille Ghruamach)

Bha cianalas aig Mac Ghill 'Eathainn sealach, oir dh' fhàs coimhearsnachd Ghàidhlig mu a thimcheall, air a shealltainn leis na dàin aige a lean. Ged a bha iomadh Gaidheal ann an California, thàinig moran dhiubh a bhith nam pàirt den coimhearsnachd Albannach dileas do Bhreatainn, an àite coimhearsnachd Gàidhlig fa leth. 'S ann airson an adhbhar sin a thàinig MacGaraidh a bhith na neach-cèilidh air Bhancubhar tric, 's a bhith an sàs ann an stèidheachadh a' Mhòid ann an San Francisco.

Chaidh Bardachd MhicGaraidh air

Remembering John Muir

A patriot forgotten in his own country

It is often said that a prophet is not honoured in his own country, and John Muir is little known in Scotland, even today. This is remarkable given that he virtually created the national park movement. He has literally hundreds of places named after him in the USA, including the 211 mile "John Muir Trail" in the Sierra Nevada. His biographer Donald Worster says he aimed to save "the American soul from [a] total surrender to materialism." Along with Audubon, Emerson and Thoreau, he is one of the founders of the American environmental movement.

Muir was born in Dunbar in East Lothian in 1838. His father, Daniel Muir, was a strict disciplinarian, belonging to a Campbellite sect known as "the Disciples of Christ". As a boy, he says that he "fairly revelled in the battle stories of glorious William Wallace and Robert the Bruce, with which every breath of air is saturated", and he and his friends recreated their battles around Dunbar Castle. His Scottish nationalism is rarely remarked upon, but it continued throughout his life. He was an ardent supporter of James Bryce's Home Rule Bill at Westminster.

Wisconsin and Yosemite

Despite moving to Wisconsin in the USA, at the age of eleven, John retained a Scottish accent to the end of his life, and used broad Scots in his writing and letters. Daniel had taken his family there to join the colonies of the Disciples of Christ, and improve his economic status. Under his father's iron rod, John worked as an unpaid "ploughboy, well-digger and lumberjack." In the meantime, John became a formidable inventor, designing machines, and new clocks. These secured him a place in university, but he didn't finish the course. He went on ever longer journeys in the American countryside, mainly to escape his father.

fhoillseachadh ann an irisean air da taobh a'Chuain Siar fad a bheatha, dìreach ron a bhàs aige ann an 1966.

Steve Jackson

1 Bàrd ainmeil a rinn eilthreachd a Chanada ann an 1819

2 Sinclair, A. Maclean: *Clarsach na Coille*, d. 92

Summary

In addition to his involvement in the Pan-Celtic league movement and his campaigns for Gaelic Medium Education, Seumas MacGaraidh spent his life composing prose and poetry. His work was published in various publications on both sides of the Atlantic, but a collection of his work, entitled The Bracken Ablaze, was published in London in 1941.

These gave him an ever-increasing appreciation and love of nature. In early 1867, an industrial accident in Indianapolis nearly cost him his sight in one eye. Thereafter, he gained an added appreciation of all beauty he saw, and this can be seen in his writings. In 1868, he walked from Kentucky down to Florida, a trek of over a

Muir meets Roosevelt

Many years later, when President Theodore Roosevelt came to visit Yosemite in 1903, he made a point of seeing John Muir. Although he arrived with a massive entourage, he managed to slip away from them, and spent a day and a night alone with Muir in the wilderness. Like Muir, Roosevelt appreciated the area that contained Giant Redwoods which were so old that they predated the Roman Empire. Unlike Muir, Roosevelt was a keen hunter, and John criticised him for this. ("Teddy" Roosevelt's



John Muir and President Roosevelt at Yosemite

thousand miles. He intended to travel to South America, but malaria cut him down. However, it was Yosemite that he fell in love with. He designed and built a water mill there, but became distressed at the general destruction he saw around him. Flower meadows were being destroyed and forests cut down. Miners were also beginning to blast certain sections of the area. After three years there he was visited by Ralph Waldo Emerson and some of his colleagues. Emerson offered him a teaching position at Harvard. Muir claimed that Yosemite had been created and carved by glacial action. He came to this conclusion from detailed observation, but was ridiculed by the majority of scientists at the time. Articles by Muir in *Century Magazine* in 1889, helped make Yosemite the second national park in the world after Yellowstone.

In 1880, he married Louisa Strentzel. She proved an ideal match for him, understanding his needs and love of nature. He frequently took his daughters camping with him, and they grew up to be minor conservationists in their own right.

love of the wild is commemorated in "teddy bears", which are named after him) However, they remained friends, and under Muir's influence, Roosevelt put a bill through congress in 1890 to make expand Yosemite National Park. Roosevelt later wrote of him:

"He was emphatically a good citizen. Not only are his books delightful, not only is he the author to whom all men turn when they think of the Sierras and northern glaciers, and the giant trees of the California slope, but he was also - what few nature lovers are - a man able to influence contemporary thought and action on the subjects to which he had devoted his life. He was a great factor in influencing the thought of California and the thought of the entire country so as to secure the preservation of those great natural phenomena - wonderful canyons, giant trees, slopes of flower-spangled hillsides - which make California a veritable Garden of the Lord."

In 1892, Muir founded the Sierra Club, for people who loved the mountains. It still exists, and boasts over a million members.

Muir and Native Americans

Not unsurprisingly, given his love of wild places, Muir had often encountered Native Americans. His first experience, in Wisconsin, was not a positive one. The local Winnebago tribe came begging to him, and later stole his horse. His initial impressions were not good, but despite this, he noted that they were “being robbed of their lands and pushed ruthlessly back into narrower and narrower limits by alien races who were cutting off their means of livelihood.” Later in life, he lived with Native Americans, and praised their lifestyle for its low impact on nature compared to the destruction wrought by settlers.

Legacy

Muir died in 1914, still vigorously campaigning for environmental causes. Many of his writings were published posthumously, and reveal a transcendent, almost pantheist appreciation of nature. Although he has been widely commemorated in America, he remains obscure at home. The Americans have named everything from asteroids to minerals to millipedes in his honour. In 1988, California declared April 21 “John Muir Day”. He was the first person to be commemorated by the state this way, although Harvey Milk and Ronald Reagan have followed him. It is a shame that Scotland does not celebrate it. He considered conservation as something eternal:

“The Battle we have fought, and are still fighting, is part of the eternal conflict between right and wrong, and we cannot expect to see the end of it... I often wonder what Man will do with the Mountains? Will he cut down all the trees to make ships and houses? If so, what will be the final and far upshot?”

In Scotland he was all but forgotten until the 1960s, when two Americans wrote to the Provost (Scottish version of a Mayor) of Dunbar, asking for information. The Lady Provost could find little or nothing, and had to send off to Plymouth in southern England for information. As late as 1978, the National Library of Scotland contained none of his work, a disgrace, which has since been rectified. In recent years, Dunbar has made his birthplace a museum, and created a country park in his honour.

Amazingly, Scotland was one of the last countries to have a national park of its own, only getting its first in 2002. It now has two, but unfortunately, certain Scottish conservationists, have little appreciation of Scotland’s culture, languages and people, something that John Muir would have been horrified by. He always loved his native country, even when he was far from it, and it was here that he first gained an appreciation of nature. He supported Scottish self-determination, and loved his culture. Those who run our national parks should take note of this.

Ray Bell

Lewis Grassic Gibbon (1901-1935)

Alan Stewart looks at the life of a writer who was to the fore in the Scottish cultural renaissance

Lewis Grassic Gibbon was born (as James Leslie Mitchell) in Auchterless, Aberdeenshire on 13 February 1901. Much of his childhood was spent though at Arbuthnott in the House of Mearns, an agricultural plain to the south of Aberdeen. There the “ocher-coloured expanses are interspersed with blocks of granite” and winds sweep on from the sea (Allatson 2000).

His upbringing was steeped therefore in the traditions of north east rural life and Gibbon would later look back proudly - though not through rose tinted glasses- at his crofting roots.

He had been a brilliant school pupil - manifesting an early creative flair- but he had mixed fortunes during his foray into news reporting (in Aberdeen and Glasgow) and he later drifted also into military service with both the army and the RAF.

A real breakthrough did come though in 1929 when, with Gibbon now settled in the south of England, he opted for full time writing. He threw himself into this new life with “extraordinary zeal” (Malcolm 2001). He wrote at a frenetic pace and his output was soon prodigious. Short stories, essays and book reviews quickly followed. As did a biography of the Scot’s explorer Mungo Park. But it was for his full-length fiction that he began to be best known.

He became famous in particular for his trilogy of novels, A SCOTS QUAIR. The three books -SUNSET SONG (1932), CLOUD HOUSE (1933) and GREY GRANITE (1934)- are set in early 20th century Scotland. It is a time of war and depression. Crofting life is in decline. And the central character, Chris Guthrie, is “torn



between her love of the land and her longing to escape from her small rural community” (Varlow 1996).

In A SCOTS QUAIR Gibbon used the “lilting Doric dialect”, a local variation of Scots. And he drew on the “people, places, sights and smells” etched in his memory from his time in Arbuthnott (renamed “Kinraddie” in the books). The trilogy won wide acclaim. Gibbon was now respected as an outstanding literary figure. Along with Hugh MacDiarmid -with whom he collaborated in producing THE SCOTTISH SCENE (1934)- he was seen as very much to the fore in the Scottish cultural renaissance.

Gibbon was also enjoying happiness in his personal life. He’d married Rebecca Middleton, a former neighbour and schoolmate from Arbuthnott. It was all the more tragic then that he should die at such a young age, struck down suddenly by peritonitis in 1935 when only 34! He was buried back in Arbuthnott Church. A community run Grassic Gibbon Centre was opened in Arbuthnott’s old school house in 1991 with exhibitions both about his life and the crofting tradition.

Iain Noble RIP

Sir Iain Noble, Gàidhlig campaigner, and nationalist, died over the festive season. Noble is best known for founding the college of Sabhal Mòr Ostaig, in Skye in the 1970s. He received no government support in this. He once refused to allow a road to be built across his land, unless the signs were bilingual, which opened the way for the numerous ones to follow.

Born in Berlin, Noble came from a moneyed, upper-middle class family of career diplomats. He was a successful businessman, setting up at least two merchant banks, a successful small whisky company, knitwear, and Seaforth Marine. His commercial activities helped turn Sleat into one of the economic hubs of Skye.

Noble was fiercely independent in his politics, and was critical of the major political parties’ pallid stance on Gàidhlig, and their unwillingness to deal with the rural housing crisis.





Breizh



IWERZHON :Aet ar MAOUT gant Fine Gael

Maura Stewart, eus Skol-Veur Galway a soñj dezhi eo deuet ar pobl da vezañ gwirvoudel. N'eo ket ar wec'h kentañ (cf. Carn: 143). Setu perak en deus votet niverus evit Fine Gael (F.G.), eus an tu kreiz, ezel eus EPP (=PPE) er parlamant Europa. War ar memes tro al Labour, en tu kreiz ivez, ha liammet gant hini Breizh-Veur en deus graet berzh ivez. Ar strolladoù politikel bihan, Sinn Féin(S.F.) hag ar c'hannaded dizalc'h o deus graet ul lammig. Setu perak ez eus tu da lavaret eo aet an Iwerzhoniz war-zu an tu kleiz. Kollet eo bet ar votadegoù gant ur strollad vras: Fianna Fáil(F.F.). Eman-hi eus an tu kreiz hag troet war zu ar pobl. An itron M. Stewart a soñj dezhi eman o vont war-zu un dro-spered ideologel, e-kenver ar strolladoù politikel. Da lavaret eo, ar palioù stadel a vo kreñvoc'h eget an hini lec'hel. Fiana FAIL a zo bet skarzset peogwir en deus liammet arc'hant an tiez-bank gant budjet ar stad. Ar "Bail Out" savet ganto, hag gant an IMF/ECB a zo bet degemeret fall-tre. Ar bobl iwerzhon a zo bet a-viskoazh evit bezañ dieub e-keñver Breizh-Veur, hag all...

Ur pik goulennata bras ez eus evit ar miz Meurzh da zont . Daoust hag-eñ e vo savet ur gouarnamant, eus an tu kreiz, troet war-zu an tu dehou gant Fine Gael (EPP). Un dro-spered stadel hag european ganto. Mod-all, e vo graet e-giz ar c'hantved tremenet dre ur c'hengevredad gant al Labour, eus an tu kreiz, troet war-zu an tu kleiz ???

Evit kompren petra a zo war ar stern taolomp ur sell war an disoc'hoù: Fine Gael (F.G.): 76 (+25). Ar strollad-mañ a vo an hini vrasañ er Parlamant, gant E.Kenny e penn an Dáil. Peogwir Fine Gael a zo ur strollad eus an tu kreiz e-giz Fianna Fáil. Dre vras, n'ez eus ket kalz a ziforc'h war an dachenn ekonomikel. Gant 36% eus ar mouezhioù, Fine Gael n'en deus bet biskoazh kement a c'hadorioù (76ù). Dalc'homp soñj : 31 kannad en doa bet er voterez 2002.

Labour:37 (+17) ar strollad eus an tu kreiz troet war-zu an tu kleiz, graet berzh gant e leader E.Gilmore. Padal n'ez eus bet emglev ebet gant Fianna FAIL a-raok ar voterez. Peogwir disoc'hoù al Labour a zo gwelloc'h eget er bloavezh 1994 e vo tu dezho goulenn kalz muioc'h...

Fianna Fáil (F.F.): 20 (-58). Ar votadegoù a zo bet ur gwallhuñvre evit ar strollad-mañ



**Enda Kenny TD, Fine Gael Leader
and new Taoiseach**

hag a zo bet er gouarnamant 'pad 14 vloaz. 17%eus ar mouezhioù nemetken e-keñver 42% er bloavezh 2007. E ker Dulenn an traoù a zo bet start-tre, peogwir eo bet saveteet ganti ur gador nemetken war 19. Diaes e vo evito dont en-dro war wel goude an taol fall-mañ.

Sinn Féin (S.F.): 14 (+9). Ar strollad-mañ a zo an hini nemetañ urzhiet war Iwerzhon a-bezh. Hag ouzhpenn-se he deus graet ul lamm war a-raok er Parlamant.

United Left Alliance (ULA): 5 (+5). An unvaniezh a zo graet gant ar sozjalisted ha "Tud a-raok Gounid" ganet er viz Here-2010.

Independents: 14 (+8). Ar re-mañ a zo bet dilennet a-drugarez da vennozhioù lec'hel, Hag ouzhpenn gant kannad eus an tud dehou hag ivez kannad eus an tud kleiz...

Green Party (G.P.) 0 (-6). Liammet gant Fianna FAIL ar strollad ekologel bihan a zo bet beuzet gant kudennou an arc'hant bras. Start e vo an traoù, evit an amzer da zont...

Divizoù evit ur c'hengevredad:

Bremañ ez eus divizoù etre Fine Gael ha Labour gant tri kannad eus bep tu. Daoust dezho bezañ e kreiz ar vuhez politikel ez eus nebeut diforc'hoù war dachenn ekonomikel. Fine Gael a zo kreñv a-walc'h evit goulenn groñs e vefe adsavet an emglev gant an IMF/ECB. Padal ar gwezeleg ne chomfe ket e plas evit an armodennoù(L.C.). Tailhoù,

goprou, yec'hed, hag all a vefe disheñvel etre Fine Gael hag al Labour. Peadra da dabal, ket ha ma ne vo ket savet un emglev da vat...

War an tu kleiz eus al Labour ez eus tud o c'houlenn groñs ma chomfe ar strollad er-maez eus ar gouarnamant. Dreist-holl, ar sindikad UNITE. Goulenn ar reont e vefe al Labour ar strollad greñvañ a-enep d'ar gouarnamant. Padal n'eo ket sur e vint klevet gant pennoù bras o strollad, E.Gilmore en o zouez. , Mod all ez eus mennozhioù all, met netra sklaer. Setu gwelloc'h gortoz disoc'hoù an divizoù.

Ar Celtic League a c'houlenn ne vefe ket paeet gant ar bobl an tailhoù evit an tiez-bank. Dreist-holl, eo dav adsevel an emglev etre ar stad iwerzhon hag an IMF/ECB. 'Mod all e c'houlennont groñs ma chomfe ar yezh gwezeleg en armodennoù (L.C.). Ar servijoù publik a zo da zifenn e-touez traoù all.

Ar voterez tremenet a zo bet ur cheñchamant evit ar vuhez politikel e Bro-Iwerzhon. Gwelet e vo hag-eñ e vo savet ur c'hengevredad e-giz kustum, pe vo tu mont pelloc'h gant ar strolladoù war hent un dro-spered ideologel stadel, er bed politikel...

Summary

An overview of Irish Election results 2011

Gi Keltik

Stajou B&B

Ti ar Vro Bro Leon, an association which works to promote the Breton language and culture, have organised a three day immersion workshop directed at adults already proficient in the language. The course will run from the 25th to 30th April 2011.

For further information contact: Ti ar Vro Bro Leon 12 rue de la Marne 29260 Lesneven - 02 98 83 30 41 - info@tiarvroleon.com

From the Welsh Rugby Fields to the Himalayas...

A film on the history of the Breton hymn. DVD by Mikael Baudu, promoted by Bro Gozh Ma Zadoù Committee.

The 9th of May 2009, day of the final football match of France's Cup between Guingamp and Rennes – two famous Breton football clubs - in Paris, the Breton people remembered it had its own national hymn: Bro Gozh Ma Zadoù...

To promote Bro Gozh Ma Zadoù, which is a not a very well-known tune in Brittany, the Bro Gozh Committee was founded last year by a number of associations that took part in the organisation of the Bro Gozh Ma Zadoù festival in Lesneven (the town in Brittany where Bro Gozh Ma Zadoù was chosen as the hymn in 1903).

The film, produced by Mikael Baudu and co produced by France3, was first ordered by the Bro Gozh Committee to keep the memory alive about what had been done in Lesneven. But it soon became a far larger plan. Mikael Baudu set to work to gather detailed information from different sources (historians, politicians, linguists, druids, artists like Alan Stivell or Nolwenn Korbell). Thus the film became a true report on the birth and the use of the song since 1903.

Watching this film, we follow the history of the hymn, from its origins in Wales in the



19th century, where it was written by Evan James and his son, to the countries on this side of the Channel where it was also adopted by Brittany and others and even as far away as the Himalayas, where Welsh preachers taught it to the Khasi people.

We also learn a lot about François Jaffrenou (Taldir is his Bardic name at the Gorsedd of Brittany) who wrote the Breton lyrics of the song.

Nothing is omitted from the DVD: even the dark times during the second world war are clarified, when some Breton people had chosen the wrong side, thinking Hitler would do more for home rule in Brittany than the

French government. But Bro Gozh Ma Zadoù has also been a song of freedom. And the documents shown also throw light on the Chateaubriant communists' martyred prisoners who were killed by the Nazis in 1941, and on the Breton mayors in a Chicago court singing their hymn during the Amoco Cadiz disaster.

And we see how the hymn lives today throughout Brittany. How it has become a true part of the Breton identity.

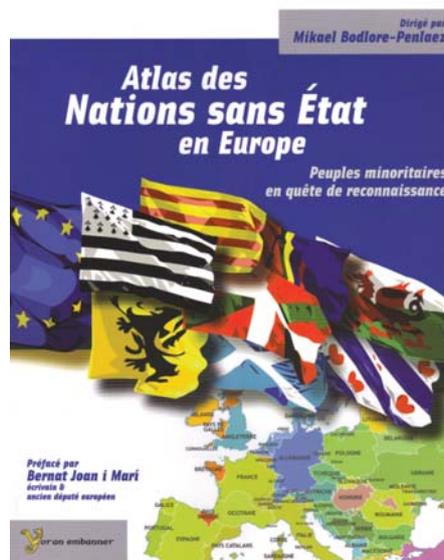
Coop Breizh distribution. €20. Information: <http://www.brogozhmazadou.com> or 06 32 29 79 29

Jakez an Touz

STATELESS NATIONS IN EUROPE

Thanks to the website: www.eurominority.eu, which Mikael Bodlore-PennLaez launched ten years ago, we have today the opportunity to read a great book: *Atlas of Stateless-Nations in Europe*. This modern book belongs to the new globalised world. It's the good side of the net, which provides more information and freedom. Like the cover, with a lot of flags, from the Celtic nations among others, waving in the wind over a map of Europe, the book is clear and easy to read.

The book is an atlas with some sixty maps altogether. As you know maps and graphics give you a lot of information. The foreword is by Bernat Joan I Mari from Kataluña. Kataluña is a peaceful symbol of a stateless nation, in the twenty first century. The introduction is about the different definitions of a minority. First of all, the author who is a Breton "militant" started with the European slogan: *United in Diversity* and then looks to minorities in the East and West of the community, with free nations in the East



and the struggle for independence in the West (Alba, etc.).

After this overall view, comes the most important part, with the definition of:

"Stateless Nations". A concept hard to understand and accept for the French Jacobin-Republicans in Paris as well as in Breizh. National, ethnic, linguistic, religious or sexual minorities are also defined. The concept of nation is especially interesting. The European Council accepts two definitions (People/ Nation). This book refers to the Breton writer, Ernest Renan: "The nation is a plebiscite every day". Every day, you must struggle for it. On the other hand the state cannot ask you to deny your identity. Other definitions are needed to understand what is going on. That's to say nationalism, autonomy, auto-determination, ethnocentrism and so on. The next chapter tell us more about "Languages" in the process of nations. Obviously, the languages are very important. Otherwise, the Charter of Lesser Spoken Languages, in E.U. is a main challenge for Breizh and Cornwall, in their struggle for fundamental Human Rights. On this field, the French and Belarussia are the worst.

Gi K

Celtic Big Bang in Breizh Part 2

In Carn 148 we discovered the impact of the award ETREVROADEL, led by the Breton Diaspora (D.E.B.-L.I.), associated with Products of Breizh and the Interceltic Festival of Lorient (F.I.L.). It is the first time, this Century that two main economic lobbies worked hand in hand, or shoulder to shoulder if you prefer, with one of the most important festivals (F.I.L.), for our common economic and social future, this century. Is the spirit of the CELIB back?

At the Lokarn-Institute (L.I.) summer university, the afternoon started with the sociologist Jacques Paitra. The speaker, Jakez A. Stephan asked him to work on a difficult challenge: *Can the Celtic culture provide answers to the "American way of life" crisis?* I think that the question is hard because a lot of Celts took part in the building of the United States in the last century. Of course, the melting pot and globalisation did change the rules in various ways.

After the financial crisis in 2009, most people were lost. Therefore, "the period is exciting" J. Paitra told the audience. "An important mutation is on the way", he added. In order to go forward we must have a look back.

Here, in Europe, we had a couple of mutations in the past. The collapse of the Roman Empire was the "real start" of Breizh, during the fourth century. The Renaissance and the French Revolution offered new worlds to the people. Today we have to cope with Globalisation in a cyber-world. The American way of life is under threat. Globalisation, plus Marketing, plus Communications push the world towards a uniformity of products and services. We must also take into account the greed of American Big Business on the financial markets. The cynicism of some high level managers is frightening. They destroy the American dream... So more and more people look for a new way of life. And we must start a moral and cultural transformation. On our way forward we must not stick to conservatism nor go too fast. The sociologist is optimistic with Obama's step-by-step strategy. In this new world, here in Breizh we must be aware of our "Celtic Spirit". He was wondering which kind of areas to promote: music, dance and language? Anyway, we must give... "HOPE" and clues to the new generations. That is to say the Y and Z generations.

The second contribution was organised in co-operation with the Council of Breizh. The success-story of Products-e-Breizh (PeB) did open new opportunities and new fields to the political lobbies. In order to go alongside PeB the President Le Drian voted in favour of a territorial logo. This is something new in the French state but not in the E.U. The goal of this show was to have the feedback of

the economic lobby of the Lokarn Institute (L.I.). Since the Summer University, this Territorial-Mark for Breizh has been launched. It's Black and White: BRETAGNE. The logo looks good. Jakez Bernard, President of Products-e-Breizh (PeB) told the audience: "We expect this Territorial-Mark will improve exports on one hand and help the Breton people to be proud of their farming industry on the other hand."

The second part of the afternoon started with three workshops. The first one was on: *Capitalizing on Culture*, and was led by Jean-Pol Moysan. First of all they underlined that the aftermath of World War Two was very hard in Brittany. Then along came Alan Stivell with a modern style. The businessmen felt more comfortable with those ideas of modernity, cooperation inside the society and Celtic exchanges. Our culture shows a mix of imagination and beauty. This philosophy fits with L.I.'s slogan: "We want Breizh Beautiful, wealthy with solidarity and open to the world". Therefore Breton Business should improve its links with the Celtic culture.

The second workshop held by Loïk Henaff, was on the subject: *What does it mean, for businessmen, to help cultural or territorial activities?* They remarked that Products-e-



Loïk Henaff

Breizh is involved in this process with different awards. Otherwise the link between imagination and the look of the products is not obvious, and takes a long time. Anyway, the managers underlined that too many firms were not connected with culture. I noticed that they did not mention the Breton language during the exchanges. It looks like they have a long way to go, before reaching a real commitment to culture in Breton Business...

The last workshop was on: *Culture and Territory*, with Yann Rivoal from the Old-Plough Festival in Karaez. They mentioned that Breizh was a fortunate region because we are able to produce important shows and not just welcome shows from Paris. So we must



Jean-Michel Le Boulanger

appreciate the links with the Celtic community (e.g.: Dan Ar Bras), as well as African and Asian world music (cf.: Breizh-Academy, etc...); Yann Rivoal stressed our opportunities to have long time, connections with the world...

L.I. Summer University concluded with a speech from Breizh-Council vice-president in charge of culture, Jean-Michel Le Boulanger. In a globalised world we could be afraid of some kinds of culture. Too much individualism ("le tout à l'EGO") and too much consumerism does not help to have good citizens in charge of their own lives. Therefore, it is important to be from somewhere. An identified territory helps in the making of a citizen, as a person, he underlined. The definition of the word "culture" is a problem, in French. In Germany the culture is divided between: academic and popular. In France, for a century the state tried to organize a scale in terms of culture. Yes, of course, it's important to help written culture. Yes, of course, oral culture must be helped in the same way in term of will and budget. This last point is an important shift from the previous politician in charge of the culture under LeDrian's first term. Jean-Michel Le Boulanger referred to G. LeClezio, fondness for Breizh, when he received his Nobel Prize of literature. He mentioned M'bara, from an Amerindian tribe as a symbol of popular culture in danger. Anyway, the vice-president is not afraid about the Breton culture with its strong Celtic roots and open to the world for these last 30 years.

As usual Alan Glon, president of L.I., closed this Summer University, telling the audience "culture must give a meaning to life". Therefore the Breton businessmen should take culture on board.

Gi Keltik.

Part 3 in Carn 150

Ai'ta! Bro-Leon/Lean target a Post Office in Landerne



Ai'ta! Bro-Leon started the Celtic year (SAMAIN) with a Die-In at a post-office in Landerne city, on November 2nd. A Breton bagpiper led a group of some twelve pacifist protesters and as usual they wore their well-known orange T-shirts.

Ai'ta! chose this post office because it was reopened after two months following renovation works, but without any information available in Breton. Ai'ta!'s aim is to campaign for information to be available in Breton in all the public services. The goal of the day was to stay half an hour from 11.30 am to midday, in order to show their opposition to the fact that the french public services, as well as the french state do not respect human rights in accord with European law regarding linguistic rights.

The Die-In was not welcomed by one employee nor by the manager. The customers, as well as most of the other workers, did not mind. As usual some of them found it funny but friendly. A sudden decision by the manager asking the group to leave, as he claimed it was interfering with business, caused a problem as, of course, the Ai'ta!' protesters refused to leave. In response the manager shut down the iron safety grill with most of the group locked inside as well as some journalists. Whilst the journalists were interviewing the protestors the manager called the police in order to have the group removed from the premises. Some ten minutes later, three police vans arrived and the policemen asked for the protestors ID cards, but as is their practice the members of Ai'ta! refused to hand them over and continued their protest. The policemen then proceeded to physically carry them out to their vans and then drove off to the police station where they interrogated them about their actions based on the manager's complaint that their actions had disrupted business.

This demonstration was an a new departure from Ai'ta!'s usual tactics, which up to now had targeted railway stations, but the group felt that this protest has given them a strong boost and that it was a successful protest. Following the Die-In in Landerne the group went on to have a meeting with the regional manager of the french railways (SNCF) in Roazhon. Unfortunately, it is not yet clear if any Breton language information will be available in the railway stations. However, the public services in Breizh have taken

Ai'ta!'s demands seriously as it became evident that the Breton people are in favour of Ai'ta!'s demonstrations. The administration is now well aware that the group's aim is to advance a basic linguistic right. As long as Ai'ta! maintains a pacifist stance they will remain a real problem for the french public services.

Ai'ta!'s leaders were surprised by the consequences that transpired at the post office as it was the first time that members were ever taken to the police station. A few months later, a few members of the group had to go back to the police station for further questioning and on that day the group organised a demonstration to walk from the police station to the post-office, where the group leaders took the opportunity to meet the new manager. At the end of February it's still not clear if the post office management will uphold the complaint. So Ai'ta! is waiting for letters from the Law Court...

Gi Keltik



Ai'ta! protestors take a positive, but pacifist stance, as they are evicted from the Post Office

UDB Values

The 30th Congress of the Breton Democratic Union (UDB) was held in Ploemeur, near Lorient, on the 20th and 21st of November 2010.

UDB's Congress is an opportunity for active members - 800 including more than 80 under 35 - to draw up the party's political agenda for the next two years.

In November, UDB's fundamental values, i.e. environmental and social progress, devolution for Brittany were reinforced.

All members agreed that the transformation of the economic system would happen through the development of a green industry and agriculture and that only a transfer of power from Paris to the regions would secure a fairer society.

These ideas are in total opposition to the liberalism and centralism of the current french government.

Jill Evans invited

Every UDB Congress is an occasion for the party to invite important guests.

In 2010, two representatives from the trade unions insisted on the unfairness of the recent French pension reform, wondering whether the future would be a promise or a punishment for the people.

And Jill Evans, President of Plaid Cymru, delivered a vibrant speech about the



Jill Evans, President of Plaid Cymru

advantages of devolution in Wales and her hopes for the future of her nation, even though she felt concerned about the Conservatives return to power in England.

In two years time, the 31st UDB Congress will be held once again in the autumn. It will be time to assess the progress of its values in Breton society especially after the election of a new president in France.

Sefyllfa argyfyngus S4C - peidiwch â thalu'r drwydded deledu

Heb i lawer o'n cyd-Gymry wybod mae'r llywodraeth yn Llundain yn gwtio drwodd ddeddfwriaeth newydd a fydd yn rhoi'r grym i weinidogion gwtogi'n eithafol ar gyllid S4C, a hyd yn oed ei diddymu'n llwyr.

Mewn ymateb i sefyllfa argyfyngus S4C a'r cynlluniau cwbl annemocrataidd, mae Cymdeithas yr Iaith yn galw ar bobl Cymru i ymrwymo i beidio â thalu am drwydded deledu oni chymerir camau i sicrhau bod annibyniaeth S4C yn aros, i'w rhyddhau o gydreolaeth y BBC, a hefyd i glustnodi cylid digonol i sicrhau ei dyfodol.

Yn y '70au gwrthododd miloedd o Gymry dalu eu trwyddedau teledu a gorfodwyd y llywodraeth i sefydlu sianel Gymraeg. Yn awr mae'n rhaid brwydro eto. Rhaid sicrhau annibyniaeth olygyddol a rheolaethol y sianel, a fformiwla gyllido ar sail chwyddiant. Dyma beth sy'n mynd i sicrhau fod digon o arian ar gael i greu darpariaeth Gymraeg yn y lle cyntaf. Gan fod Cameron a Hunt wedi anwybyddu'r prif bleidiau yng Nghymru mae'n rhaid protestio er mwyn dangos pa mor annemocrataidd yw'r penderfyniadau hyn. Os ydym ni wir o ddiifrif, mae'n rhaid i'n gweithredoedd ni fod o ddifrif hefyd. Os oes digon o bobl yn gwrthod talu'r drwydded, bydd hyn yn anfon neges greff iawn at y gwleidyddion. Dyma'r dulliau wnaeth fagu'r consensws i sefydlu sianel yn y lle cyntaf - gwrthododd 2,000 o bobl dalu eu trwyddedau teledu. Gadewch i'n hymateb ni fod yn deilwng ohonom fel cenedl.

I gymryd rhan yn yr ymgyrch:

1. Debyd Uniongyrchol: Os ydych chi'n talu trwy ddebyd uniongyrchol, bydd angen i chi ei ganslo trwy gysylltu â'ch banc (bancio ar-lein, neu fancio dros y ffôn, neu yn y gagen).

2. Eisoes wedi talu?: Hyd yn oed os ydych eisoes wedi talu am y flwyddyn, mae modd cysylltu â Thrwyddedu Teledu yn awr i ganslo eich trwydded. Byddwch wedyn yn derbyn ad-daliad am y cyfnod sydd yn weddill.

3. Dros 75?: Os ydych chi dros 75, 'rydych chi'n gymwys i gael trwydded am ddim ond mae angen gwneud cais am un. Felly mae modd i chi gymryd rhan trwy beidio â gwneud cais am drwydded. Hyd yn oed os

ydyd chi eisoes wedi derbyn trwydded am ddim mae modd i chi gymryd rhan yn yr ymgyrch trwy gysylltu â Thrwyddedu Teledu a chanslo eich trwydded.

4. Ym mhob achos: I gymryd rhan bydd angen i chi anfon e-bost at post@cymdeithas.org / 01970 624501 yn datgan eich parodrwydd i gefnogi'r achos ac i beidio â thalu am eich trwydded deledu oni bai fod llywodraeth Prydain yn sicrhau annibyniaeth, cyllido teg, a dyfodol cadarn i S4C. Nodwch hefyd a ydych chi'n fodlon neu'n anfodlon i'r Gymdeithas gynnwys eich enw ar restr cyhoeddus. Bydd hefyd angen i chi gysylltu â Thrwyddedu Teledu i esbonio pam eich bod yn gwrthod talu'r drwydded, ac i ddatgan eich bod yn sylweddoli eich bod yn torri'r gyfraith.

Beth yw canlyniadau peidio â phrynu drwydded?

Mae'n debygol y byddwch yn derbyn llythyrau atgoffa gan yr asiantaeth 'Trwyddedu Teledu' am rai misoedd. Yna mae'n bosib y byddwch yn derbyn llythyrau yn bygwth ymweliad gan un o swyddogion ymholiadau'r asiantaeth. Nid oes rhaid i chi adael y Swyddog Ymholiadau i mewn os bydd yn ymweld â'ch eiddo, ond os na fyddwch chi'n rhoi mynediad i'r Swyddog fe all wneud cais i'r llys ynadon am warant chwilio. Os ydych chi yn ei adael i mewn fe fydd yn archwilio'r eiddo. Os yw'r Swyddog yn cadarnhau y dylech chi gael trwydded deledu fe fydd yn cymryd datganiad dan rybudd.

Ar ôl tipyn o amser (fel arfer dros flwyddyn), mae'n bosib y bydd Trwyddedu Teledu yn dewis eich erlyn chi, a bydd yr achos yn cael ei glywed gan lys ynadon. Os y'ch ceir yn euog, £1000 ydyw'r ddirwy fwyaf y gallwch ei derbyn. Ni all y llys gymryd eich teledu na gorchymyn i chi dalu'r ffioedd sy'n ddyledus. Fel arfer mae'n broses hir iawn.

Summary:

As part of the campaign to save S4C Cymdeithas yr Iaith are once again, as in the '70s when the original struggle for the channel was on, asking the public not to pay for their television licences.

S4C - TV licence fee boycott as tour begins



Gwynfor Evans's son Guto Prys ap Gwynfor and the historian Dr Meredydd Evans were amongst those who were revealed to be not paying their TV licence as Cymdeithas began a series of public meetings to discuss the future of S4C in January.

There are fears for the future of the channel after the London government stated their intention to cut its budget 40% in real terms and arrange that the channel is controlled by the BBC and wide powers to abolish it are put in the hands of ministers.

The singer Paul Thomas, the Rev. John Lewis Jones, Rev. Guto Prys ap Gwynfor, Goronwy Fellows, Aran Jones, and Ieuan Wyn from Cylch yr Iaith are also amongst those refusing to pay their TV licences in an effort to save S4C.

Cymdeithas have started a series of public meetings over the next few months - "S4C a'r Dyfodol" ("S4C and the Future") - to discuss the way forward for the channel, beginning on the 27th January in Aberystwyth and Llanrwst. Bethan Williams, Chairman of Cymdeithas commented:

"Our campaign is gaining momentum at the start of our tour of meetings around the country. Our campaign is just: these plans, which put the future of the channel in doubt, were not in any party's manifesto last year. There's no democratic mandate for the BBC-Westminster Government's joint plan.

"One of the intentions of the tour through the Wales is to discuss how to save the channel and how to change S4C to secure the best service for the people of Wales, and of course what people can do practically.

"The situation is critical; that's why we're glad that so many people are not paying the TV licence. We now know that if the BBC had refused the idea of taking over the channel, there wouldn't have been a threat to the channel's independence. The BBC have all but confirmed that S4C's independence cannot be secured under their joint plan with the Government. The unfortunate truth is that BBC bosses in London don't care about the channel, and that's why we are in such a desperate situation at the moment."

S4C to go same way as the BBC World Service?

Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg have claimed that the cuts to their World Service announced in January show that S4C won't be safe in BBC hands. 650 jobs are going in the World Service after the Government cut its grant to the channel 16% and decided to fund it via the licence fee, a similar plan to the one proposed for S4C. We can welcome the cuts to the World Service since it is little more than a propaganda vehicle to promote the English world-view and values, and their language of course, throughout the world. But this looks ominous for S4C. Menna Machreth, broadcasting spokesperson for Cymdeithas commented:

"The cuts announced today are not good news for S4C. Under the thumb of the BBC, it's likely that S4C will get the same treatment as the World Service, namely substantial further cuts to the resources for the Welsh channel. From the BBC bosses' perspective in London, S4C is a service that's even more marginal than the World Service."

"What's needed is an independent S4C with sufficient finance protected in statute. At the moment, the channel already faces cuts of over 40% to its budget, being gobbled up by the BBC, and powers to abolish the channel completely in the hands of the Westminster Government. Yes, the channel needs to perform better, but the Government's proposals won't improve anything."

continued from page 11

Cymdeithas launched their campaign on the 1st December, and the first hundred had registered within a matter of days. Amongst the other people who are not paying their TV licence are the singers Dafydd Iwan and Bryn Fôn, Jill Evans MEP, and former Cymuned spokesman Dr Simon Brooks.

Bydd y bobl sydd yn gwrthod talu'r drwydded deledu yn gwneud hynny hyd nes bydd y Llywodraeth yn sicrhau annibyniaeth y sianel a chyllid digonol i redeg y gwasanaeth angenrheidiol i bobl Cymru. Mae'r mudiad wedi gofyn i bawb sydd am gefnogi'r ymgyrch hon e-bostio'r Gymdeithas ar post@cymdeithas.org neu drwy ffonio 01970 624501.

People will refuse to pay the TV licence until the Government ensures independence for the channel and sufficient finance to run the service. The society is asking people who support the campaign to email post@cymdeithas.org or phone 01970 624501.

"Rights for the Language" – Cymdeithas's latest campaign

A member of Cymdeithas yr Iaith appeared in court on the 9th of February after spray-painting the word "Hawliau" (Rights) on the Assembly Government building in Cardiff in protest over the recently passed language law not granting proper language-rights. He was sentenced to a conditional discharge for six months, without a fine.

On the same day as the court case Cymdeithas launched a new campaign called "Hawliau i'r Gymraeg" (Rights to the Language). The defendant, Jamie Bevan from Merthyr Tydfil, claimed that his recent treatment by the courts was an example of the problem of a lack of Welsh language rights:



Jamie Bevan and supporters outside Cardiff Magistrates' Court

"Since the action we have won official status for the language and Cymdeithas yr Iaith has warmly welcomed that. But the right to use the language in every aspect of life is still missing, such as in a bank or supermarket. Even in the places where we already expect some sort of Welsh language services, like the courts, it's patchy and inconsistent. Often, you have to ask over and over for it, and sometimes it doesn't exist at all. How can we expect people to use the Welsh language if we haven't got the confident and certainty that full services are available where they should be?"

"A perfect example is my own court case. While trying to contact the court in Cardiff to discuss the details, I had to spend over half-an-hour on the phone, being passed from one person to the next, from one phone number to the other, only to discover that no-one was available to deal with my queries in Welsh. And that was after choosing a Welsh service."

Catrin Dafydd, Language Rights spokesperson for Cymdeithas said:

"There was a core principle missing in the law passed by the Assembly before Christmas. It doesn't give language rights to

the people of Wales. Despite that, an amendment to that effect was supported by 18 Assembly Members from three different parties [not from Labour], and that was a significant step. As the law stands at the moment, there is no principle driving the duties on bodies that will be asked to provide Welsh language services, and so from today onwards, we will rename our campaign to Hawliau i'r Gymraeg because that is the principle which is missing in the law. The inter-relationship between status and rights is undeniable, and the power that rights would have to ensure that standards are implemented effectively is completely clear."

Aberystwyth University 'ignores community needs'

Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg have reacted to the decision of Aberystwyth University to appoint a new Vice-Chancellor who doesn't speak Welsh. Ffred Ffransis, Cymdeithas's education spokesman, said "It must be April Fool's Day today. Unfortunately, universities more than ever before, in Bangor as well as Aberystwyth, are trying to compete in a market instead of concentrating on providing education that meets the needs of the local community and Wales as a whole."

"We want to see these institutions, especially Aberystwyth and Bangor, administrate internally through the medium of Welsh - that should be the test of any language policy. With that as the aim, fluent Welsh-speaking vice-Chancellors are essential, and then problems like this wouldn't arise."

'Tynged yr Iaith 2' – Cymdeithas re-visit founding lecture

Almost fifty years after the 'Tynged yr Iaith' (The Fate of the Language) lecture by Saunders Lewis on the radio, that led to the establishment of Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg, the movement is sharing its vision of how to secure sustainable Welsh speaking communities in a published speech entitled 'Tynged yr Iaith 2'.



Saunders Lewis

Members of the society made a special address in Blaenau Ffestiniog in January and children from Ysgol y Parc, an under-threat school in a Welsh-speaking community, sang during the event. In his 1962 speech, Saunders Lewis warned that the Welsh language would disappear as a living language around the start of the 21st century.

In this new speech, "Tynged yr Iaith 2", the main focus is on Welsh as a living, community language:

"Persistent campaigning and taking a stand for the language led to a number of successes. Those victories mean Welsh will live on in some form. But what type of future will our language have? We are a long way from securing a future for the language as a full language of the community that can be used in every aspect of life. Will the language live on in symbolic form only? Will it be a culture for a minority of people? Will the language be a tokenistic decoration providing jobs for a small group of people? The language of the classroom ... instead of a language which is a part of community regeneration as a whole?"

One of the ideas raised that was discussed at the meeting is the need for a Sustainable Communities law to allow local young people to stay in their communities. Speaking at the event, Bethan Williams, Chairman of Cymdeithas commented:

"It's time to look afresh at the vision set out in 'Tynged yr Iaith'. Saunders Lewis awoke people in Wales to the dangers that were facing the language; Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg's intention is to present a challenge to our members and the public and rouse our communities. We're holding the event in Blaenau Ffestiniog which has a very strong community group which provides a number of opportunities for people of every age through the medium of Welsh. Children from Ysgol y Parc will perform as well; that community is

still strong, despite the threat to the local school."

For the first time, a Cymdeithas event was broadcast worldwide live on the web. Menna Machreth, spokesperson for Cymdeithas's digital group, said:

"We decided to broadcast over the Web to as many members as possible and hold a community event which is also relevant nationally. Since Saunders Lewis's lecture, Wales and its communities have changed, so we are announcing a new vision for our communities. This is only the start, we hope that our members will be inspired to protect our Welsh-speaking communities."

NEW LANGUAGE LAW COMES INTO FORCE

The latest Welsh language law was passed by the National Assembly in Cardiff, under the constraints that the government in London placed on it, and came into force on the 11th of February. Last year the London government had passed an LCO ('Legislative Competence Order') giving the National Assembly permission to legislate on a limited range of areas for the language. (It is to put an end to this restrictive procedure and give the Assembly full legislative powers in the fields that have been devolved to it that we were granted the referendum on March 3rd.)

During the passage of the law, eighteen Assembly Members supported an unsuccessful amendment to the recent language law to create general rights to the Welsh language, a legal presumption in favour of individuals receiving Welsh language services.

The Welsh language law was passed in December last year and makes Welsh an official language in Wales and creates the role of Language Commissioner, but fails to include language rights.

Bethan Williams, Chairman of Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg said:

"Through this Measure we have won official status for the language and that has been warmly welcomed. But there was a core principle missing in the law passed by the Assembly before Christmas. It doesn't give language rights to the people of Wales in every aspect of their lives.

"There will be no principle driving the duties on bodies that will be asked to provide Welsh language services. Official status on its own will not empower people in their communities, and that defect of the law is sure to become clear in the future. Our intention as campaigners is to call for new legislation in the next Assembly - legislation that would empower citizens by bestowing rights for people to see, hear, learn, and use the language."

Plaid unveil new technology to drive 2011 election campaign

Exactly 100 days before polls open on the 5th of May, Plaid Cymru stepped up their election campaign with the launch of a brand new website. The site, which forms a key part of Plaid's wider 2011 campaign strategy, will act as an online hub to assist the party's grassroots campaign across Wales. www.plaidcymru.org has been launched following months of development and includes many features used in successful Internet campaigns from across the world.

The website is integrated with popular social networking sites like Facebook and Twitter and will be used to mobilise supporters to take part in the party's biggest ever campaign.



Elin Jones AC

Plaid's Director of Communications Elin Jones AC said *"With exactly one hundred days to go until the Welsh General Election on 5 May, we're stepping up our campaign with this exciting new site. We'll be running our most innovative and ambitious campaign to date, utilising new technology will give us an important edge over the Westminster parties in the run up to polling day, not only allow us to effectively communicate the party's ambitious message for Wales to voters, but also providing new tools to mobilising our ground campaign.*

"As well as providing latest news, information and policies, the site's new Action Centre will enable supporters to arrange meet-ups to leaflet and canvass, download leaflets and posters to distribute in their local area and spread the word to friends and family through special applications.

"The site integrates social networking such as Facebook and Twitter and builds upon previous innovation such as PlaidLive.com to provide supporters with live information from the campaign as it happens across the country.

"In addition to our new web presence, this coming campaign is also utilising our high-tech national canvassing system, which has been moved on-line in order to allow activists to access and update crucial data live from anywhere in the country".

The launch of our new site well and truly marks the start of the Welsh election campaign by Plaid to ensure that it leads the way in 2011.

First Minister in Bangor Language Protest over New Centre

Language protestors delayed the official launch of a new arts centre in Bangor University by the First Minister on the 21st of January. Sixteen protestors entered the launch with posters saying “Ble mae’r Gymraeg?” (Where’s the Welsh?), “Pontio, fflof i’r gymuned a’r Gymraeg” (Pontio, a flop for the community and Welsh), ac “A fo ben bid fflof”.

The Pontio centre at the university has received almost £30 million of public money, but most of the jobs at the centre have been advertised without any requirement for Welsh-language skills, despite over 70% of Gwynedd’s population speaking the language. The former Theatr Gwynedd, which has now closed, operated internally through the medium of Welsh.

According to Golwg magazine, the university’s bilingual committee have complained internally about the situation and the Language Board is investigating a complaint.

Menna Machreth, speaking for Cymdeithas yr Iaith, who is also a PhD student in Bangor University, said:

“We didn’t get any answers from the university today about the appalling treatment of Welsh in the university and the Pontio project. There needs to be a full review of how this has happened.”

“At the official opening of the project



Language protestors outside the new arts in Bangor University

today, the First Minister should have condemned the University for damaging the Welsh language. The project has received a lot of public money, but the University has ignored its obligations to the local community once again. We would expect that this place would operate through the medium of Welsh from day to day. That’s one of the objectives of the national Welsh language strategy; is the Government serious about administering through the medium of Welsh if they are not promoting that in a place as obvious as Bangor University?”

“Who’s responsible for making these decisions? It’s completely at odds to the university’s language plan and the Welsh government’s language strategy. The university is ignoring its own committee on bilingualism. The irony is that part of the purpose of this project is to regenerate the community, but it will undermine the area linguistically. The college’s bilingual policy is completely superficial, if they continue to follow this policy, almost no-one will speak Welsh in the university or in Bangor either.”

We can make Wales a world-leading sporting and tourism nation

Plaid Cymru have announced that they will seek to establish Wales as one of the World’s major sporting and tourism destinations if they form the next Welsh Government after May, following the successful hosting of the Ryder Cup (a biennial golf competition between teams from Europe and the USA) at the Celtic Manor, Casnewydd/Newport last year.

By further building upon the Major Events Strategy Plaid say that they will seek to bring even more world-class events to Wales in the coming years, including bids to bring the Rugby Union World Cup back to Wales as well as bringing the UEFA Champions League final and stages of some of the world’s biggest growth sports like sailing and mountain biking to the nation.

Plaid have also said they will continue to develop an all-Wales approach to its strategy, aiming to bring economic, sporting, and cultural benefits to all part of Wales.

Plaid Cymru’s Alun Ffred Jones AC spelled out the proposals in January, saying that Wales must be confident and outward looking in bringing a series of major events to Wales, building on those we have already. *“Under Plaid’s leadership, the Welsh Government has for the first time set up a Major Events Unit with the sole focus of ensuring Wales develops as a major events venue. This week we’re outlining the next steps that a future*



Alun Ffred

Plaid government would take to make Wales a world-renowned sporting and tourism destination. We’ll seek to bring major events to all parts of Wales, which will benefit the economy, using our natural resources alongside some outstanding facilities already in place.

“We are ambitious for Wales. Yes, the Ryder Cup was a great success, but we see huge potential in bringing many other world-class events to different parts of Wales. If Plaid forms the government after May’s election we will double our efforts to bring major sporting events to Wales, including a focus on bringing new events which could see Wales establish itself as a worldwide destination for sports tourism.

“Wales will co-host the 2013 Rugby League World Cup, staging matches in the north and the

south. Some Rugby Union World Cup pool games will be held at the Millennium Stadium when England host the 2015 event, but we want to work with the WRU towards bringing the competition to Wales in future. The next available options are 2023 and 2027. Working with the Football Association of Wales, Plaid in government will look to bring matches such as the UEFA Champions League final to Wales.”

Alun Ffred Jones said that there would be similar focus on growth sports such as mountain biking and sailing, for which Wales is so well suited: *“It is vital that the whole of Wales benefits from this increase in visitor numbers, and not just major finals in Cardiff. We have mountain biking centres in some of the most beautiful parts of this country, and outstanding sailing facilities which merit major events.*

“Plaid Cymru will seek to bring stages of the mountain bike world championships to some of our fantastic venues across Wales, and ensure the north-west of Wales benefits from the tourism opportunities the sailing world championship could bring if staged in Pwllheli.

“Many other nations like Ireland and Scotland have successfully marketed themselves as major golfing or cultural tourism destinations. We believe that Wales has the potential to be a world-class sporting and tourism venue. Plaid is ready to sell Wales to the World, and bring the World to Wales to show them what our country has to offer.”



Éire



Robert Burns - file náisiúnta na hAlban

An mhí seo caite rinneadh ceiliúradh ar an bhfile cáiliúil Albanach Robert Burns. Is féile bhliantúil é ‘Oíche Burns’ a tharlaíonn ar an 25 Eanáir gach bliain, an lá ar a rugadh an bard sa bhliain 1759. Glactar leis gurb é ‘Oíche Burns’ lá náisiúnta tánaisteach na hAlban agus claíonn níos mó daoine leis an lá seo ná mar a chlaíonn leis an lá náisiúnta oifigiúil, Lá Naomh Aindriú. An príomh-thraidisiún a thagann le ‘Oíche Burns’ ná na ‘Burns suppers’ ina mbíonn píobaireacht, ithe hagioise agus daoine ag ól sláinte Burns. Le linn an cheiliúrtha léitear amach achoimre de shaol agus shaothar an fhile agus críochnaítear an oíche le canadh an amhráin *Auld Lang Sang*. I dtuairim go leor Albanach is é Robert Burns file náisiúnta na tíre acu. Is íocón cultúrtha sa tír sin é, ach, is ceann d’fhigiúirí stairiúla na hAlban é a bhfuil neart conspóide ag dul leis.

Is i mbaile Allmhaigh in oir-dheisceart na tíre a d’fhás Burns aníos. Is ceantar ina raibh an Albainis i mbarr réime é an áit inar mhair Burns, ‘a’ Ghalldachd’, mar a ghlaoigh cainteoirí Gàidhlice na hAlban air. É sin ráite, le linn shaol Burns bhí an Ghàidhlig fós á labhairt sa cheantar sin. Ag an am bhí thart ar leath na tíre agus iad fós ina gcainteoirí Gàidhlice amháin, ach bhí formhór an daonra ina gcónaí sa ‘Ghàidhealtachd’. Chomh maith le sin b’é seo tráth Achtanna Eisreachtaithe na bliana 1746 agus 1782 a bhí an-chosúil leis na péindlíthe in Éirinn agus a chur cosc ar iompar arm, caitheamh éadaí Gaelach, sealúchas ar phiopaí agus ar chlairsigh agus cosc ar fhoghlaim na Gàidhlice. De bharr seo uilig ní haon ionadh é gurb in Albainis a bhí dánta Burns go léir, seachas roinnt cinn i mBéarla.

Tríd a shaol is fear bocht a bhí i Burns. Agus é ina bhuachaill bhí a mhuintir cráite leis an mbochtanas. Agus é ina fhear, in ainneoin a chlisteachta agus an bua filíochta a bhí aige, suas go ham a bháis ní raibh tuarastal bliantúil thar £100 ag Burns cé go raibh clann mhór aige. Chomh maith le sin, cosúil le go leor fermeoirí ag an am bhí Burns ag íoc cíos ard ar thalamh nach raibh táirgiúlacht ard in aon chur ag baint leis. Bhí sé nádúrtha go maith mar sin gur fhorbair coinsias aicmeach agus spiorad na hagioide sóisialta i mBurns. Ní raibh meon ag Burns a bhreathnaigh ar an ard-aicme mar dhaoine a bhí níos fearr ná é féin. Ceann dá hamhráin is cáiliúla b’fhéidir ná; “A Man’s a Man for A’ That.” Scriobh Burns a chuid filíochta i mbealach a raibh teacht go héasca agus tuiscint ag an gnáthdhuine air. D’úsáid sé

simplíocht focal, amhráin agus an chanúint a bhí fáil ag cainteoirí na hAlbainise air ina bhfilíochta rud a chiall gur scríobh sé chun go sroicheadh a dhánta tromlach na ndaoine a raibh Albainis acu agus ní hamháin iad siúd a raibh oideachas sa Bhéarla faighte acu. Seachas ceist na neamhchothromaíochta aicmeach bhí an Poblachtachas, an tírghrá, frithchléireachas, gnéasacht, radacachas, féiniúlacht cultúrtha na nAlbanach, bochtanas, agus go leor eile mar théamaí aige ina chuid saothar.



Robert Burns le J. Buego

Úsáideadh a amhrán *Scots Wha Hae* mar amhrán náisiúnta neamhoifigiúil na hAlban ar feadh na mblianta. Is amhrán é *Scots Wha Hae* a scríobh Burns faoin ngluaiseacht radacach in Albain sna 1790í agus sa lá atá inniu ann is amhrán páirtí de chuid an SNP é agus seinntear ag deireadh a gcomhdháil bhliantúil é. Poblachtach a bhí i Burns agus tionchar mór ag Réabhlóid Mheiriceá agus Réabhlóid na Fraince air. Bhí saothair leithéidí Burke agus Tom Paine léite aige chomh maith. Ní raibh sé i bhfabhar an rialtas a tháinig i gcumhacht sa bhFrainc i ndiaidh na Réabhlóide, áfach. Bhí bagairt á dhéanamh ag rialtas nua na Fraince ar ionradh a dhéanamh ar an mBreatain sa bhliain 1793 agus léirigh Burns nár aontaigh sé leis an méid sin nuair a ndeachaigh sé isteach in Óglaigh Dumfries. É sin ráite, bhí sé i dteagmháil le ceannairí na nÉireannach Aontaithe, ach níor mhair sé fada go leor chun a thuairimí a thabhairt ar Éirí Amach 1798. (Bhásaigh sé sa bhliain 1796).

Níl dabht ar bith ann ach gurb é Robert Burns duine de na mórphearsantachtaí is conspóidí i stair na hAlban. Tá staraithe ó

scoil na nathbhreithniúcháirí go sioraí ag iarraidh dochar a dhéanamh do stádas Burns i measc na nAlbanach. Cúpla bliain ó shin rinne Gerard Carruthers, ó Ollscoil Ghlaschú, iarracht a rá go raibh tréithe ciníoch i bhfolach i measc saothar Burns. Thóg Carruthers an focal ‘sclábháí’ as a gcomhthéacs stairiúil go hiomlán. Is léir go ndearna sé dearmad gur úsáideadh an téarma sin do dhuine ó chine ar bith nach raibh saoirse nó cothrom na Féinne acu. Tá conspóid ann faoi láidreacht mheon Poblachtach, frith-mhonarchach Burns freisin. Léiríonn dialann James McDonald, a chas le Burns agus cara leis dhá mhí sula bhfuair sé bás, “[that] they were both staunch Republicans.” I bhfianaise eile, litir a scríobh Burns go pátrún leis sna 1790í, deir an file gur bréag a bhí ann go raibh idé-eolaíocht radacach pholaitiúil aige. Bhí bagairt ar Burns agus rada-caigh eile go seolfar thar sáile ag an Astráil iad má labhair siad amach. Mar gheall ar seo is óna dánta foilsithe amháin, lena sé féinchinsireacht agus inar chleachtaigh caint mheafraich, gur féidir le staraithe fianaise ar a dtuairimí pholaitiúla a aimsiú. Scriobh sé dánta níos radaiciúla fós, ach ní fhaca ach a chlann agus chairde iad seo agus meastar gur scriosadh iad i ndiaidh dó bás a fháil. Mar sin beidh plé á dhéanamh ar dearcthaí an file iomráiteach ar neart ábhair go dtí go n-aimsear foinse chinníúnach óna lámh féin.

Kerron Ó Luain

Summary

The piece above describes the annual celebration of ‘Burns Night’, in remembrance of the poet Robert Burns (1759-1796), by Scots on the 25th of January in which haggis is eaten and toasts to the bard are made.

Burns lived during the latter half of the 18th century when Gaelic language and culture were being most tenaciously suppressed. He came from the Lowlands of Scotland and spoke and wrote in the Scots dialect.

Burns used this dialect to connect with the masses and shunned the word-perfect English that would have only reached an educated minority. He was a poet of the people and developed a strong class-consciousness and spirit of social protest. He was also a patriot and a Republican. He supported both the American and French Revolutions and wrote poetry and verse that took a radical political stand point. In recent times however, revisionist historians have sought to contest the degree of Burns’ radicalism with one even going as far as to brand him a racist! No concrete evidence exists to prove such claims and much is left to the interpretation of scholars on his work. Burns’ more radical poetry was only circulated amongst his friends and family and was destroyed after his death. No definitive historical source showing his political views exists as his poetry was allegorical so as to avoid transportation or execution by monarchist British forces. Such a lack of conclusive evidence means that Burns’ ideology and life will remain a hotly contested topic for years to come.

INTERNATIONAL MOTHER LANGUAGE DAY - LÁ NA MÁTHAIR TEANGACHA

The UNESCO International Mother Language Day had been observed every year since February 2000 to promote linguistic and cultural diversity and multilingualism. The Bangladesh Association of Ireland celebrated the day for the second time in Ireland. The day is celebrated worldwide on the 21st of February.

It gives us a chance to look at the linguistic diversity of the world. And I hear you ask what is the linguistic situation at the minute. At the minute there are more than 6,000 languages worldwide. Linguists say that that up to 90% of those languages will be dead in a hundred years time. Let's hope that all the Celtic Languages will still be around.

As it was the Bangladesh Association of Ireland organised the day, there was a big contingent from Bangladesh and from Ireland you had groups such as Conradh na Gaeilge, Ionad Buail Isteach na Gaeilge, Foras na Gaeilge and USI. There were speakers from Serbia and Nigeria. The march assembled at the Garden of Remembrance and it finished at the GPO. There was great support from the public. TG4 was there. The day showed that we are one family and that the fight for survival of one language is for the survival of all. Because of this linguistic emergency there should be teams of anthropologists and linguists recording the languages and cultures that are dying, so that the world does not lose this store of knowledge. Maybe there should be a Celtic languages day, to highlight the plight of Celtic languages worldwide.

This day was inspired by the Language

Movement day that occurred in Bangladesh (Formerly East Pakistan) in 1952. Pakistan was ruling Bangladesh at the time and insisted that Urdu would be the state language in Bangladesh. The Bangladeshis refused to recognise that language and a war was fought to protect Bangla, the National language of Bangladesh. Their efforts to protect the language have been so successful that there now 230 million speakers making it one of the biggest languages in the world.

Because of efforts by the Bangladeshi Government, the 21st of February has been recognised by UNESCO as International Mother Language Day, in recognition of all

native languages worldwide. This was enacted on the 17th of November 1999 and first celebrated on the 21st of February 2000.

It gives a chance for Minority languages to highlight their plight on this day. Because of Fine Gael's policy to make Irish an optional subject in the Leaving Certificate, the day was a chance for the Irish Language Organisations to show opposition to Fine Gael's policy.

Bangla is an Indo-European language like our own Celtic Languages. It belongs to the Indo-Iranian family of languages. It is spoken across a lot of the Indian Subcontinent, like Bangladesh and Bengal. It was a successful event and should be celebrated in every Celtic Country. The Bangladeshis were prepared to lay their lives on the line for their language, what are we prepared to do?

Caoimhín Ó Cadhla



Photo Caption: Support for Irish as a core Leaving Certificate subject shown by the diverse attendance at International Mother Language Day celebration in Dublin.

IRISH LANGUAGE POLICIES OF NEW GOVERNMENT – A GUARDED WELCOME

In a statement congratulating the new Taoiseach, Enda Kenny, and the new Minister of Arts, Heritage and Gaeltacht Affairs, Jimmy Deenihan TD, Comhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge (Coordinating Body for Irish Language Organisations) said “With the announcement of Government Departments, An Chomhdháil had hoped assurances outlined in the 20 Year Strategy for the Irish language would be upheld, assurances which related to a senior Minister and a Government Department with central responsibility for Irish language affairs. An Chomhdháil welcomes the Government's support of the 20 Year Strategy for the Irish language, through the founding of the Department of Arts, Heritage and Gaeltacht Affairs, with a Minister of

State with special responsibility for Gaeltacht affairs. [Dinny McGinley TD, from the Donegal Gaeltacht has since been confirmed as Minister for State with specific responsibility for the Gaeltacht]. Pádraig Mac Criostail, Director of Comhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge said: “In relation to the Programme for Government 2011-2016, we believe there are many positives for the Irish language.”

Time will tell. However the policy was silent on the position of Údarás na Gaeltachta and the threat to Irish as a core subject in the Leaving certificate could be said to be only postponed as what the programme for Government actually says is “ We will take steps to improve the quality and effectiveness of teaching of Irish at second

level. When these steps have been implemented we will consider the question of whether Irish should be optional at leaving Certificate.”

Nor indeed was there any mention of the immediate serious threat to the pupil teacher ratio in Gaelscoileanna which is being implemented right now by the Department of Education.

Speaking at the public seminar, hosted prior to the election by An Chomhdháil the Director Pádraig Mac Criostail had commented: “In order to improve the status of the Irish language, it is necessary that Irish language policies, effected by the next Government, have a factual basis, and utilise the measures of best practice from the field of language planning. The demands outlined

by Comhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge draw on the expertise of the Irish language sector, and on public consultation ” .

Amongst the issues discussed were Irish as a Leaving Certificate subject, the status of Irish language in the Civil Service, the support structures for the 20 Year Irish Language Strategy as well as the enterprise development role of Údarás na Gaeltachta. Arising from the seminar, below are the demands for election 2011 which Comhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge discussed with all political parties:

An Ghaeltacht

An Chomhdháil demands adequate resources and supports be provided to Údarás na Gaeltachta to maintain its enterprise functions in Gaeltacht areas.

An Chomhdháil demands every support be given to families who wish to raise their children through Irish, both in Gaeltacht areas and across the country.

20 Year Strategy for the Irish Language

An Chomhdháil demands the correct structures be established to implement the 20 Year Strategy for the Irish language effectively and efficiently, and that the expertise and skills of the Irish language voluntary sector be utilised fully in this regard.

An Chomhdháil demands that the functions of Údarás na Gaeltachta be clarified, and ratified in the necessary legislation, and that a timescale be laid down for the enactment of such required legislation, which will give the Strategy a legislative foothold. Irish in the Education System

An Chomhdháil demands full support be given to the Irish language as a core subject at Leaving Certificate level, and as a minimum entry requirement to third level courses.

An Chomhdháil demands that a provision be made in the education system to provide an Irish language curriculum which takes into account the requirements of students who are fluent in the language.

An Chomhdháil demands a review of the education system, to find better methods of ensuring all children at both primary and secondary level are fully proficient in Irish.

An Chomhdháil demands provision be made to facilitate the requirements of parents in relation to Irish language education.

Irish in the Civil Service

An Chomhdháil demands the Official Languages Act 2003 be fully implemented across the entire Civil Service.

An Chomhdháil demands the Civil Service be reorganised in order to provide increased services through Irish on a proactive basis. Comhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge recommends exercising positive discrimination in the Civil Service recruitment process in favour of candidates who are competent in both English and Irish.

Gaelscoileanna – Reduction in Pupil Teacher ratios opposed

The Department of Education approved the establishment of two new Gaelscoileanna in Leinster in early March. The two Gaelscoileanna will be located in Ashbourne in County Meath and in Mulhuddart in west County Dublin. It is hoped that the new school in Ashbourne will open this September with a new school in Mulhuddart to open the next school year. While Gaelscoileanna welcomed this they called for implementation of their pre-election demands, see below, and were particularly incensed about the reduction of pupil teacher ratios for Gaelscoileanna which they pledged to oppose.

- Protect the pupil teacher ratio in Irish medium schools

- A redeployment panel for teachers in Irish medium schools
- Immediate recognition for Gaelscoil Ráthó (now heading into its second year)
- A transparent process for the founding of new Irish medium schools
- Appropriate accommodation for Irish medium schools
- Teachers training through the medium of Irish
- Proper recognition for Irish medium units in post primary schools
- Retain Irish as a core subject in the Leaving Certificate•
- An appropriate syllabus for Higher Level Irish in the Leaving Certificate

Warnings on Economy were ignored

A report (compiled by three former civil servants from Canada, the Netherlands and Ireland) on the performance of the Department of Finance was published at the end of February. It had been delivered to the Minister for Finance in early December but (surprise, surprise!) was only published just after the general election. It reviewed midyear recommendations to the Cabinet over the last ten years. The report shows clear warnings on fiscal policy which was fuelling the boom excessively were given by the Department but these were ignored. The Department was criticised for not strengthening those warnings when they were repeatedly ignored.



Brain Lenihan, ex- Finance Minister who received the report last December

The report found the Department gave advice on the risks of an overheated construction sector as far back as 1999 and its assessments of the risks from the Irish housing bubble were at least as strong as any public analysis over the period. However it did not organise a strategic response to the problem nor identify a full range of options to moderate activity in the sector. It also failed to identify major macroeconomic risks to the Irish economy. The report

recommends major changes to the budgetary process. A contentious comment was that the partnership process helped inflate public sector wages when the economy began to overheat. The General Secretary of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions, David Begg, in reaction to this said it was ‘ a facile exercise in scapegoating, designed to obscure the true cause of the collapse: banks, builders and toxic Government Policy.

The report states clearly that interest rates were too low due to participation in the Euro but it did not query whether the Department sought ways to minimise the effects. The report has also been criticised for not raising the Department’s lack of comparative analysis and not raising the issue of how the risks of being in a big currency union which accounts for less than half of its trade could be mitigated for Ireland. Despite the fact that their terms of reference would have allowed it the report avoided dealing with banking issues. The Department of Finance itself said this was that author’s choice – they felt it unnecessary as a separate report is being prepared on that subject.

The ink was only dry on this report when a Department of Finance report revealed that the Bank of Ireland(BoI) had repeatedly misled the Minister for Finance by insisting that no performance related bonuses had been paid to its staff in the financial years ending March 2009 and December 2009. In fact €66M had been paid in bonuses between September 2008 and December 2010. Figures confirmed in writing by the BoI CEO. Richie Boucher were subsequently found by the banks own audit team to be wrong. The Bank is to pay €2m to the State in recompense for misleading the Minister and the Oireachtas. The Department of Finance said the recently introduced 90% tax on bank bonuses would apply to any future bonuses paid by the BoI.

CAN THE NEW COALITION GOVERNMENT GET A BETTER DEAL IN EUROPE?

In the days after the Irish General Election the focus was of course on whether the Fine Gael and Labour parties would agree on a Coalition Government and, having both stood on the basis of their own party policies, on what sort of agreed programme for Government would emerge. The details of the election outcome are given below in the latter part of this article. The Programme for Government was agreed within the week and in the case of the Labour Party had to be put to a special party conference. Despite strong calls from the left of the Labour party and some few trade unionists (who wanted Labour to be the main opposition and to let FG form a minority Government based on what independent support it could garner) for Labour not to enter Government the special conference overwhelmingly accepted the programme. In fact 95% was the vote in favour with only two TDs voting against.

The Programme for Government reflects the policies of the dominant Fine Gael party with a few concessions here and there to Labour. This is very evident in the financial policies and those on the EU-IMF deal (no reference to burden sharing) with a slight concession on time frame. On taxes and enterprise, very firmly Fine Gael, Site Valuation taxes and Water Charges will be introduced but the cut in minimum wage will be reversed. With regard to Public Sector employee cuts the outcome and time scale is much closer to Fine Gael but there will be no cuts in child benefit and social welfare rates. There will be no graduate tax or loans. There is a commitment to universal health insurance with equal access to care by all by 2016. On the Irish language see article on page 14. One major change is the splitting of the Department of Finance in two on the basis of strategic and operational issues. So while the Department of Finance (with a Fine Gael minister) remains there is a new Department of Public Expenditure and Reform (with a Labour Minister). Labour leader Eamon Gilmore in addition to becoming Tánaiste (Deputy Prime Minister) takes on Foreign Affairs and Trade. In all Labour got five of the fourteen full ministries and six of the fifteen junior ministries (the first broken election promise, Fine Gael said they would reduce the number of junior ministries to twelve!).

The key issue to face the incoming Government is the EU summit at the end of March and the series of meetings leading up to it. Central to this will be the Irish demand for a lowering of the punitive interest rate on the EU/IMF bailout which is seen as leaving Ireland with such crippling repayments that it will not have the capacity to generate economic recovery. At the time of writing initial indications are not good with Merkel and Sarkozy opposing this and demanding

concessions on the establishment of a common consolidated corporate tax base

(seen by Ireland as introducing corporate tax harmonisation by 'the back door'). By the time this is being read the outcome of the first test of Enda Kenny and his team as negotiators in Europe will have been decided.

Details of election results

The results of the Irish General Election, held on Friday 25th February, were generally in line with successive polls published in the months before the election. That is to say, a severe loss in support and seats in the Irish Dáil (Parliament) for the outgoing Government parties of Fianna Fáil and the Greens and gains for the main opposition parties of Fine Gael and Labour but also for Sinn Féin and the left with quite a few independents being elected also.



Eamon Gilmore TD, Labour Party Leader, Tánaiste and Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade

The number of seats in the Dáil is 166 with the Ceann Comhairle (Chair), a Fianna Fáil TD (Deputy) in the last Dáil, being returned automatically. The Dáil is elected on the basis of multiseat constituencies (from 3 to 5 seats) on a proportional representation voting system i.e. a single transferable vote. The election results for the 31st Dáil are given below; the numbers of seats lost or gained are given in brackets.

Fianna Fáil (FF): 20 (- 58). This can only be described as a nightmare outcome for the party which was in government for 14 years. They only received 17% of the first preference votes in comparison to almost 42% in the last election in 2007 and had generally been getting percentages in the range of 40% to 50% since their founding in 1927. Outgoing Taoiseach (Premier) Brian Cowen resigned as FF leader and did not stand. He was replaced shortly before the election by Micheál Martin who had served in various Ministerial positions over the last 14 years. While Martin was elected a whole host of prominent Fianna Fáil TDs and ex Ministers were ousted, including the Tánaiste (Deputy Premier) and the deputy leader of FF. The performance was

particularly bad in the Dublin region (dropping from 19 seats to 1), and the party was left without representation for the first time in twenty five constituencies nationwide. The speculation is whether the party can ever recover to its previous levels from such a severe defeat.

Green Party (GP): 0 (-6). If this election result was a nightmare for Fianna Fáil it was a total disaster for their Coalition partners, the Greens, who lost all their Dáil representation, having previously lost badly at local government level (down to three county councillors) in those elections two years ago. In their case a recovery would seem even more problematic. The party dropped 2.8% to get only 1.8% of the first preference votes leaving them short of the 2% needed for reimbursement of election costs.

Fine Gael (FG): 76 (+25). This makes FG the largest party in the Dáil with their leader Enda Kenny now the new Taoiseach (Prime Minister). This was seen as a triumph for the FG campaign strategists who at one time might have seen Kenny as somewhat a liability but schooled him carefully in the way to perform, particularly in the leaders TV debates. They, like FF, are a centre right party and many see little difference between the economic policies of the two. They received 36.1% of the vote. This is the most seats ever achieved by FG (or its predecessors), who only got 31 seats in the 2002 elections. Any previous periods in the last 50 years or so they were in Government was in Coalition with Labour.

Labour: 37 (+17). This was a considerable achievement for Labour (a centre left party) under the leadership of Eamon Gilmore. Both Labour and FG stood on their own policies, there was no pre-election pact but this result put Gilmore in a position to open negotiations with FG on a possible Coalition Government. Labour's share of the first preference votes was 19.4%, a figure just about the same as they achieved in 1992 which resulted in 33 seats then. However they entered into an acrimonious Coalition with Fianna Fáil which fell apart, then moving (without an election) to Coalition with FG and Democratic Left (who merged with Labour in 1999) but were decimated in the next election in 1997, dropping back to 17 seats. While their most usual Coalition partners were FG they suffered from being associated with their economic policies and cutbacks, as for example after a Coalition period (1982 to 1987) when they dropped to their lowest ever, 12 seats.

Sinn Féin (SF): 14 (+9). This was a significant achievement for SF (left wing republican party) in increasing their representation in the Dáil to this level after setbacks in the last election. SF is of course in Government in the power sharing Executive of the Local Assembly in the North of Ireland. This result confirms that they are the only party who can make really

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Kernow



BRASSA HA BRASSA



St. Piran's Day Parade in Truro

Gool Pyran veu synsys 5es a vis Meurth a-hys Kernow – martesen a-hys an bys ynweth! Yth esa hwarvosow dhyworth Penn an Wlas bys dhe Lannstefan. Warlergh usadow, yth esa lies keskerdh dres trevow kepar ha Bosvenegh ha Pennsans, ha dybrys veu meur a bastiow. Byttegyns, chons splann o hevlina rag may fo agan dydh gwllasek diskwedhys dhe bubonan y'n stret, awos bos an jydh y honan dy' Sadorn. Ytho, ha tus ow mos a-der-dro dhe'n gwerthjiow yn Truru, yth esa bush bras a wlaskaroryon yn unn geskerdhes der an sita gans banerow gwynn ha du hag ilow ar an pibow sagh.

Lies tavern moy a wrug bri an gool sans dre synsi ilow po dre wertha korev arbennik. Dres henna, yth esa lies moy anedha afinyes gans banerigow gwynn ha du. A ble teuthons? Ben Read a avisyas Gool Pyran hevlina dre waynya arhans ha tylli rag 'bunting' ha streyligow korev. Ben yw perhennak an koffiji 'Melting Pot' dhe'n Krowji yn Resrudh. Y tal dhyn ni leverel meur ras bras dhodho a'y ober lel! An

kethsem dre a wrug solempnyans bras ynweth. Gwren ni leverel 'gwrys yn ta' dhe Lee Dunkley – ev yw lywydh displegyans an dre hag a wrug ordena lies hwarvos yn Resrudh rag may fo hanow Pyran meurhes y'n dre.

An messaj hevlina o rag kowethasow ha negysyow dhe-wir. Res yw dhyn ni kavoes skoedhyans anedha may fo Gool Pyran brashes blydhen ha blydhen erna dho an prys pan vo mar vras es Gool Padrik. An jydh na yw kovhes gans pinta Guinness ha hallow gwyrdh ha gokki. Yw prys da dhyn ni gul an keth omma?

Summary

St Piran's Day was held on March 5th across Cornwall – perhaps even across the world. However, the call has been made to bring business onsite to make it as much a celebration with events as such seen on St Patrick's Day.

Matthew Clarke

February 2010 to request that the Council considers making the 5th March an annual holiday for its staff. The letter argued that "as the main council in Cornwall, Cornwall Council should lead the way for other councils on this issue." It was also pointed out in the letter that the Celtic League has been campaigning on this issue for about six years and that during that time the branch has been contacted by a number of councils who have said that after debating the request, were supportive of the measure, but wanted to wait to see what support the campaign received from the other councils in Cornwall first before committing themselves to making a positive decision. Eight councils in Cornwall, including Cornwall's only city council, have now voted to make St Piran's Day a public holiday as a result of the campaign by the branch. In 2010 Konsel Kernow/Cornwall Council acknowledged the receipt of our letter, which was passed on to the Department of the Chief Executive, who unfortunately failed to respond to it.

Previous to the May 2010 elections all five of Cornwall's Members of Parliament were supportive of St Piran's day becoming a public holiday. In 2006 MP Dan Rogerson asked the UK Government to make St Piran's Day a public holiday in Cornwall, which was all but ignored. Over the last couple of months, the branch has written again to all town councils in Cornwall, to enquire if they will debate the issue one more time and come out in support in 2011. In addition the Branch has written to all six (one more than last year) Members of Parliament (MP) in Cornwall, following the general elections in May 2010, to ask what their opinion is on the issue.



To date only four of Cornwall's MP's have responded to the enquiry from the branch - Stephen Gilbert MP (Liberal Democrat), Dan Rogerson MP (Liberal Democrat), Sheryll Murray MP (Conservative) and George Eustice MP (Conservative). Both Liberal Democrat MP's said that they were supportive of making St Piran's Day a public holiday and George Eustice MP said that he was supportive provided that the day could be exchanged for May Day bank holiday. Sheryll Murray MP said that she did not believe that the time was right economically to support the creation of another bank holiday (which did not really answer the question). Andrew George MP (Liberal Democrat) and Sarah Newton MP

St Piran's Day Petition

The Kernow Branch of the Celtic League wants Konsel Kernow/Cornwall Council to vote in favour of making St Piran's Day (5th March) a public holiday in Cornwall and have created the Council's first online petition to encourage them to do just that.

The Dy' gool Sen Peran/Saint Piran's Day Holiday petition was set up in February 2011

and will run until February 2012 and if successful in getting 5000 people to sign, the issue will be debated and voted on during a full Konsel Kernow session next year.

This is not the first time that the Kernow Branch has asked Konsel Kernow to vote to make St Piran's Day a public holiday. The Branch contacted Konsel Kernow on 2nd

Carlyon Bay – the monster rears its ugly head (Again!)

Following the defeat of a proposed development of luxury holiday homes on a beach in Cornwall in 2007, another development company, the Commercial Estates Group (CEG) in association with the original developers Ampersand, has again submitted a planning application to the Council to develop holiday homes on the same beach.

The details of the application are still unknown at the time of writing, but it is expected that the application will be a “hybrid” application in that plans for the sea defences will be set out in detail but the area behind the defences will be only an outline application. The developers keep saying they won't consider anything less than the complex of 511 homes and leisure facilities they already have a 21-year-old permission for, but exactly how they will be distributed and in what style is unknown.

Carlyon Bay Watch, the residents' organisation set up to fight the original proposals in 2002, said:

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(Conservative) did not respond to the enquiry from the branch, but George has been known to be a long standing supporter of making St Piran's day a public holiday.

If Cornwall Council were to vote in favour of St Piran's day becoming a public holiday, they would be following the lead taken in other Celtic countries. Both Scotland and the north of Ireland have voted to make their national saint days – Andrew (30th November) and Patrick (17th March) respectively – public holidays. In 2000, the Welsh Senedd (National Assembly) voted in favour of making their own national patron saint day, St David's (1st March), a public holiday in Wales and recommended to the UK government that they act on this decision, which was rejected.

The Kernow branch will continue to campaign throughout 2011 with the aim of collecting the 5000 signatures necessary for the Council to debate the issue, which will probably involve heading out onto the streets throughout the course of the year. To date there are over 230 online signatures.

The online petition reads: “We, the undersigned, call on Cornwall Council to vote in favour of Dydh Sen Peran/St Piran's Day (5th March) becoming an annual public holiday in Cornwall and to make a recommendation to the UK Government to do the same.”

The petition can be signed following the link below:

<http://www.freepetition.co.uk/cornwall/LivePetition.aspx?PageId=1>

“If the developers are given outline planning consent it would effectively give them a “blank cheque”. Any designs seen so far in the so-called consultation exercise might bear no relation to the final plans. Also, Polgaver is included in the outline permission and so it's likely the last remaining natural area on Carlyon Bay will be lost - against the clearly expressed wishes of more than 80% of local residents.”

The Kernow Branch of the Celtic League got involved with the Carlyon Bay campaign in 2003 and worked closely with Carlyon Bay Watch to persuade the government to propose an independent inquiry into the development. Following the findings of the inquiry and widespread opposition, Restormel Council rejected the application by Ampersand.

However now Ampersand is back with modified proposals and has applied for permission to build over 500 homes on the original site. In the Autumn of 2010 a group of Celtic League members travelled to Carlyon Bay to hear what the 'new' development proposals were. The following report was written for the branch by Chris Webber.

“I have been involved with the protest against this development from the start and working with the local residents' association 'Carlyon Bay Watch' took part with other Celtic League members in on site protests a few years ago.

A group of us ... have now attended the so called 'public consultation' which has been

held in the Information Centre in Carlyon Bay. Corporate buzzwords were very much the theme – displays littered with mentions of 'layered buildings' 'glimpsed views' 'limited palettes' 'street concepts' 'sustainability' and so on but the wool was not pulled over everyone's eyes.

I overheard one woman, who was at the consultation and who said that she had lived in the area all her life, saying: 'Horrible...Why can't we have our beach back?' Another resident complained that the development was motivated by 'money and greed', adding: 'A development for the wealthy incomers to holiday here for a few weeks each year. What about our children?'

Branch Secretary Mike Chappell then approached a representative of the company and asked if he could put to her a few straightforward questions.

'Oh, you're not one of those Mebyon Kernow people are you?' she asked, her nose hardly long enough to look far enough down. 'I am a member of the Celtic League', replied Mike. 'Oh that's okay, ask away', she responded with a swift removal of a bottle of imported water from the table. Mike then entered into a discussion with her and was informed that the development would comprise 500 holiday homes, with prices from £350,000 upwards. The company representative argued that this development would actually help local people because potential buyers would look more to this development than to buying up in local towns and villages so freeing up accommodation for Cornish people on minimum wages. When asked about the flood defences, the representative said that they employed the world's top flood prevention experts to design defences against



Carlyon Bay

the sea. We also found out though that there would be no affordable housing for locals and public access would only be available to a reduced beach area.

After departing the 'consultation' we compiled a list of issues, which we felt relevant and forwarded them onto Carlyon Bay Watch for their information. We assured the group that should they wish to continue with their objections, then the Kernow Branch would stand firmly with them.

Our own objections are based on the following points:

The access roads cannot be widened and during the construction stage and indeed when holiday occupation occurs of the projected 500 holiday homes, traffic problems will make local residents' lives a misery.

This very artificial 'layering of buildings' occurs just less than 80 metres back from the high tide line in an area known to flood.

It appears that in excess of 500 holiday homes are planned with prices from £350,000 up. There is no provision for affordable housing in an area where there is a housing shortage for residents of an average income.

Cornwall now has UNESCO World Heritage Status in respect of its Mining and other heritage and we do not believe this sort of development at the water's edge could ever be in compliance with the need to respect that status. The proposed development reminds us of so many which have been allowed along the shores of Spain's Mediterranean coastline and which have now been widely criticised by world heritage and other environmental organisations. Cornwall is about its coast and beaches and this development adds nothing to that.

We can see no provision for local services and the comment by one representative that the majority would purchase goods from local businesses and shops by internet is, we feel, pure fantasy. There was no mention by developers of the additional pressures placed on local health, emergency and other services maintained by resident taxpayers.

With talk of sea walls and other defences, we ask if this area is suited to development at all. The views from this area are stunning. A development would inhibit public enjoyment of what little of Cornwall's natural coastline remains with resultant impact on nature and wild life.

We shall end up with an exclusive and wealthy enclave in a part of Cornwall, which the Council should arrange to have opened for all. The thought of 500 residences standing empty for the bulk of the year is shocking.

This is the time to protect Cornwall, which is already being dangerously overdeveloped. Carlyon Bay Watch chairman Roy Bennett said there was little in the latest announcement to satisfy or reassure objectors: "We have not seen anything in

detail yet. They are very carefully keeping their powder dry until they have got everybody thinking it is going to work."

This time, the planning application has to be submitted to Cornwall Council for scrutiny, following the abolition of Restormel Council with the creation of the new Cornwall (Unitary) Authority in 2009. Let's hope that Cornwall Council will reject the new application from Ampersand like Restormel Council did back in 2007.



Mebyon Kernow celebrates its sixtieth anniversary

Mebyon Kernow members, councillors and supporters gathered at the Lowenac Hotel in Camborne on Saturday (22nd January) to celebrate the first six decades of the Party for Cornwall.

One and all enjoyed entertainment from a range of Cornish musicians and poets, which included Bagas Crowd, An Dysken, Kowethas and Pol Hodge / Bert Biscoe.

The event was opened by MK founder member Ann Jenkin, who was recently elected as the Party's Life President. Ann is the widow of Richard Jenkin, a fellow founder member and a former Chairman of the Party. She is also the mother of four children – two of whom, Loveday and Conan, have stood as parliamentary candidates and serve as local councillors.

She told the meeting that MK should be proud of its idealism and its persistence. "MK has always had ideals and stood 'For Cornwall' and to 'Put Cornwall First' ... I see persistence as the sterling quality of MK. We must thank all its leaders over the last sixty years for carrying on and not giving up. I must mention Richard Jenkin in this struggle as well as many others, but also the present leader Dick Cole who has taken the Party to many successes and a broad acceptance of MK principles, but who has worked at some personal sacrifice to his own career."

Ann Jenkin also called on all present to continue to fight for a better deal for Cornwall, to win more council seats at all levels and, like Wales, to achieve an Assembly for Cornwall.

IE DROS GYMRU! YES FOR WALES!

League Support Yes For Wales Campaign

Members of the Kernow Branch travelled to Cymru/Wales to assist with the 'Ie Dros Gymru/Yes for Wales' referendum campaign that was held on the 3rd March 2011.

Members travelled to Caerffili, Cymru to help out with the campaign over a period of two days, where they leafleted and talked to members of the public about the referendum vote. The branch reported that the mood on the streets was generally positive, but people were still a bit confused between the referendum vote and the Welsh Assembly elections, which are due to be held on 5th May 2011. Leading Welsh historian, Dr Martin Jones, said that:

"The future of devolution needs a 'Yes' vote – not so much because of the powers that will bring but because a 'No' vote will be seen as a 'No' to devolution itself. The result will be a hamstrung Assembly, a result that does no-one any good."

Following the referendum in Caerffili Celtic League members attended a 'Thanks for Voting Yes' party at The Fly Entertainment centre in Bedwas, where Welsh folk singer and poet, Meic Stevens, gave his final ever concert before emigrating to Canada.



WALES: YES TO DIRECT LAW MAKING POWERS

The Welsh referendum resulted in an overwhelming 'yes' vote to the proposal to grant direct law making powers to the Welsh Assembly. A full geographical breakdown of the vote can be found at:

<http://referendumresults.aboutmyvote.co.uk/en/all-local-voting-area-declarations.aspx>

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Mannin



POBBLE DOOIE VONACO: MYNLAGH FEER CHOADIT

Ayns Toshiaght Arree, haink y Dr. Tadhg Ó hIfeárnáin veih Ollooscoil Limmeragh gys Mannin dy chur leaght mychione imman ergooyl arraghey-chengey (*reversing language shift*). Shoh cooish as ram studeyrans jeant er ec y scoillar Americaanagh Joshua Fishman, erskyn ooilley studeyrans jeant echey bentyn da Yiddish. Agh ta daa lioar (er y chooid sloo) currit magh ta bentyn da imman ergooyl arraghey-chengey, lioaryn ta dellal rish Ewnish, Yernish, Frangish ayns y Chanadey, Freeshlannish, Bascish as myr shen foast. Ta ennym YOSHUA Fishman screcut dy lajer ayns ny lioaryn shen. Agh cha daink y Dr. Tadhg Ó hIfeárnáin gys Mannin eieyn Fishman y resooney nyn lomarcan. Dy jarroo, ta Tadhg smooinghantyn dy vel y mishoon ‘imman ergooyl arraghey-chengey’ cur magh ny chyrrysyn aggairagh. Dy firrinagh, cha nod oo gimman ergooyl arraghey-chengey. Cha nod oo croo yn seihll myr v’eh roish yn arraghey-chengey. Liorish prowal d’imman ergooyl arraghey-chengey, t’ou croo reddyn noa nagh row ayn roie. Foddee dy row Tadhg gra dy lhisagh oo ve jeant booiagh lesh shen.



Dr. Tadhg Ó hIfeárnáin

Ayns e leaght, ren Tadhg Ó hIfeárnáin red nagh row yn lught-eaishtagh jerkal rish, foddee. Loayr eh mychione myn-cheeraghyn Oarpagh - Mannin, Jersey, Guernsey, Monaco, San Marino, Andorra, Gibraltar as Liechtenstein. Cha nee steatyn neuchrogheydagh ad shoh, son y chooid smoo. Ta cosoylaghtyn moarey eddyr oc. T’ad ooilley faggys da steat mooar kionysagh: ta chengey ghoocie ec y chooid smoo jeu: ta

jeadys argidoil ec gagh fer jeu: shimmei joarree t’er jeet dy cummal ayns gagh nane jeu as ta’n pobble dooie ny vynlagh: rish ymmodde bleecantyn, s’faitagh va pobble dooie ny cheeraghyn shoh, bunnys lhiggey orroo nagh row ad ayn, agh er y gherid t’ad er jeet dy ve smoo daaney. My ta chengey ghoocie ayn, ta paart jeh’n sleih haink stiagh gymmydey yn chengey myr cowrey dy yarroo-enney. Ass ny myn-cheeraghyn shoh, reih Tadhg dy yannoo cosoylaght eddyr Mannin as Monaco.

She prinsaght Monaco, as she steat neuchrogheydagh t’ayn. Dy jarroo, haink Monaco dy ve ny h-oltey jeh ny h-Ashoonyn Unnaneysst sy vlein 1993. Agh ta commeeys cramp eddyr Monaco as y Rank, as cha nod Monaco jannoo red erbee vees cur rouyr olk er y Rank. Ta shoh gollrish Mannin: ta commeeys cramp eddyr Mannin as y Reeriaght Unnaneysst, as cha nod Mannin jannoo red erbee vees cur rouyr olk er y Reeriaght Unnaneysst. Y gear-cheim jerrinagh, haghyn shen ayns ny bleecantyn tree feed kyndagh rish cooishyn-radio. Va Mannin eginit dy ve biallagh sy jerrey. Bentyn da mooadysyn ny cheeraghyn, ta Mannin foawragh cosoyl rish Monaco. She 0.78 meeilley kernit eaghtyr Vonaco – shen ooilley! Agh ta mysh 33,000 dy leih cummal er yn eaghtyr shen. Ta pobble dooie Vonaco mysh 22% jeu shen. She Frangee mysh 28% jeh cummaltee Vonaco, as she Iddaalee mysh 19%. Haink mysh 9% veih’n Vretyn Vooar as Steatyn Unnaneysst America. Shimmei Manninagh ta gaccan dy vel ny Manninee er ve nyn mynlagh ayns Mannin rish bleecantyn dy liooar nish. Agh ta’n keadane dy Vanninee ayns Mannin foddey ny shlee na’n keadane dy phobble dooie ayns Monaco. Ny yei shen, ta pobble dooie Vonaco foddey smoo coadit na ny Manninee ayns y cheer oc hene.

Ayns Monaco, ny Frangee, Iddaalee as sleih elley nagh vel dooie, cha nod ad ve nyn seyraanee (*citizens*) jeh Monaco – cha nel shen lowit. Pobble dooie Vonaco nyn lomarcan, she adsyn ta nyn seyraanee. Ta vondeishyn dy liooar ec ny seyraanee, y pobble dooie – y chirveish-slaynt, myr sampleyr. Agh, ec y tra cheddin, ta ny seyraanee shen cummal ayns steat ta gollrish reeriaght feudoil. Ta’n lught-thie reeoil scanshoil ass towse ayns Monaco. N’egoish, cha beagh y phrinsaght ayn, as

veagh Monaco sluggit seose ec y Rank. Foddee dy noddagh oo gra dy luggagh Sostyn Mannin seose mannagh beagh Tinvaal ayn. Ta lught-thie Grimaldi er reill Monaco neayr’s 1297. Shennayr lught-thie Grimaldi, va shen Grimaldo, fer-steat ass Genoa ec traa ny chieid Chroshaidyn. Ardreeriaght Vonaco, va enney oikoil currit urree sy vlein 1861 ayns conaant eddyr y Rank as Monaco. Ta coadey Vonaco fo smaght y Rank – gollrish Mannin as y Reeriaght Unnaneysst. Gys 1910, va prinseyn Vonaco reill harrish y cheer myr dy row ad er n’gheddyn sarey veih Jee. Veih’n vlein 1918, reir Conaant Versailles, v’eh currit er Monaco dy beagh e polaseeyn politickagh, cahnagh as tarmaynagh yn un red as polaseeyn y Rank. Ta Prinse Vonaco, Albert II, rheyne e phooaraghyn marish ard-whaiyl jeh un thie lesh kiare as feed oltey (goll rish y Chiare as Feed!). Agh ta Tadhg smooinghantyn dy nod lught-thie reeoil Vonaco jannoo bunnys red erbee saillhie. T’eh jeeaghyn dy vel pobble dooie Vonaco smooinghantyn dy vel ad myr un lught-thie, as dy vel y lught-thie reeoil myr ayn jeh’n lught-thie mooar shen. Agh foddee dy vel ny meoiryn-shee geaishtagh rish ooilley’n sleih ayns Monaco lesh culleeyn follit. Ta meoiryn-shee Vonaco jannoo boggy dy nod ad dooney yn steat ayns feed minnid. Cha nee Pargys t’ayn.

Bentyn da cooishyn-cheesh, ta cosoylaghtyn dy liooar eddyr Mannin as Monaco. Cha nel persoanyn ayns Monaco geeck keesh cheet-stiagh erbee, as ta shen er dayn ram sleih berchagh stiagh. Agh ta keeshyn ardey ayn cour urrysaght heshoil, as ta shen cur yn olk er sleih dy liooar. Gollrish Mannin as ny cheeraghyn beggey elley, ta ‘argid quaagh’ er chur er sheshaghtyn argidoil eddyrashoonagh dy yeeaghyn dy gear er Monaco, as Monaco coontit dy ve ‘ny smessey’ na Mannin mennick dy liooar. Ta’n ennym ‘Monaco’ er jeet rish mennick dy liooar ayns recortysyn y Reagheydys ry-hoi Co-obbraghey as Lhiasaghey Tarmaynagh (yn OECD), as ayns recortysyn y Tashtey Argidoil Eddyrashoonagh (IMF). Agh nish, ta dy chooilley horch dy chonaant goll er reaghey eddyr cheeraghyn beggey as cheeraghyn moarey bentyn da coonrey fysseree argidoil. Dy firrinagh, cha nel monney goll er caghlaa. Ta bunargidys eddyrashoonagh foast spooilley’n seihll.

She Frangish yn ynrican chengey oikoil ayns Monaco. Agh ta chengey ghoocie ayn – Monegasque. Shoh chengey gollrish Ligurianish, chengey Iddaalagh ta goll er loayrt ayns twoaie yn Iddaal. Haink Monegasque dy ve bunnys marroo ayns ny bleecantyn tree feed as jeih. Agh t’eh grait nagh vel ee goll sheese y liargagh nish – t’ee goll er ynsaghey ayns scoillyn Vonaco. Ta Tadhg Ó hIfeárnáin er cheau traa dy liooar ayns Monaco, agh v’eh doillee da feddyn magh quoid dy leih ta loayrt y chengey. Tra vrieagh eh jeh sleih ayns y traid ‘Quoi yn sleih as Monegasque oc?’, yinnagh ad cur y

Work Permit Reform in Mann an Assault on Employment Security

In what will be seen by many as an assault on employment security the Manx government has announced a further review of its work permit legislation.

Control of Employment legislation was introduced on the Island almost forty years ago at a time when there was a period of economic growth that prompted an influx of economic migrants. The legislation although at times the subject of contention enjoys support not only from the indigenous work force but also from those workers who have moved to the Island and now satisfy the regulatory requirements of controlled employment.

Minister for Economic Development, Allan Bell MHK, said: ‘The Island’s work permit legislation was originally intended to safeguard the employment opportunities of largely unskilled workers in what is now almost a bygone age. Today, our diverse economy requires a workforce with a huge number and range of skills and expertise yet the Control of Employment Act 1975 largely predates this transformation in the Island’s fortunes. It is crucial that we update the existing legislation so that it’s in keeping with the needs of today’s economy.’

Despite a statement from the Island’s Department of Economic Development



Allan Bell MHK

many Isle of Man workers will see this latest move by government as an all out assault on protective legislation which is keenly needed at a time when economic migration both with Europe and globally poses a major threat to domestic workforces. There is no doubt that some politicians within the Isle of Man government are hell bent on emasculating the work permit controls.

However it is a dangerous time for politicians to ‘play’ with this issue. With an election looming working voters will not be pleased with politicians who are perceived to be giving away their employment!

J.B. Moffatt

freggyrt ‘Oh, shenn sleih as sleih aegey’. My s’feer shen, t’eh beggan goll rish y chooish ayns Mannin. Er agh quagha, foddee dy vel sleih ayns Monaco nagh vel monney fys oc er cooish yn chengey kianglee ee lesh shenn sleih ta nyn loayrtee ghoonie, as lesh sleih aegey ta gynsaghey ee ayns ny scoillyn. Hrog leaght Thadhg ny shlee feyshtyn ny ansooryn, as v’eh feer anaasagh. Mastey cooishyn elley, v’eh gra dy dooar eh magh nagh vel Gaelgeyrn Manninagh jannoo arrish er ny loayrtee ghoonie, ga dy vel ad cur arrym daue. As loayr Tadhg mychione ny Yernee ta coontey Yernish dy ve yn chieed chengey oc, agh cha nel ad loayrt ee. T’eh ooilley feer anaasagh!

Summary

The Isle of Man is one of those mini-countries of Europe which have a lot in common – a degree of independence, the native population now in a minority through immigration from a dominant country, a native language threatened by a dominant language, but used by some immigrants to express a new identity, and an international finance industry which might have walked on the wild side.

Brian Stowell

National Day: an Important Symbol of Identity and Pride

The Celtic League has urged authorities in Cornwall to realise the value in national, cultural and economic terms of creating a St Piran’s Day National holiday.

Speaking to the Western Morning News the League Director of Information, Mr. J B Moffatt referred to National holidays in other Celtic countries such as the weeklong celebration around the Manx National (Tynwald) Day and the St Patrick Day celebrations throughout Ireland.

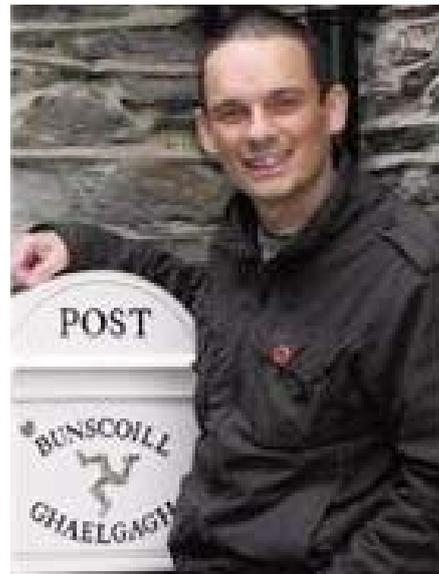
Referring to a National Day he said: “It is an important symbol of national identity and pride which is easy for me, as a Manxman, to understand,” he added. “Initially there is the cost of paying for a public holiday but, as events grow up around the day, it should generate its own value and worth. “Our Tynwald Day encourages people back from overseas and Cornwall could also see a big economic spin off – the efforts to revitalise the language show that there is a huge reservoir of national pride there.”

The Celtic League has been an active and enthusiastic campaigner for recognition of a St Piran’s Day holiday for several years.

MANX LANGUAGE NEWS

In the latest edition of the Manx Gaelic newsletter Gaelg Vio, the Manx Language Officer, Adrian Cain, stated his aims regarding the promotion of an adult learning programme in which he outlined as follows:

- The establishment of a day-time class with crèche facilities
- Continue support for Saturday language classes and weekend revision sessions
- Expand support for the Possan Aeglagh Youth Group
- Provide additional support material for adults studying the language
- Run classes for learners and speakers of Manx this summer
- Have more training sessions and improved support for adult teachers of Manx Gaelic
- Develop the Cowag blog into a professionally looking internet presence
- Support, wherever possible, the work of the Bunscoil Ghaelgagh and Department of Education Manx Gaelic Team
- Continue to maintain the visibility and public profile of the language



“The very nature of my work means that I have to work on a wide variety of different fronts; nevertheless, the focus of our work will continue to be towards adult language learners with the aim of establishing a professionally run adult language programme. One of the lessons I learned from the Ned Maddrell Lecture (given at the Cooish 2010 by Rob Amery from the University of Adelaide on his work with Aboriginal Communities) was just how lucky we are in Mannin compared to many other minority linguistic communities throughout the world.

“It is very much up to all of us in the language community to remember this and work towards building a sustainable Manx speaking community in the Island; we’re getting there, and I hope resources targeted at adult speakers will go some way to achieving this, but there is still some way to go.”

The Myth of Ireland's Low Corporation Tax?

For some time now there have been signals from Merkel in Germany and Sarkozy in France about their dissatisfaction about Ireland's low corporation tax and at EU level various proposals have been mooted. Both leaders have been pressing Ireland to increase its rate while at European Commission level an EU common consolidated corporation tax is being investigated. It is interesting then to look at data supplied in an OECD, World Bank (Price, Waterhouse Coopers [PCW]) report, *Paying Taxes*, which gives effective corporate tax rates as against actual tax rates.

The main reason for these very different effective corporation tax rates is the range of write offs that other countries have whereas the Irish system is simpler giving an effective rate close to the declared. This really makes a joke of French President Sarkozy's demands on Ireland when the effective rate in France is 8.2%! The companies attracted to Ireland by its corporate tax rate are US multinationals. Some PWC staff in Ireland would surmise that the effect of driving up Ireland's rate will be to drive US investment out of the EU with investment likely to go to Switzerland rather than to France or

Country (EU)	Declared Corporation Tax Rate	Effective Corporation Tax Rate
Luxembourg	28.59%	4.1%
Belgium	33.99%	4.8%
France	34.33%	8.2%
Ireland	12.50%	11.9%
Greece	24.00%	13.9%
Germany	30.18%	22.9%
UK	28%	23.2%
Country (outside EU)	Declared Corporation Tax Rate	Effective Corporation Tax Rate
Singapore	17.00%	7.4%
Switzerland	21.17%	8.9%
USA	39.21%	27.6%

continued from page 16

claim to be a truly all Ireland party. The party leader, Gerry Adams, who resigned as an (abstentionist) MP in Westminster to stand in the Louth constituency topped the poll there and was elected on the first count. The party missed having two more TDs by only some hundreds on votes. The challenge for them is to improve on this



Gerry Adams, Sinn Féin

United Left Alliance (ULA): 5 (+5). The ULA is composed of the Socialist Party and People before Profit and was launched last November. Joe Higgins MEP, leader of the Socialist party was one of two SP TDs elected. Two of the others are from People before Profit with the last one being a former independent TD whose base was the Workers Unemployed Action Group in Tipperary.

Independents: 14 (+8). Quite a number of new independent TDs were elected, ranging from the right wing Shane Ross to some left wings ones and others who were more local constituency oriented. An unusual addition was Mick Wallace, a businessman and property developer but a rather different one who used his scaffolding on Dublin city centre developments to advertise his views (anti EU Lisbon Treaty and against the invasion of Iraq). Dublin City Council took legal action against him to try to get them removed but failed! 11 of the Independents have, with the ULA, formed a 'technical' group which gives them certain speaking and procedural rights in the Dáil.

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Germany. The low rate is seen by Government as a cornerstone of Ireland's industrial policy and tampering with it would damage the economy's performance and its recovery prospects. This will be a critical battle that the incoming Coalition Government will have to face at the EU summit at the end of March.

An issue that should be addressed however is why should there be any help for multinationals like Google who manipulate the Irish system and pay an overseas tax of only 2.4% with little remaining in Ireland and the monies ending up in Bermuda eventually?

THE DEATH OF SCOTTISH BANKING

As the global economy blinks and stutters, so too does the Scottish banking sector. While the non-banking sectors of the Scottish finance industry have fared differently, the toll has been especially heavy on the banks. There is no longer any such thing as a Scottish bank anymore. They've either been bought out, or are owned by the British government pending dismantlement. The Bank of Scotland (BOS) and the Royal Bank of Scotland (RBS) are nationalised; the Clydesdale Bank is Australian owned, and is perhaps the safest of the three.

The Lloyds banking group, which previously took over the Scottish bank TSB, has now got its claws into some of BOS' property. It is currently in the process of erasing the Bank of Scotland brand from various buildings, and replacing them with Lloyds Banking Group. Despite BOS being a national bank, Lloyds seems determined to eradicate all trace of this.

There is great animosity towards banks in Scotland at present but this is hardly surprising. However, despite their mistreatment of customers, their directors' obscene self-calculated bonuses, their support of dubious regimes, abuse of the Developing World etc, they still employ thousands of ordinary people.

Scottish banks have been ambivalent towards Scotland. On the plus side, they have been a major part of Scottish identity, in that they produce their own bank notes. They also support various Scottish sporting and cultural events. They have also provided some minor concessions to Gàidhlig with bilingual chequebooks (difficult to get hold of admittedly), and some bilingual signs on Highland branches. But on the negative side, they have offered great support to unionism, perhaps because their upper levels were often filled by the anglicised products of our private schools. In recent years they have outsourced many units to England as well, such as their credit card services. Many people would thus see the banks as getting their just reward.

PLAID MP EXPOSES CONFLICT OF INTEREST AT HEART OF IRAQ INQUIRY

Plaid Cymru's Westminster leader Eifyn Llwyd MP led a debate in Westminster ON January 25th questioning the operation of the Iraq Inquiry during which he exposed a serious conflict of interest at the heart of the Chilcot investigations.



Eifyn Llwyd MP

Following new information obtained by Mr Llwyd, he argued that the role of Mrs Margaret Aldred, Secretary to the Chilcot Inquiry currently on secondment from the Cabinet Office, would completely undermine the outcome of the investigations.

One aspect of these concerns is due to Mrs Aldred's previous role as Deputy Head of the Foreign and Defence Policy Secretariat. Mrs Aldred chaired meetings of the Iraq senior officials group which coordinated policy on Iraq for four and a half years – part of the period the Inquiry is looking at. Commenting after the debate, Mr Llwyd said:

“The appointment of Margaret Aldred is questionable to say the least but the fact is without a doubt a conflict of interest here. The key question here is how did someone

with such a clear conflict of interest get appointed to this role and what impact is it having?

“It prompts the question, if Mrs Aldred wasn't the Secretary of the Inquiry, would she be called as a witness before the inquiry? Undoubtedly the answer is yes – just as her predecessor was called as a witness. The Cabinet Office needs to answer some very serious questions. What would happen if the Inquiry wanted to criticise her previous role for example? Will Aldridge be writing the Chilcot Inquiry final report? Most probably.

“The Inquiry is not independent – it is the Cabinet Office investigating itself.

“New information shows that Mrs Aldred was personally involved in the Iraq build up, chairing an Iraq senior officials group, knew of the awful rendition policy, and dealt with key issues that have already been discussed at the Inquiry.

“To say that the Inquiry team could not foresee any conflict of interest in her appointment because of the ‘professionalism of senior civil servants’ is naïve in the extreme and is incompatible with the way that the UK Government puts measures into place to prevent such tensions.

“Transparency must be paramount but they are completely absent from this process and have been from the beginning.

“One obvious conclusion that can be drawn is that Mrs Aldred is managing this Inquiry in such a way as to protect and preserve Cabinet Office interests. In so doing I believe that the process is flawed if not compromised.”

CLUELESS' MINISTER



Ed Vaizey (Conservative) – MP for Wantage in Berkshire and Minister with responsibility for culture

Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg called Westminster government Culture Minister Ed Vaizey ‘clueless’ after hearing his evi-

dence to MPs on January 18th. The Minister, who is responsible for S4C, admitted to the Welsh Affairs Committee he had never watched the channel and that there are no guarantees the channel will be funded after 2015. Bethan Williams, Chairman of Cymdeithas responded:

“It's amazing that someone so ignorant can be responsible for S4C. He's never watched S4C, never spoken to the leader of the Welsh Conservatives about it, hasn't asked for legal advice about the plans and didn't consult with anyone about a BBC takeover. He hasn't got a clue.

“He was laughing so often, he obviously finds the situation amusing. It's not. The future of our only Welsh language TV channel hangs in the balance - a direct threat to the language itself. It's also clear that the BBC are responsible for the problems - the Minister admitted that if the BBC had refused to use the licence fee, S4C would have received the same financial settlement without the threat to its independence. So, the BBC were disingenuous when they claimed that they had 'saved' the channel.”

CYMDEITHAS MEMBERS OCCUPY BBC'S WELSH HQ

Members of Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg occupied the Cardiff offices of the BBC on the morning of the 31st January. The campaigners, including the Reverend Guto Prys ap Gwynfor, son of former Plaid Cymru leader Gwynfor Evans whose threatened hunger strike in 1980 was crucial in the campaign to have the Welsh television channel established, went into the BBC building while accusing the BBC of acting in an ‘undemocratic’ way by taking over S4C.

Last year, BBC bosses and the London Government (which still controls broadcasting in Wales) agreed that S4C would be licence-fee funded and answerable to the British broadcaster's trustees with the Government cutting its grant to the channel by 94%.

Bethan Williams, Chairman Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg commented:

“S4C, the only Welsh language TV channel in the world, is in a critical situation. Its future hangs in the balance, along with the future of the Welsh language. It faces real term cuts of over 40% to its budget, a BBC takeover, and power in the hands of Westminster Government Ministers to abolish it completely. On top of that, the BBC is trying to force a deal on S4C before MPs have voted on the matter - it's completely undemocratic. It's time for the BBC to change their mind.

“The Government in London is cutting 94% of the money it used to pay the channel, a cut that's totally unfair. After 2015, there's no certainty that any money will go to the channel at all. You don't need to look further than the World Service to see what can happen to channels that aren't important to the BBC.

“The Westminster Government and the BBC in London agreed to a last-minute back-of-the-envelope plan without consulting anyone from Wales. Their joint plan could kill the channel if we don't have the resources to see Welsh language content on the television and the web. We demand that S4C be independent editorially and managerially, with a funding formula in statute to protect the future of this important Welsh language service.

“It's time for the BBC to make a choice - do they want to continue acting as the poodle of the government in London, or to do the right thing for the Welsh language? Following the Tories' wishes, they are trying to take the channel over and run it as a BBC department. That will mean Welsh-language programmes will have to compete for money with English language ones for the first time in 30 years. Why are the BBC doing that? Isn't it time the BBC discussed things openly with the public?”

FOINSE Success

Official readership figures published in late February from a survey carried out by the Joint National Newspaper Readership (JNNR) show that 195,000 people are now reading Foinse (Irish Language weekly newspaper) every week.

The newspaper in its new format has been distributed every Wednesday with The Irish Independent since its relaunch in 2009. Editor Emer Ní Chéidigh is satisfied with the newspaper's performance. She says: "The staff of Foinse are over the moon with this important research. We have worked very hard over the past 15 months, not just to bring back Foinse which used to sell less than 5,000 copies to a position where it is now read by tens of thousands more people."

Michael Denieffe, Managing Editor of the Irish Independent, said the JNNR readership figures were a stunning success for Foinse. "The unique collaborative effort between Foinse and the Irish Independent has delivered a first class product for students and lovers of the Irish language as well as creating a novel platform for advertisers", he said.

Celtic Media Festival

The Celtic Media Festival exists to promote the cultures and languages of the Celtic countries in film, on television, radio and news media.

The festival will take place in Stornoway in Scotland between the 13-15th April 2011. Look out for the awards.

celtic league press releases

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

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Membership and Subscriptions

All those who agree with the constitution and aims of the Celtic League are eligible for membership. The membership/subscription rates (including *Carn*) are: €24.00, Sterling £14.50, Europe (airmail) £20.00, Outside Europe £22.00. US\$30.00 (US funds, cheques drawn on a US bank).

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